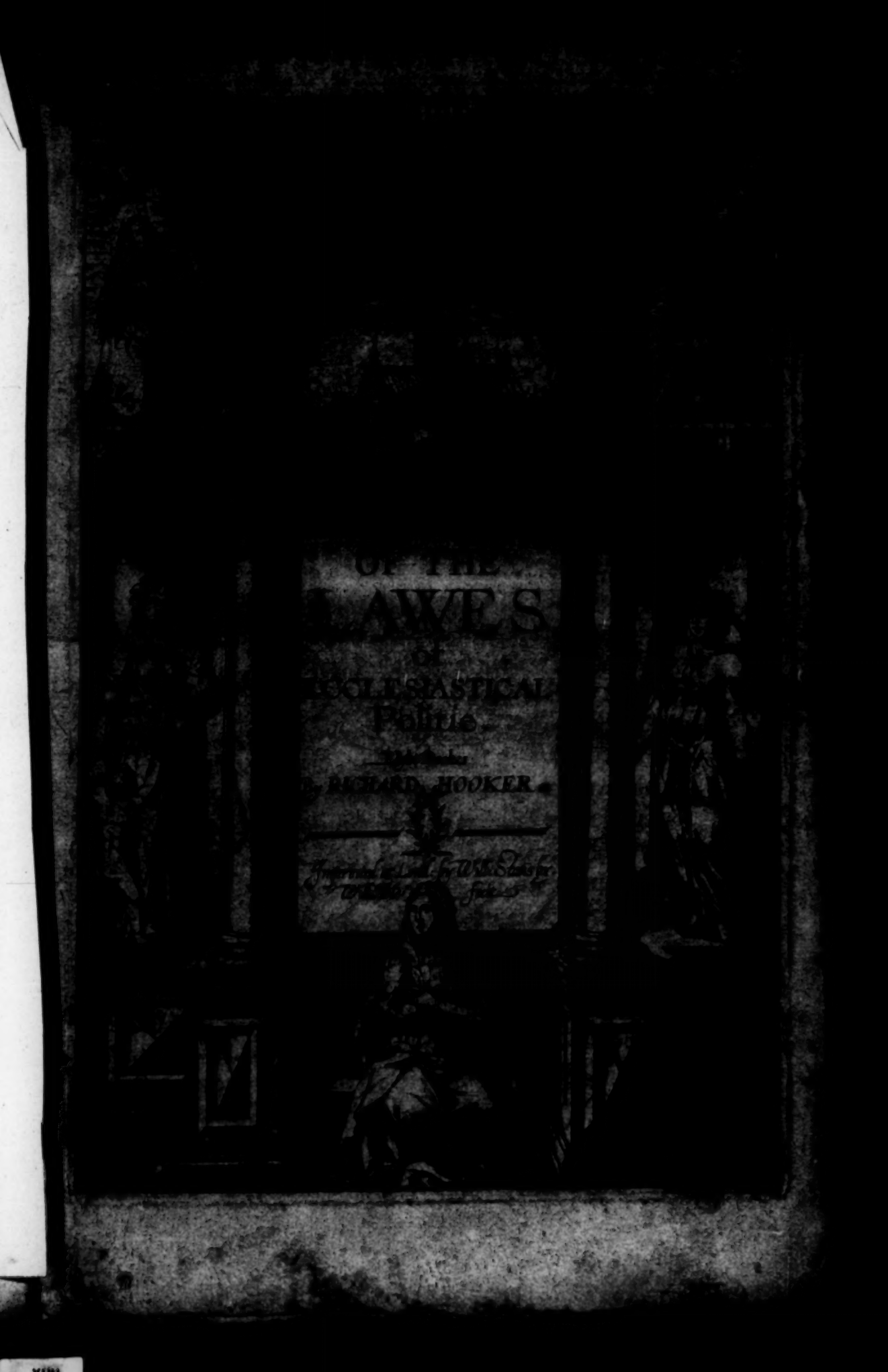

OF THE
LAWES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL
Politie.
RICHARD HOOKER.

¶ To the Reader.

THis vnhappy controuersie, about the receiued Ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawne so many of her Ministers from their principall worke, and imployed their studies in contentious oppositions: hath by the vnnaturall growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made knowne to the world, that it neuer receiued blessing from the Father of peace. For whose experience doth not finde, what confusion of order, and breach of the sacred bond of loue hath sprung from this dissention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into diuers parts, and diuided her people into diuers Sects; how it hath taught the sheepe to despise their pastors, and alienated the Pastors from the loue of their flocks: how it hath strengthened the irreligious in their impieties, and hath raised the hopes of the sacrilegious deuourers of the remaines of Christs patrimony; and giuen way to the common aduersary of Gods trueth, and our pro-

ſperitie, to grow great in our land without reſiſtance; who ſeeth not how it hath diſtracted the minds of the multitude, and ſhaken their faith, and ſcandalized their weakeneſſe, and hath generally killed the very heart of true pietie, and religious deuotion, by changing our zeale towards Chriſts glory, into the fire of enuie and malice, and heart-burning, and zeale to euery mans priuate cauſe? This is the ſumme of al the gaines which the tedious contentions of ſo many yeres haue brought in, by the ruine of Chriſts kingdome, the encreaſe of Satans, partly in ſuperſtition, and partly in impietie. So much better were it in theſe our dwellings of peace, to endure any inconuenience whatſoeuer in the outward frame, then in deſire of alteration, thus to ſet the whole houſe on fire. Which mooued the religious heart of this learned writer, in zeale of Gods Truth, and in compaſſion to his Church, the mother of vs all, which gaue vs both the firſt breath of ſpirituall life, and from her breaſts hath fed vs vnto this whatſoeuer meaſure of growth we haue in Chriſt, to ſtand vp and take vpon him a generall defence both of her ſelfe, and of her eſtabliſhed Lawes; and by force of demonſtration, ſo farre as the nature of the preſent matter could beare, to make knowne to the world, and theſe oppugners of her, that all thoſe bitter accuſations layde to her charge, are not the faults of her Lawes and orders, but either their owne miſtakes in the miſ-vnderſtanding, or the abuſes of men in the ill execution of them. A worke ſubiect to manifold reprehenſions and oppoſitions, and not ſutable to his ſoft and mild diſpoſition, deſirous of a quiet

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priuate life, wherein he might bring foorth the fruits of peace in peace. But the loue of God and of his countrey, whose greateſt danger grew from this diuiſion, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongſt many other moſt reuerend and learned men, he alſo preſumed to ſpeake with his pen. And the rather, becauſe he ſaw that none of theſe ordinary obiections of partialities could eleuate the authoritie of his writing, who alwayes affected a priuate ſtate, and neither enioyed, nor expected any the leaſt dignitie in our Church. What admirable height of learning, and depth of iudgement dwelled within the lowly minde of this true humble man, great in all wiſe mens eyes, except his owne; with what grauitie and maieſtie of ſpeech his tongue and pen vttered heauenly myſteries, whoſe eyes in the humility of his heart were alwayes caſt downe to the ground; how al things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the Spirit of loue, as if he like the bird of the holy Ghoſt, the Doue, had wanted gall; let them that knew him not in his perſon, iudge by theſe liuing Images of his ſoule, his writings For out of theſe, euen thoſe who otherwiſe agree not with him in opinion, doe affoord him the teſtimony of a milde and a louing Spirit: and of his learning, what greater proofe can wee haue then this, that his writings are moſt admired by thoſe who themſelues doe moſt excell in iudicious learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled and deſired. Which is the cauſe of

this

this ſecond edition of his former bookes, and that without any addition or diminution whatſoeuer. For who will put a pencile to ſuch a worke, from which ſuch a workeman hath taken his? There is a purpoſe of ſetting foorth the three laſt Bookes alſo, their fathers *Poſthumi*. For as in the great declining of his body, ſpent out with ſtudy, it was his ordinary petition to Almighty God, that if he might liue to ſee the finiſhing of theſe bookes, then *Lord let thy ſeruant depart in peace*, (to vſe his owne wordes) ſo it pleaſed God to graunt him his deſire: For he liued till he ſaw them perfected; and though like *Rachel* hee died as it were in the trauell of them, and haſtened death vpon himſelfe, by haſtening to giue them life: yet hee held out to behold with his eyes theſe *partus ingenij*, theſe *Beniamins*, ſonnes of his right hand, though to him they were *Benonies*, ſonnes of paine and ſorrow. But ſome euill diſpoſed mindes, whether of malice, or couetouſneſſe or wicked blind zeale, it is vncertaine, as if they had bene Egyptian Mid-wiues, as ſoone as they were borne, and their father dead, ſmothered them, and by conueying away the perfect Copies, left vnto vs nothing but certaine olde vnperfect and mangled draughts, diſmembred into pieces, and ſcattered like *Medeas Abſyrtus*, no fauour, no grace, not the ſhadowes of themſelues almoſt remayning in them. Had the father liued to ſee them brought foorth thus defaced, he might rightfully haue named them *Benonies*, the ſonnes of ſorrow.

But

But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons will not suffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are. The learned and iudicious eye will yet perhaps delight it selfe in beholding the goodly lineaments of their well set bodies, and in finding out some shadowes and resemblances of their fathers face. God graunt that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace: so in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their worke; and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learne, may helpe to giue an ende to the calamities of these our ciuill Warres.

F. S.



A PREFACE

To them that ſeeke (as they tearme it) the Reformation *of Lawes and orders Eccleſiaſticall, in the Church of* ENGLAND.

THough for no other cauſe, yet for this; *that poſteritie may knowe wee haue not looſely through ſilence permitted things to paſſe away as in a dreame, there ſhall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God eſtabliſhed amongſt vs, and their carefull endeauour which would haue vpheld the ſame. At your hands beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt (for in him the loue which we beare vnto all that would but ſeeme to be borne of him, it is not the ſea of your gall and bitterneſſe that ſhall euer drowne) I haue no great cauſe to looke for other then the ſelfeſame portion and lot, which your manner hath beene hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in opinion and ſentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace ſhall (notwithſtanding mans nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) inable vs quietly, & euen gladly to ſuffer al things, for that worke ſake which wee couet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and feruour wherewith yee haue withſtood the receiued orders of this Church, was the firſt thing which cauſed me to enter into conſideration, whether (as all your publiſhed bookes and writings peremptorily maintaine) euery Chriſtian man fearing God, ſtand bound to ioyne with you*

The cauſe and occaſion of handling theſe things: and what might bee wiſhed in them, for whoſe ſakes ſo much paine is taken.

for the furtherance of that which ye terme the Lords Diſcipline. *Wherin I muſt plainely confeſſe vnto you, that before I examined your ſundrie declarations in that behalfe, it could not ſettle in my head to thinke, but that vndoubtedly ſuch numbers of otherwiſe right well affected and moſt religiouſly enclined mindes, had ſome maruellous reaſonable inducements which led them with ſo great earneſtneſſe that way. But when once, as neare as my ſlender abilitie would ſerue, I had with trauell and care performed that part of the Apoſtles aduiſe and counſell in ſuch caſes, whereby he willeth to* try al things, *and was come at the length ſo farre, that there remained onely the other clauſe to be ſatisfied, wherein he concludeth that* what good is muſt be held: *there was in my poore vnderſtanding no remedy but to ſet downe this as my finall reſolute perſwaſion;* Surely the preſent forme of Church-gouernment which the lawes of this land haue eſtabliſhed, is ſuch, as no law of God, nor reaſon of man hath hitherto beene alleaged, of force ſufficient to prooue they doe ill who to the vttermoſt of their power withſtand the alteration thereof: *Contrariwiſe,* The other which in ſtead of it we are required to accept, is only by errour and miſconceipt named the ordinance of Ieſus Chriſt, no one proofe as yet brought forth, whereby it may clearely appeare to be ſo in very deed. *The explication of which two things I haue here thought good to offer into your own hands: hartily beſeeching you euen by the meekneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, whom I truſt ye loue; that, as ye tender the peace and quietneſſe of this Church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath euer beene the crowne & glory of a chriſtianly diſpoſed mind, if your own ſoules, hearts and conſciences, (the ſound integrity whereof can but hardly ſtand with the refuſall of truth in perſonall reſpects) bee, as I doubt not but they are, things moſt deare and precious vnto you,* Let not the faith which ye haue in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, *be blemiſhed* with partialities, *regard not who it is which ſpeaketh, but waigh onely what is ſpoken. Thinke not that yee read the words of one, who bendeth himſelfe as an aduerſary againſt the truth which ye haue already embraced; but the wordes of one, who deſireth euen to embrace together with you the ſelfeſame truth; if it bee the truth, and for that cauſe (for no other God he knoweth) hath vndertaken the burthenſome labour of this painefull kind of conference. For the plainer acceſſe whereunto, let it be lawfull for me to rip vp to the very bottome how and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we liue in began to make firſt triall thereof.*

Iam. 2. 1.

2. A founder it had, whome, for mine owne part, I thinke incomparably the wiſeſt man that euer the French Church did enioy, ſince the houre it enioyed him. His bringing vp was in the ſtudie of the Ciuill Law. Diuine knowledge hee gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debters to him, as touching knowledge in that kinde; yet he to none but onely to God, the author of that moſt bleſſed fountaine the Booke of life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, together with the helpes of other learning which were his guides: till being occaſioned to leaue France, he fell at the length vpon Geneua: Which Citie, the Biſhop and Cleargie thereof had a little before (as ſome doe affirme) forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion: the euent of which enterpriſe they thought it not ſafe for themſelues to wait for in that place. At the comming of Caluin thither, the forme of their ciuill regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authoritie or power ouer them, but officers choſen by the people yearely out of themſelues, to order all things with publique conſent. For ſpirituall Gouernment, they had no Lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Paſtors of their ſoules by perſwaſion could winne them vnto. Caluin being admitted one of their Preachers and a Diuinitie Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a threed, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatſoeuer it ſelfe liſteth. Wherefore taking vnto him two of the other Miniſters for more countenance of the action, (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moued, and in the end perſwaded with much adoe, the people to bind themſelues by ſolemne Oath, firſt neuer to admit the Papacie amongſt them againe; And ſecondly, to liue in obedience vnto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their Religion, and the forme of their Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, as thoſe their true and faithfull Miniſters of Gods word had agreeably to Scripture ſet downe for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in vre, the people alſo (what cauſes mouing them thereunto, themſelues beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champe vpon the bit they had taken into their mouthes, the rather for that they grew by meanes of this innouation into diſlike with ſome Churches neare about them, the benefit of whoſe good friendſhip their ſtate could not well lacke. It was the manner of thoſe times (whether through mens deſire to enioy alone the glory of their owne enterpriſes, or elſe becauſe the quickneſſe of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch,) ſo it was, that euery particular Church did that within it ſelfe, which

The firſt eſtabliſhment of new Diſcipline by M. *Caluins* induſtrie in the Church of Geneua: and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelues.

ſome fewe of their owne thought good, by whome the reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelues, yet ſmall, common conference before hand might haue eaſed them of much after trouble. But a greater inconuenience it bred, that euery later endeuoured to be certaine degrees more remoued from conformitie with the Church of Rome, then the reſt before had beene: whereupon grew maruellous great diſſimilitudes, and by reaſon thereof, iealouſies, hart burnings, iarres and diſcords amongſt them. Which notwithſtanding might haue eaſily beene preuented, if the orders which each Church did thinke fit and conuenient for it ſelfe, had not ſo peremptorily beene eſtabliſhed vnder that high commaunding forme, which tendered them vnto the people, as things euerlaſtingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe ſtatutes there is no exception to bee taken. For by this meane it came to paſſe, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemne another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was betweene them. Whereas the ſelfe-ſame orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in more varie and ſuſpenſe maner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould giue the opportunitie of ſome generall conference what might bee beſt for euery of them afterwards to doe; this I ſay had both preuented all occaſion of iuſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerued a greater libertie vnto the Authors themſelues of entring into farther conſultation afterwards. Which though neuer ſo neceſſarie they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome feare of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for euer after reſolute to maintaine. Caluin therfore and the other two his aſſociats ſtiffely refuſing to adminiſter the holy Communion to ſuch as would not quietly without contradiction and murmur ſubmit themſelues vnto the orders which their ſolemne Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarell baniſhed the towne. A fewe yeares after (ſuch was the leuitie of that people) the places of one or two of their Miniſters being fallen voide, they were not before ſo willing to be rid of their learned Paſtor, as now importunate to obtaine him againe from them who had giuen him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not vnreſiſtable earneſtneſſe beene vſed. One of the towne Miniſters that ſawe in what manner the people were bent for the reuocation of Caluin, gaue him notize of their affection in this ſort. The Senate of two hundred being aſſembled, they all craue Caluin. The next day a generall conuocation. They crie in like ſort againe all: Wee will haue Caluin that good and learned man Chriſts Miniſter. This, *ſaith he*, when I vnderſtood I could not chooſe but praiſe God, nor was I able

Epiſt. Cal. 24

to

to iudge otherwiſe, then that this was the Lords doing, and that it was maruellous in our eyes, *And* that the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was now made the head of the corner. *Luc.*20.17.

The other two whom they had throwne out (together with Caluin) they were content ſhould enioy their exile. Many cauſes might leade them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, his yeelding vnto them in one thing, might haply put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſſe of condeſcending further vnto them. For in his abſence he had perſwaded them, with whome he was able to preuaile, that albeit himſelfe did better like of common bread to be vſed in the Euchariſt, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, then cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Againe, they ſaw that the name of Caluin waxed euery day greater abroad, and that together with his fame their infamy was ſpread, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly elected him. Beſides it was not vnlikely but that his credite in the world, might many wayes ſtand the poore towne in great ſtead: as the truth is, their Miniſters forreine eſtimation hitherto haue beene the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatſoeuer ſecret reſpects were likely to moue them, for contenting of their minds Caluin returned (as it had beene another Tully) to his old home. He ripely conſidered how groſſe a thing it were for men of his qualitie, wiſe and graue men, to liue with ſuch a multitude, and to be tenants at will vnder them, as their Miniſters, both himſelfe and others, had bene. For the remedy of which inconuenience, he gaue them plainely to vnderſtand, that if hee did become their teacher againe, they muſt be content to admit a complet forme of Diſcipline, which both they & alſo their Paſtors ſhould now be ſolemnly ſworne to obſerue for euer after. Of which diſcipline the maine and principall parts were theſe: A ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Court to be eſtabliſhed: perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their miniſters; others of the people annually choſen (twiſe ſo many in number as they) to be iudges together with them in the ſame Court: theſe two ſorts to haue the care of all mens maners, power of determining of all kind of Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and authoritie to conuent, to controll, to puniſh, as far as with Excommunication, whomſoeuer they ſhold thinke worthy, none either ſmall or great excepted. This deuice I ſee not how the wiſeſt at that time liuing could haue bettered, if we duely conſider what the preſent eſtate of Geneua did then require. For their Biſhop and his Cleargie being (as it is ſaid) departed from them by moonelight, or howſoeuer, being departed; to chooſe in his roome any other Biſhop, had beene a thing altogether impoſsible. And for their miniſters to ſeeke that themſelus alone might haue coerciue power ouer the whole Church, would perhaps haue beene hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo franke an offer was

made, that for euery one Miniſter there ſhould bee two of the people to ſit and giue voice in the Eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtorie, what inconuenience could they eaſily find which themſelues might not bee able alwayes to remedie? Howbeit (as euermore the ſimpler ſort are, euen when they ſee no apparant cauſe, iealous notwithſtanding ouer the ſecret intents and purpoſes of wiſer men) this propoſition of his did ſomewhat trouble them. Of the Miniſters themſelues which had ſtayed behind in the Citie when Caluin was gone, ſome, vpon knowledge of the peoples earneſt intent to recall him to his place againe, had beforeband written their Letters of ſubmiſſion, and aſſured him of their alleageance for euer after, if it ſhould like him to harken vnto that publique ſuite. But yet miſdoubting what might happen, if this Diſcipline did goe forward; they obiected againſt it the example of other reformed Churches, liuing quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeſt place and countenance amongſt the Laitie profeſſed with greater ſtomacke their iudgements, that ſuch a Diſcipline was little better then Popiſh tyrannie diſguiſed and tendered vnto them vnder a new forme. This ſort, it may be, had ſome feare that the filling vp of the ſeates in the Conſiſtorie, with ſo great a number of lay men, was but to pleaſe the minds of the people, to the end they might thinke their owne ſway ſomewhat; but when things came to triall of practiſe, their Paſtors learning would be at all times of force to ouerperſwade ſimple men, who knowing the time of their owne Preſidentſhip to be but ſhort, would alwayes ſtand in feare of their Miniſters perpetuall authoritie. And among the Miniſters themſelues, one being ſo farre in eſtimation aboue the reſt, the voices of the reſt were likely to bee giuen for the moſt part reſpectiuely with a kind of ſecret dependencie and awe: ſo that in ſhew a maruellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſticall was to gouerne, but in effect one onely man ſhould, as the Spirite and ſoule of the reſidue, doe all in all. But what did theſe vaine ſurmiſes boote? Brought they were now to ſo ſtraight an iſſue, that of two things they muſt chooſe one; Namely, whether they would to their endleſſe diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſſe, diſmiſſe him, whoſe reſtitution they had in ſo impotent maner deſired: or elſe condeſcende vnto that demaund, wherein hee was reſolute either to haue it, or to leaue them. They thought it better to bee ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, then for euer abroad diſcredited. Wherefore in the ende thoſe orders were on all ſides aſſented vn-
An. D. 1541 to: with no leſſe alacritie of minde, then Cities vnable to hold out longer are wont to ſhew, when they take conditions ſuch as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of aduantage. Not many yeares were ouerpaſſed, before theſe twiſe ſworne men aduentured to giue

their

their laſt and hoteſt aſſault to the fortreſſe of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly graunting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that vnder their towne Seale, a relaxation to one Bertelier whome the Elderſhip had Excommunicated; further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurditie, that to the ſame Senate it ſhould belong to giue finall iudgement in matter of Excommunication, and to abſolue whome it pleaſed them; cleane contrarie to their owne former deedes and Oathes. The report of which Decree being forthwith brought vnto Caluin; Before (*ſaith he*) this Decree take place, either my bloud or baniſhment ſhall ſigne it. *Againe two dayes before the Communion ſhould be celebrated, this ſpeech was publiquely to like effect,* Kill me if euer this hand doe reach forth the things that are holy, to them whom THE CHVRCH hath iudged deſpiſers. *Whereupon, for feare of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends aduiſed for that time not to vſe the libertie graunted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelfe in the Church, till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the Communion quietly miniſtred, and ſome likelyhood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles without any more adoe, that very day in the afternoone, beſides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinarie Sermon, hee telleth them, that becauſe het neither had learned nor taught to ſtriue with ſuch as are in Authoritie, therefore (ſaith he)* the caſe ſo ſtanding as now it doth, let me vſe theſe words of the Apoſtle vnto you, I commend you vnto God and the word of his grace, *and ſo bad them heartily* Adew. *It ſometimes commeth to paſſe, that the readieſt way which a wiſe man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntarie and vnexſpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for according to their wonted maner they ſtill continued onely conſtant in vnconſtancie) to gather themſelues together, and for a time to ſuſpend their owne Decree, leauing things to proceede as before, till they had heard the iudgement of foure Heluetian Cities concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to haue done at the firſt before they gaue aſſent vnto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them: but now to doe it, was as much as to ſay in effect, that they would play their parts on a ſtage. Caluin therefore diſpatcheth with all expedition his letters vnto ſome principal paſtor in euery of thoſe Cities, crauing earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole ſtate of Religion and pietie in that Church did ſo much depend, that God and all good men were now ineuitably certain to be trampled vnder foote, vnleſſe thoſe foure Cities by their good meanes might be brought to giue ſentence with the Miniſters of Geneua, when the cauſe ſhould be brought before thē: yea ſo to giue it, that two things it might*

effectually

effectually containe; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneua, as consonant vnto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innouate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Heluetian Churches did neuer as yet obserue that Discipline, neuertheless the Senate of Geneua hauing required their iudgment concerning these three questions: First, After what manner, by Gods commaundement, according to the Scripture and vnspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised: *Secondly,* whether it may not be exercised some other way then by the Consistorie: *Thirdly,* what the vse of their Churches was to doe in this case: *answer was returned from the sayd Churches,* That they had heard already of those consistoricll lawes, and did acknowledge them to be *godly* ordinances *drawing towards* the prescript of the word of God, for which cause that they did not thinke it good for *the Church of Geneua* by innouation to change the same, but rather to keepe them as they were. *Which aunswer, although not aunswering vnto the former demaunds, but respecting what Master Caluin had iudged requisite for them to answere, was not withstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainely saw, that when stomacke doth striue with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present inhabitants of Geneua, I hope, wil not take it in euill part, that the saltinesse of their people heretofore, is by vs so farre forth laide open, as their owne learned guides and Pastors haue thought necessarie to discouer it vnto the world. For out of their Bookes and writings it is that I haue collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appeare in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selues. The reasons which mooued Caluin herein to be so earnest,* was, *as Beza himselfe testifieth,* for that he saw how needfull these bridles were to bee but in the iawes of that Citie. *That which by wisedome he saw to bee requisite for that people, was by as great wisedome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Caluin did for establishment of his Discipline, seemeth more commendable, then that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in vs all a loue to our owne counsels. The contradiction of others is a fanne to inflame that loue. Our loue set on fire to maintaine that which once we haue done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all meanes to reason for it. Wherefore a maruaile it were if a man of so great capacitie, hauing such incitements to make him desirous of*

Ep. 166.

Quidam [illegible] vi- [illegible] omnino [illegible] indigere.

all

all kind of furtherances vnto his cauſe, could eſpie in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the leaſt a probable opinion of liklyhood, that Diuine authoritie it ſelfe was the ſame way ſomewhat inclinable. And all which the wit euen of Caluin was able from thence to draw, by ſifting the very vtmoſt ſentence and ſyllable, is no more then that certaine ſpeeches there are which to him did ſeeme to intimate, that all Chriſtian Churches ought to haue their Elderſhips indued with power of Excommunication, and that a part of thoſe Elderſhips euery where ſhould be choſen out from amongeſt the Laitie after that forme which himſelfe had framed Geneua vnto. But what argument are ye able to ſhew, whereby it was euer prooued by Caluin, that any one ſentence of Scripture doth neceſſarily enforce theſe things, or the reſt wherein your opinion concurreth with his againſt the orders of your owne Church? We ſhould be iniurious vnto vertue it ſelfe, if wee did derogate from them whome their induſtrie hath made great. Two things of principall moment there are which haue deſeruedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding paines in compoſing the Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion; the other his no leſſe induſtrious trauails for expoſition of holy Scripture according vnto the ſame Inſtitutions. In which two things whoſoeuer they were that after him beſtowed their labour, hee gained the aduantage of preiudice againſt them, if they gainſaid; and of glory aboue them, if they conſented. His writings publiſhed after the queſtion about that Diſcipline was once begun, omit not any the leaſt occaſion of extolling the vſe and ſingular neceſſitie thereof. Of what accompt the Maſter of ſentences was in the Church of Rome, the ſame and more amongeſt the Preachers of reformed Churches Caluin had purchaſed: ſo that the perfecteſt diuines were iudged they, which were skilfulleſt in Caluins writings. His Bookes almoſt the very Canon to iudge both Doctrine and Diſcipline by. French Churches, both vnder others abroad, & at home in their own Countrey, all caſt according vnto that mould which Caluin had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabricke of their reformation tooke the ſelfe ſame paterne. Till at length the Diſcipline, which was at the firſt ſo weak, that without the ſtaffe of their approbation, who were not ſubiect vnto it themſelues, it had not brought others vnder ſubiection; began now to challenge vniuerſall obedience, and to enter into open conflict with thoſe very Churches, which in deſperate extremitie had bene relieuers of it. To one of thoſe Churches which liued in moſt peaceable ſort, & abounded as well with men for their learning in other profeſſions ſingular, as alſo with diuines whoſe equals were not elſwher to be found, a Church ordred by Gualters diſcipline, and not by that which Geneua adoreth:

reth vnto this Church, the Church of Heidelberge, there commeth one who craning leaue to diſpute publiquely, defendeth with open diſdaine of their gouernement, that To a Miniſter with his Elderſhip power is giuen by the law of God to excommunicate whomſoeuer, yea euen Kings and Princes themſelues. *Here were the ſeeds ſowen of that controuerſie which ſprang vp betweene Beza and Eraſtus about the matter of Excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Elderſhip hauing power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Elderſhip to be of neceſsitie certain choſen out from amongſt the Laitie for that purpoſe. In which diſputation they haue, as to me it ſeemeth, deuided very equally the truth betweene them; Beza moſt truly maintaining the neceſsitie of Excommunication; Eraſtus as truely the nonneceſsitie of Layelders to bee Miniſters thereof. Amongſt our ſelues, there was in King Edwards dayes ſome queſtion moued by reaſon of a few mens ſcrupuloſitie touching certaine things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the dayes of Queene Mary, ſome contenting themſelues abroad with the vſe of their own Seruice booke at home authoriſed before their departure out of the Realme; others liking better the common Prayer Booke of the Church of Geneua tranſlated; thoſe ſmaller contentions before begun were by this meane ſomewhat increaſed: Vnder the happie reigne of her Maieſtie which now is, the greateſt matter a while contended for was the wearing of the Cap and Surpleſſe, till there came Admonitions directed vnto the High Court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it glory inough to diſcouer their minds and affections, which now were vniuerſally bent euen againſt all the orders and lawes wherein this Church is found vnconformable to the platforme of Geneua. Concerning the defendor of which admonitions, all that I meane to ſay is but this:* There will come a time when three words vttered with charitie and meekeneſſe, ſhall receiue a farre more bleſſed reward, then three thouſand volumes written with diſdaineſull ſharpneſſe of wit. *But the maner of mens writing muſt not alienate our hearts from the trueth, if it appeare they haue the trueth: as the followers of the ſame defendor doth thinke he hath, and in that perſwaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe then himſelfe doth Caluin, Beza, and others, with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. We being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth that ſome kind of triall be vſed to find out which part is in errour.*

By what meanes ſo many of the people are trained into the liking of that Diſcipline.

3 *The firſt meane whereby nature teacheth men to iudge good from euill as well in lawes as in other things, is the force of their owne diſcretion. Hereunto therefore Saint Paul referreth oftentimes his owne ſpeech to bee*

conſide-

conſidered of by them that heard him, I ſpeake as to them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge ye what I ſay. *Againe afterward*, Iudge in your ſelues, is it comely that a woman pray vncouered? *The exerciſe of this kind of iudgement our Sauiour requireth in the Iewes. In them of Berœa the Scripture commendeth it. Finally whatſoeuer we doe, if our owne ſecret iudgement conſent not vnto it as fit and good to bee done; the doing of it to vs is ſinne, although the thing it ſelfe be allowable.* Saint Paules rule therefore generally is, Let euery man in his owne minde bee fully perſwaded of that thing which hee either alloweth or doth. *Some things are ſo familiar and plaine, that truth from falſhood, and good from euill is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, euen by men of no deepe capacitie. And of that nature, for the moſt part, are things abſolutely vnto all mens ſaluation neceſſary, either to bee held or denied, either to bee done or auoided. For which cauſe Saint Auguſtine acknowledgeth that they are not only ſet down, but alſo plainely ſet downe in Scripture: ſo that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty vnderſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) vnto the offices of Chriſtian men: which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to bee iudged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudy of things diuine, to the end that in theſe more doubtfull caſes, their vnderſtanding might be a light to direct others.* If the vnderſtanding power or faculty of the ſoule bee (*ſaith the grand Phiſitian*) like vnto bodily ſight, not of equall ſharpneſſe in all; what can be more conuenient, then that, euen as the dark-ſighted man is directed by the cleare about things viſible, ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe the wiſe in heart doe ſhewe the ſimple where his way lyeth? *In our doubtfull caſes of law, what man is there who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that profeſſors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And euen in this kind likewiſe the Lord hath himſelfe appointed, that* the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerue knowledge, and that other men ſhould ſeeke the truth at his mouth, *becauſe* he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts. *Gregory Nazianzene offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the iudgement of them to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould haue rather ſubmitted their owne, ſeeketh by earneſt intreaty to ſtay them within their bounds:* Preſume not ye that are ſheepe to make your ſelues guides of them that ſhould guide you, neither ſeeke yee to ouerskip the fold which they about you haue pitched. It ſufficeth for

1.*Cor*.10.13.
1.*Cor*.11.13.
Lu.12.56.57
Act.17.11.
Rom.14.5.
Galen.de opt.docen. gen.
Mal.2.7.
Greg.Naz. orat.qua ſe excuſat.

for your part, if ye can well frame your ſelues to be ordered. Take not vpon you to iudge your ſelues, nor to make them ſubiect to your lawes who ſhould be a law to you. For God is not a God of
*Mat.*11.14. ſedition and confuſion, but of order & of peace. *But ye will ſay, that if the guids of the people be blind, the common ſort of men muſt not cloſe vp their owne eyes and be led by the conduct of ſuch; if the Prieſt be partiall in*
*Mal.*2.9. *the law, the flocke muſt not therefore depart from the wayes of ſincere truth, and in ſimplicitie yeeld to be followers of him for his place ſake and office ouer them. Which thing, though in it ſelfe moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weake: becauſe the matter, wherein ye thinke that ye ſee and imagine that your wayes are ſincere, is of farre deeper conſideration then any one amongſt fiue hundred of you conceiueth. Let the vulgar ſort amongſt you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the cauſe wherin they are ſo reſolute, but to the triall of it a great deale more appertaineth then their conceipt doth reach vnto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way giuen; but I would gladly they knewe the nature of that cauſe wherein they think themſelues throughly inſtructed & are not: by meanes whereof they daily run themſelues, without feeling their own hazard, vp-*
*Iud.ver.*10. *pon the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt euil ſpekers as touching things*
*2.Pet.*2.12. *wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing vnlawfull for priuate*
Cal. inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 20. Sect. 8. *men, not called vnto publike conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt ſtate of ciuill Policie (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kind then that vnder which they already liue, for of ſuch diſputes I take it his meaning was) if it be a thing cõfeſt that of ſuch queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſſe, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpeciall circumſtances, and for one kind as many reaſons may bee brought as for another; is there any reaſon in the world, why they ſhould better iudge what kind of regiment Eccleſiaſticall is the fitteſt? For in the Ciuill ſtate more inſight, and in thoſe affaires more experience a great deale muſt needes be granted them, then in this they can poſſibly haue? When they which write in defence of your diſcipline, and commend it vnto the Higheſt, not in the leaſt cun-*
The author of the petition directed to her Maieſtie. p3. *ning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge, that* with whom the truth is they know not, *they are not certaine; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude haue thereof? Waigh what doth mooue the common ſort ſo much to fauor this innouation, and it ſhall ſoone appeare vnto you, that the force of particular reaſõs which for your ſeueral opinions are alleaged, is a thing whereof the multitude neuer did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly caried; but certaine generall inducements are vſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſſe: and when once men haue caſt a phancie towardes it, any ſlight declaration of ſpecialties will*

ſerue

ſerue to leade forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The methode of winning the peoples affection vnto a generall liking of the Cauſe (for ſo yee terme it) hath beene this. Firſt in the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially of higher callings are ripped vp with maruellous exceeding ſeuerity and ſharpneſſe of reproofe; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integritie, zeale and holineſſe, to ſuch conſtant reprooners of ſinne, as by likelihood would neuer be ſo much offended at that which is euill, vnleſſe themſelues were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, vnto the kind of Eccleſiaſticall gouernment eſtabliſhed. Wherin, as before by reprooving faults, they purchaſed vnto themſelues with the multitude a name to be vertuous; ſo by finding out this kind of cauſe, they obtaine to be iudged wiſe aboue others: whereas in truth vnto the forme euen of Jewiſh gouernment, which the Lord himſelfe (they all confeſſe) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of reaſon they might impute thoſe faults which the Prophets condemne in the gouernors of that common wealth; as to the Engliſh kind of regiment Eccleſiaſticall (whereof alſo God himſelfe though in other ſort is author) the ſtaines and blemiſhes found in our State; which ſpringing from the root of humaine frailty and corruption, not only are, but haue beene alwayes more or leſſe, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the worlds end complained of, what forme of gouernement ſoeuer take place. Hauing gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their owne forme of Church-gouernment, as the onely ſoueraigne remedy of all euils; and to adorne it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that haue ſicke bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the crazednes of their mindes poſſeſt with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they heare commended) would helpe them; but that moſt, which they leaſt haue tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is by faſhioning the very notions and conceits of mens minds in ſuch ſort that when they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euery thing ſoundeth towards the aduancement of that diſcipline, and to the vtter diſgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing vp of his Schollers in ſpeculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their conceipts therein ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes, how the the elements of number gaue eſſence and being to the workes of nature. A thing in reaſon impoſſible: which notwithſtanding through their misfaſhioned preconceipt, appeared vnto them no leſſe certaine, then if nature had written it in the very

foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of loue haue it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signifie any one person, but a qualitie whereof many are partakers; that to be raised is nothing else but to be regenerated or indued with the said qualitie; and that when separation of them which haue it from them which haue it not, is here made, this is iudgement; how plainely doe they imagine that the Scripture euery where speaketh in the fauour of that sect? And assuredly the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to thinke they euen see how the word of God runneth currantly on your side, is, that thir minds are forestalled and their conceits peruerted beforehand, by being taught that an Elder doth signifie a Lay-man admitted onely to the office of rule or gouernment in the Church; a Doctor one which may onely teach, and neither preach nor administer the Sacraments; a Deacon one which hath charge of the almes boxe and of nothing else: that the Scepter, the rod, the Throne and Kingdome of Christ, are a forme of regiment, onely by Pastors, Elders, Doctors, and Deacons: that by mysticall resemblance mount Sion and Ierusalem are the Churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the Churches which oppugne the said form of regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the wals and decayed parts of the city and temple of God by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest: as if purposely the holy Ghost had therin ment to foresignifie, what the authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of supplications to the Councell, of petitions to her Maiesty, and of such other like writs, should either doe or suffer in behalfe of this their cause. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perswading of men credulous and ouer capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the speciall illumination of the holy Ghost, wherby they discern those things in the word, which

1. *Iohn.* 4. 1. *others reading yet discerne them not.* Dearely beloued *saith* S. *Iohn*, Giue not credit vnto euery Spirit. *There are but two wayes whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but vnto some few, the other extending it selfe vnto all that are of God; the one that which we call by a speciall diuine excellencie Reuelation, the other Reason. If the Spirit by such reuelation haue discouered vnto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must professe themselues to be all (euen men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by, for as much as perswasions grounded vpon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must euery of them from the greatest to the least be able for euery seuerall Article to shewe some special reason as strong as their perswasion therin is earnest. Otherwise*

how

how can it be but that ſome other ſinewes there are from which that ouerplus of ſtrength in perſwaſion doth ariſe? Moſt ſure it is, that when mens affections doe frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earneſt a great deale, then (for the moſt part) ſound beleuers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that euidence which Scripture yeeldeth: which being in ſome things plaine, as in the principles of Chriſtian doctrine; in ſome things, as in theſe matters of diſcipline, more darke and doubtfull, frameth correſpondently that inward aſſent which Gods moſt gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall inſtrument. It is not therefore the feruent earneſtnes of their perſwaſion, but the ſoundnes of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame is built, which muſt declare their opinions in theſe things to haue bene wrought by the holy Ghoſt, and not by the fraud of that euill Spirit which is euen in his illuſions ſtrong. 2. Theſ. 2. 11

After that the phancie of the common ſort hath once throughly apprehended the Spirit to bee author of their perſwaſion concerning diſcipline, then is inſtilled into their hearts, that the ſame Spirit leading men into this opinion, doth therby ſeale them to be Gods children; and that as the ſtate of the times now ſtandeth, the moſt ſpeciall token to know them that are Gods owne from others, is an earneſt affection that way. This hath bred high termes of ſeparation betweene ſuch and the reſt of the world; whereby the one ſort are named The brethren, The godly, and ſo foorth; the other, worldlings, timeſerners, pleaſers of men, not of God, with ſuch like. From hence, they are eaſily drawne on to thinke it exceeding neceſſarie, for feare of quenching that good Spirit, to vſe all meanes whereby the ſame may bee both ſtrengthned in themſelues, and made manifeſt vnto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of ſuch as are knowne that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to ſeeke all occaſions of ſecret conference with ſuch; this maketh them glad to vſe ſuch as Counſellours and directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as contracts, teſtaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an vnweariable deſire of receiuing inſtruction from the Maiſters of that companie, to caſt off the care of thoſe verie affaires which doe moſt concerne their eſtate, and to thinke that then they are like vnto Marie, commendable for making choyce of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea oftentimes euen to ouercharge themſelues, for ſuch mens ſuſtenance and reliefe, leaſt their zeale to the cauſe ſhould any way bee vnwitneſſed. For what is it which poore beguiled ſoules will not doe through ſo powerfull incitements? In which reſpect it is alſo noted, that moſt labour hath beene

beſtowed to winne and retaine towards this cauſe them whoſe iudgements are commonly weakeſt by reaſon of their ſexe. And although not women loden with ſinnes, as the Apoſtle S. Paul ſpeaketh, but (as we verily eſteeme of them for the moſt part) women propenſe and inclinable to holineſſe, be otherwiſe edified in good things rather then caried away as captiues into any kind of ſinne and euill, by ſuch as enter into their houſes with purpoſe to plant there a zeale and a loue towards this kind of diſcipline: yet ſome occaſion is hereby miniſtred for men to think, that if the cauſe which is thus furthered, did gaine by the ſoundneſſe of proofe wherupon it doth build it ſelfe, it would not moſt buſily endeuor to preuaile, where leaſt ability of iudgment is: and therefore that this ſo eminent induſtrie in making proſelites more of that ſexe then of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to ſerue as inſtruments and helpes in the cauſe. Apter they are through the eagernes of their affection, that maketh them which way ſoeuer they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, ſeruants, friends and allies the ſame way; apter through that naturall inclination vnto pitie, which breedeth in them a greater readineſſe then in men, to be bountifull towards their Preachers who ſuffer want; apter through ſundrie opportunities which they eſpecially haue, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a ſingular delight which they take in giuing very large and particular intelligence, how all neere about them ſtand affected as concerning the ſame cauſe. But be they women or be they men, if once they haue taſted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to perſwade them, they cloſe vp their eares, his reaſons they waigh not, all is anſwered with rehearſall of the words of Iohn, We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth vs; as for the reſt, ye are of the world, for this worlds pomp & vanitie it is that yee ſpeake, and the world whoſe ye are heareth you. Which cloake ſitteth no leſſe fit on the backe of their cauſe, then of the Anabaptiſts, when the dignitie, authoritie and honor of Gods Maieſtrates is vpheld againſt them. Shew theſe egerly affected men their inhabilitie to iudge of ſuch matters; their anſwere is, God hath choſen the ſimple. Conuince them of folly, and that ſo plainely, that very children vpbraid them with it; they haue their bucklers of like defence. Chriſts owne Apoſtle was accompted madde; The beſt men euermore by the ſentence of the world haue beene iudged to be out of their right minds. When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feele but the leaſt degree of moſt mercifully tempered ſeueritie, they faſten on the head of the Lords vicegerents here on earth, whatſoeuer they any where find vttered againſt the crueltie of bloud-thirſtie men;

2. Tim. 3. 6.

1. Iohn 4. 6.

1. Cor. 1. 27. Act. 26. 24. Sap. 5. 4. Wee fooles thought his life madneſſe. Marc. Triſ. ad Aſculap. Οἱ δὲ γνώσει ὄντες ὠτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀφεῖκεν, ὥτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς μαίνεσθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Inſtit. lib. 5. c. 16.

and

and to themſelues they draw all the ſentences with Scripture hath in the fauour of innocencie perſecuted for the truth: yea they are of their due and deſerued ſufferings no leſſe prowd, then thoſe ancient diſturbers, to whom S. *Auguſtine writeth, ſaying*: Martyrs rightly ſo named are they, not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and for the vngodly breach they haue made of Chriſtian vnitie; but which for righteouſneſſe ſake are perſecuted. For Agar alſo ſuffered perſecution at the hands of Sara; wherein, ſhe which did impoſe was holy, and ſhe vnrighteous which did beare the burthen. In like ſort, with the theeues was the Lord himſelfe crucified, but they who were matcht in the paine which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings diſioyned. If that muſt needs be the true Church which doth endure perſecution, and not that which perſecuteth, let them aske of the Apoſtle what Church Sara did repreſent, when ſhe held her maide in affliction. For euen our mother which is free, the heauenly Ieruſalem, that is to ſay, the true Church of God, was, as he doth affirme, prefigured in that very woman by whome the bondmaide was ſo ſharply handled. Although, if all things bee throughly skanned, ſhe did in truth more perſecute Sara by proude reſiſtance, then Sara her, by ſeueritie of puniſhment. *Theſe are the pathes wherein yee haue walked that are of the ordinarie ſort of men, theſe are the very ſteps yee haue troden, and the manifeſt degrees wherby yee are of your guides and directors trained vp in that ſchoole: a cuſtome of inuring your eares with reproofe of faults eſpecially in your gouernours; and vſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of ſpirituall regiment vnder which ye liue; boldneſſe in warranting the force of their diſcipline for the cure of all ſuch euils; a ſlight of framing your conceipts to imagine that Scripture euery where fauoureth that diſcipline; perſwaſion that the cauſe, why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the ſpirit, that the ſame ſpirit is a ſeale vnto you of your neereneſſe vnto God, that yee are by all meanes to nouriſh and witneſſe it in your ſelues, and to ſtrengthen on euery ſide your minds againſt whatſoeuer might be of force to withdraw you from it.*

Auguſt. Epiſt. 50

4 *Wherefore to come vnto you whoſe iudgment is a lanterne of direction for all the reſt, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſwade my ſelfe) of a politique intent or purpoſe, but your ſelues being firſt ouerborne with the waight of greaters mens iudgements: on your ſhoulders is laid the burthen of vpholding the cauſe by argument. For which purpoſe ſentences out of the word of God ye alleage diuers: but ſo, that when*

What hath cauſed ſo many of the learneder ſort to approue the ſame diſcipline

the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it alwayes in a manner falleth out, that what things by vertue thereof yee vrge vpon vs as altogether neceſſarie, are found to be thence collected onely by poore and maruelous ſlight coniectures. I neede not giue inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alleaged, for that I thinke the inſtance in any alleaged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be giuen. A verie ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as yee ſpeake of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the word of God, and no Church euer haue found it out, nor receiued it till this preſent time; contrariwiſe, the Gouernment againſt which yee bend your ſelues, be obſerued euerie where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian world, no Church euer perceiuing the word of God to be againſt it. We require you to finde out but one Church vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath beene ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not beene ordered by ours, that is to ſay, by Epiſcopall regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were here conuerſant. Many things out of antiquitie yee bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerued the ſelfe ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of old ſhould be paternes for vs to follow, and euen glaſſes wherein we might ſee the practiſe of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the trueth is, yee meane nothing

T.C.lib.1.p.97. *leſſe. All this is done for faſhions ſake onely; for ye complaine of it as of an iniury, that men ſhould be willed to ſeeke for examples and paternes of gouernment in any of thoſe times that haue bene before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelues imagine ye haue found out a right paterne of ſound diſcipline, there neuer was any time ſafe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeuour to proue. Out of*

Euſeb 3.lib.32. *Egeſippus ye ſay that Euſebius writeth, how although as long as the Apoſtles liued, the Church did remaine a pure virgin; yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchſafed to make hearers of the diuine wiſedome with their owne eares, the placing of wicked error began to come into the Church. Clement alſo in a certaine place, to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles times, alleageth the prouerb, that* There are few ſonnes like their fathers. *Socrates ſaith of the church of Rome and Alexandria, the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the yeare 430. the Romaine and Alexandrian Biſhops leauing the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our gouernment from any other then the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a paterne for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift*

Lib.Strom. Somewhat after the beginning.

Lib.7.cap.11.

and

and purpoſe of you all is not one. The cheefeſt thing which Lay reformers yawne for, is, that the Cleargie may through conformitie in ſtate and condition be Apoſtolicall, poore as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poore. In which one circumſtance if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt thinke that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of mendicant Friers, a Church in that reſpect moſt happie. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his Church in deede, that the Cleargie ſhould be left euen as bare as the Apoſtles when they had neither ſtaffe nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay vpon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would I hope, endue them with the ſelfeſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his owne right vertuous contentment of heart, As well how to want, as how to abound, are a moſt fit Epiſcopall empreſe. The Church of Chriſt is a body myſticall. A body cannot ſtand, vnleſſe the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Cleargie, to be in meanneſſe of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laitie, to bee as they were who liued vnder the Apoſtles: and in this reformation there will be though little wiſedome, yet ſome indifferencie. But your reformation which are of the Cleargie (if yet it diſpleaſe you not that I ſhould ſay yee are of the Cleargie) ſeemeth to aime at a broader marke. Yee thinke that bee which will perfectly reforme, muſt bring the forme of Church diſcipline vnto the ſtate which then it was at. A thing neither poſsible, nor certaine, nor abſolutely conuenient. Concerning the firſt, what was vſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the rule and Canon of Church politie, yee make a rule which being not poſsible to be fully knowne, is as impoſsible to be kept. Againe, ſith the later euen of the Apoſtles owne times, had that which in the former was not thought vpon; in this generall propoſing of the Apoſtles times, there is no certaintie which ſhould be followed, eſpecially ſeeing that ye giue vs great cauſe to doubt how farre yee allow thoſe times. For albeit the louer of Antichriſtian building were not, yee ſay, as then ſet vp, yet the foundations thereof were ſecretly and vnder the ground laide in the Apoſtles times: ſo that all other times yee plainely reiect, and the Apoſtles owne times ye approue with maruellous great ſuſpition, leauing it intricate and doubtfull wherein wee are to keepe our ſelues vnto the paterne of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to conſider onely what hath bin of old, and if the ſame were well, to ſee whether ſtill it continue; if not, to condemne that preſently which is, and neuer to ſearch vpon what ground or conſideration the change might grow: ſuch rudeneſſe cannot bee in you ſo well borne with, whom learning and iudgement hath enabled much more ſoundly to diſcerne

Phil. 4. 12.

how

how farre the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, [a] the auncienter, the better ceremonies of Religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception, but true onely so farre forth as those different ages doe agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles times that was harmelesse, which being now reuiued would be scandalous; as their [b] oscula sancta. Those [g] feastes of charitie, which being instituted by the Apostles, were reteined in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needfull. What man is there of vnderstanding, vnto whom it is not manifest, how the way of prouiding for the Cleargie by tithes, the deuice of almes-houses for the poore, the sorting out of the people into their seuerall parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles times could not haue, (being now established) are much more conuenient and fit for the Church of Christ, then if the same should be taken away for conformities sake with the ancientest and first times? The orders therefore which were obserued in the Apostles times, are not to bee vrged as a rule vniuersally, either sufficient or necessary. If they bee, neuertheless on your part it still remaineth to bee better prooued, that the forme of discipline which yee intitle Apostolicall, was in the Apostles time excercised. For of this very thing yee faile euen touching that which ye make most account of, as being matter of substance in discipline, I meane the power of your Lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Pastors in all Churches. So that in summe, wee may bee bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worst, there are none wherein yee can truely affirme, that the compleate forme of your discipline, or the substance thereof was practised. The euidence therefore of antiquity failing you, yee flie to the iudgements of such learned men, as seeme by their writings to be of opinion that all Christian Churches should receiue your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as yee heape vp the names of a number of men not vnworthy to bee had in honour; so there are a number whom when yee mention, although it serue yee to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by waight, yet surely they who know what qualitie and value the men are of, will thinke yee drawe very neare the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best & chiefest amongst them, with vs notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of such reckning, that their opinion or coniecture should cause the lawes of the Church of England to giue place. Much lesse when they neither doe all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part

a *Antiquit.ss ceremonys atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuenit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis.* Arn. p. 746

b Rom 16.16. 1.Cor.13.12. 1.Thes.5.25. 1.Pet.5.14. In their meetings to serue God, their maner was in the end to salute one an other with a kisse, vsing these words. Peace be with you. For which cause *Tertul.* doth call it *signaculum orationis*, the seale of Prayer. *lib. de Orat.*

g Epist. Ind. ver. 12. Concerning which feasts, S *Chrys.* saith. *Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, & peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibant conuiuium, diuitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis.* in 1.Cor.11. *Hom.* 27. Of the same feasts in like sort. *Tertull. Causa nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Graecos dilectio. Quantiscunq; sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine fecisse sumptum.* Apolog. ca. 39.

part through a courteous inducement, haue followed one man as their guide, finally, that one therein not vnlikely to haue ſwarued. If any chance to ſay it is probable that in the Apoſtles times there were Layelders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirme that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Presbyters; or to ſpeake any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopall regiment, or to reproue the fault of ſuch as abuſe that calling; all theſe ye regiſter for men, perſwaded as you are, that euery Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the law of God to put downe Biſhops, and in their roomes to erect an Elderſhip ſo authorized as you would haue it for the gouernment of each Pariſh. Deceiued greatly they are therefore, who thinke that all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the fauourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome materiall points of your diſcipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Diuines of reformed Churches abroad. For firſt to doe as the Church of Geneua did, the learned in ſome other Churches muſt needes be the more willing, who hauing vſed in like maner not the ſlow and tedious helpe of proceeding by publike authoritie, but the peoples more quicke endeuour for alteration, in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well how they could haue ſtayed to deliberate about any other regiment then that which already was deuiſed to their hands, that which in like caſe had beene taken, that which was eaſieſt to bee eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the people by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giueth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of conſtraint or neceſſitie followed by many, their concurrence in perſwaſion about ſome materiall points belonging to the ſame Policie is not ſtrange. For wee are not to maruell greatly, if they which haue all done the ſame thing, doe eaſily embrace the ſame opinion as concerning their owne doings. Beſides, marke I beſeech you that which Galen in matter of Philoſophie noteth, for the like falleth out euen in queſtions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumours and reportes. That which a credible perſon telleth, is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſwaded of him. But if two, or three, or foure, agree all in the ſame tale, they iudge it then to bee out of controuerſie, and ſo are many times ouertaken, for want of due conſideration; either ſome common cauſe leading them all into errour, or one mans ouerſight deceiuing many through their too much credulitie and eaſineſſe of beliefe. Though ten perſons be brought to giue teſtimonie in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appeare to haue growne from ſome one amongſt them, and to haue

Galen. Claſſ. 1. lib. *De cuiuſq; anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.*

haue ſpread it ſelfe from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimonie. Nor is it otherwiſe here where the daughter Churches doe ſpeake their mothers dialect; here where ſo many ſing one ſong, by reaſon that bee is the guide of the quire concerning whoſe deſerued authoritie amongſt euen the graueſt Diuines, we haue already ſpoken at large. Will yee aske what ſhould moue thoſe many learned to bee followers of one mans iudgement, no neceſsitie of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demaund is anſwered by your ſelues. Loath yee are to thinke that they whom ye iudge to haue attained as ſound knowledge in all points of doctrine, as any ſince the Apoſtles time, ſhould miſtake in diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perſwaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſſe. The reaſon whereof is, for that as dead flies putrifie the oyntment of the Apothecarie, ſo a little folly him that is in eſtimation for wiſdome. This in euery profeſsion hath too much authorized the iudgement of a few. This with Germans hath cauſed Luther, and with many other Churches Caluin, to preuaile in all things. Yet are wee not able to define, whether the wiſedome of that God (who ſetteth before vs in holy Scripture ſo many admirable patternes of vertue, and no one of them without ſomewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwayes be acknowledged, Thou onely art holy, thou onely art iuſt) might not permit thoſe worthy veſſels of his glorie to bee in ſomethings blemiſhed with the ſtaine of humaine frailtie, euen for this cauſe, leaſt we ſhould eſteeme of any man aboue that which behoueth.

Petit. to the Q. M. P. 14.

Eccleſ. 10. 1.

Their calling for triall by Diſputation.

5 Notwithſtanding, as though yee were able to ſay a great deale more then hitherto your Bookes haue reuealed to the world, earneſt challengers yee are of triall by ſome publique diſputation. Wherein if the thing ye craue bee no more then onely leaue to diſpute openly about thoſe matters that are in queſtion, the Schooles in Vniuerſities (for any thing I know) are open vnto you: they haue their yearely Acts and Commencements, beſides other diſputations both ordinarie and vpon occaſion, wherein the ſeuerall parts of our owne Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline are oftentimes offered vnto that kind of examination: the learnedeſt of you haue beene of late yeares noted ſeldom or neuer abſent from thence at the time of thoſe greater aſſemblies; and the fauor of propoſing there in conuenient ſort whatſoeuer ye can obiect (which thing my ſelfe haue knowne them to graunt of Scholaſticall courteſie vnto ſtraungers) neither hath (as I thinke) nor euer will (I preſume) be denied you. If your ſuite be to haue ſome great extraordinarie confluence, in expectation whereof the lawes that already are ſhould ſleepe and haue no power ouer you, till in the hearing of thouſands yee all did acknowledge your error

and

and renounce the further proſecution of your cauſe; happily they whoſe authoritie is required vnto the ſatisfying of your demaund, doe thinke it both daungerous to admit ſuch concourſe of deuided mindes, and vnmeete that lawes which being once ſolemnely eſtabliſhed are to exact obedience of all men, and to conſtraine thereunto, ſhould ſo farre ſtoupe, as to hold themſelues in ſuſpence from taking any effect vpon you, till ſome diſputer can perſwade you to be obedient. A law is the deede of the whole body politicke, whereof if yee iudge your ſelues to be any part, then is the law euen your deed alſo. And were it reaſon in things of this qualitie, to giue men audience pleading for the ouerthrow of that which their owne very deed hath ratified? Lawes that haue beene approoued, may be (no man doubteth) againe repealed, and to that end alſo diſputed againſt, by the authors thereof themſelues. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what lawes each part ſhall obſerue, and not when a part refuſeth the lawes which the whole hath orderly agreed vpon. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the cauſe we maintaine is (God be thanked) ſuch as needeth not to ſhunne any triall, might it pleaſe them on whoſe approbation the matter dependeth, to condeſcend ſo farre vnto you in this behalfe, I wiſh hartily that proofe were made euen by ſolemne conference in orderly and quiet ſort, whether you would your ſelues be ſatisfied, or elſe could by ſatisfying others draw them to your part. Prouided alwayes, firſt in aſmuch as ye goe about to deſtroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet beene receiued; to impoſe on vs that which we thinke not our ſelues bound vnto, and to ouerthrow thoſe things whereof we are poſſeſſed; that therefore yee are not to claime in any conference other then the plantifes or opponents part, which muſt conſiſt altogether in proofe and confirmation of two things: the one, that our orders by you cõdemned we ought to aboliſh; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, becauſe the queſtions in controuerſie betweene vs are many, if once we deſcend vnto particularities, that for the eaſier and more orderly proceeding therein, the moſt generall be firſt diſcuſſed, nor any queſtion left of, nor in each queſtion the proſecution of any one argument giuen ouer and another taken in hand, till the iſſue whereunto by replies and anſwers both parts are come, be collected, read and acknowledged aſwell on the one ſide as on the other, to bee the plaine concluſion which they are growne vnto. Thirdly for auoyding of the manifold inconueniences whereunto ordinarie and extemporall diſputes are ſubiect, as alſo becauſe if yee ſhould ſingly diſpute one by one as euery mans owne wit did beſt ſerue, it might be conceiued by the reſt that happily ſome other would haue done more; the chiefeſt of you doe all agree in this action, that

whom

whom yee ſhall then chooſe your ſpeaker, by him that which is publikely brought into diſputation be acknowledged by all your conſents not to bee his allegation but yours, ſuch as yee all are agreed vpon, and haue required him to deliuer in all your names: the true copy whereof being taken by a notarie, that a reaſonable time be allowed for returne of anſwere vnto you in the like forme. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences haue beene had in other cauſes with the leſſe effectuall ſucceſſe, by reaſon of partiall and vntrue reports, publiſhed afterwards vnto the world, that to preuent this euil, there be at the firſt a ſolemne declaration made on both parts of their agreement to haue that very booke and no other ſet abroad, wherein their preſent authorized notaries doe write thoſe things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their owne open teſtimony acknowledged to bee their owne. Other circumſtances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for preuention of impertinent and needleſſe ſpeech, or to any end and purpoſe elſe, they may bee thought on when occaſion ſerueth. In this ſort to broach my priuate conceipt for the ordering of a publike action, I ſhould be loath, (albeit I doe it not otherwiſe then vnder correction of them whoſe grauitie and wiſedome ought in ſuch caſes to ouerrule) but that ſo venturous boldneſſe I ſee is a thing now generall, and am thereby of good hope that where all men are licenſed to offend, no man will ſhew himſelfe a ſharp accuſer.

No end of contention, without ſubmiſſion of both parts vnto ſome definitiue ſentence.

6 What ſucceſſe God may giue vnto any ſuch kind of conference or diſputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right ſure, that nature, Scripture, and experience it ſelfe, haue all taught the world to ſeeke for the ending of contentions by ſubmitting it ſelfe vnto ſome iudiciall and definitiue ſentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may vnder any pretence or colour refuſe to ſtand. This muſt needs be effectuall and ſtrong. As for other meanes without this, they ſeldome preuaile. I would therefore know whether for the ending of theſe irkſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your followers doe ſtand thus formally deuided againſt the authoriſed guides of this Church, and the reſt of the people ſubiect vnto their charge, whether I ſay yee be content to referre your cauſe to any other higher iudgement then your owne; or elſe intend to perſiſt and proceed as ye haue begun, till your ſelues can be perſwaded to condemne your ſelues. If your determination be this, we can be but ſory that ye ſhould deſerue to be reckened with ſuch, of whom God himſelfe pronounceth, The way of peace they haue not knowne. Waies of peaceable concluſion there are but theſe two certaine: the one, a ſentence of iudiciall deciſion giuen by authority therto appointed within our ſelues; the other, the like kind of ſentence giuen by a more vniuerſall authoritie.

Rom.3.17.

ritie. The former of which two wayes God himselfe in the Law prescribeth and his Spirit it was which directeth the very first Christian Churches in the world to vse the later. The ordinance of God in the law was this. If there arise a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene bloud and bloud, betweene plea &c. then shalt thou arise, and goe vp vnto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come vnto the Priests of the Leuites, and vnto the iudge that shall be in those dayes, and aske, and they shall shew thee the sentence of iudgement, and thou shalt doe according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen shew thee; and thou shalt obserue to doe according to all that they enforme thee, according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they shall tell thee shalt thou doe, thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee to the right hand nor to the left. And that man that will doe presumptuously, not harkning vnto the Priest (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there) or vnto the iudge, that man shall dye, and thou shalt take away euill from Israel. *When there grew in the Church of Christ a question*, Whether the Gentiles beleiuing might be saued, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did obserue the rest of those legall rites and ceremonies whereunto the Iewes were bound; *After great dissention and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was, to haue it determined by sentence at Ierusalem: which was accordingly done in a Councell there assembled for the same purpose. Are yee able to alleage any iust and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely yee should not condescend in this controuersie to haue your iudgements ouerruled by some such definitiue sentence, whether it fall out to be giuen with or against you, that so these tedious contentions may cease? Ye will perhaps make answere, that being perswaded already as touching the truth of your cause, yee are not to harken vnto any sentence, no not though Angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostles owne example teacheth: against that men, yea Councels may erre; and that vnlesse the iudgement giuen doe satisfie your mindes, vnlesse it be such as yee can by no further argument oppugne, in a word, vnlesse you perceiue and acknowledge it, your selues consonant with Gods word, to stand vnto it not allowing it, were to sinne against your owne consciences. But consider I beseech you first as touching the Apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Iesus Christ made manifest vnto him euen by intuitiue reuelation, wherein there was no*

Deut. 17.8

Act. 15.

possibilitie of errour: That which you are perswaded of, yee haue it no otherwise then by your owne only probable collection; and therefore such bold asseuerations as in him were admirable, should in your mouthes but argue rashnesse. God was not ignorant that the Priests and Iudges, whose sentence in matters of controuersie hee ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceiued in their iudgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his vnderstanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitiue should preuaile, till the same authoritie perceiuing such ouersight, might afterwards correct or reuerse it, then that strifes shold haue respite to grow, and not come speedily vnto some end. Neither wish we that men should doe any thing which in their hearts they are perswaded they ought not to do, but this perswasion ought (we say) to be fully setled in their hearts, that in litigious and controuersed causes of such quality, the wil of God is to haue them to do whatsoeuer the sentence of iudiciall and finall decision shall determine, yea though it seeme in their priuate opinion to swarue vtterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Iewes did seeme vnto one part or other contending; and yet in this case God did then allow them to doe that which in their priuate iudgement it seemed (yea and perhaps truly seemed) that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion, but of peace; then can he not be the author of our refusall, but of our contentment, to stand vnto some definitiue sentence; without which almost impossible it is, that eyther wee should auoyd confusion, or euer hope to attaine peace. To small purpose had the Councell of Ierusalem beene assembled, if once their determination being set downe, men might afterwards haue defended their former opinions. When therefore they had giuen their definitiue sentence, all controuersie was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwardes were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of iudgement finished their strife, which their disputes before iudgement could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable mans conscience to build the duty of obedience vpon, whatsoeuer his owne opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulnes and selfliking is our nature, that without some definitiue sentence, which being giuen may stand, & a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed; smal hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted, wil in short time quietly end. Now it were in vaine to aske you whether ye could be content that the sentence of any Court already erected, should be so far authorized, as that among the Iewes established by God himselfe, for the determining of all controuersies: That man which wil do presumptuously, not harkning vnto the Priest that standeth before the Lord

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to minister there, nor vnto the Iudge let him die. *Ye haue giuen vs already to vnderstand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Maiesties Court of high Commission, the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Iewes, albeit the power be not so great. The other way happily may like you better, because Maister* Beza *in his last booke saue one written about these matters, professeth himselfe to bee now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that controuersies thereby are made but braules; and therefore wisheth* that in some cõmon lawful assembly of Churches, all these strifes may at once be decided. *Shal there be then in the meane while no* doings? *Yes. There are the waighter matters of the law,* iudgement and mercy and fidelitie. *These things we ought to doe; and these things, while we contend about lesse, we leaue vndone. Happier are they, whom the Lord when he commeth, shall find doing in these things, then disputing about Doctors, Elders and Deacons. Or if there be no remedie but somewhat needs ye must doe which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline; doe that which wisemen, who think some Statute of the Realme more fit to be repealed then to stand in force, are accustomed to doe before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in reexamining more duly your cause, and in more throughly considering of that which ye labour to ouerthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equitie and reason, the law of nature, God and man, doe all fauour that which is in being, till orderly iudgement of decision be giuen against it; it is but iustice to exact of you, and pernersnesse in you it should be to denie thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I iudge it a thing allowable for men to obserue those lawes, which in their hearts they are stedfastly perswaded to be against the law of God: but your perswasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend, and in otherwise doing, ye offend against God, by troubling his Church without any iust or necessary cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to thinke hardly of our lawes. Are those reasons demonstratiue, are they necessary, or but meere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstratiue is such, as being proposed vnto any man and vnderstood, the minde cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason discharged I grant the conscience, & setteth it at ful liberty. For the publik approbation giuen by the body of this whole Church vnto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore vnto a necessary proofe that they are not good, it must giue place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can shew, that all the Books yee haue hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be*

Presbyt. de excom. & presbyt.

Mat. 23. 23.

giuen. As for probabilities, what thing was there euer set downe so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable shew against it might be made? Is it meete that when publikely things are receiued and haue taken place, generall obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that priuate person led with some probable conceipt, should make open protestation, Peter or Iohn disallow them, and pronounce them nought. In which case your answere will be, that concerning the lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a priuate man, but of thousands, yea & euen of those amongst which diuers are in publique charge and authoritie. As though when publique consent of the whole hath established any thing, euery mans iudgement being thereunto compared were not priuate, howsoeuer his calling be to some kind of publike charge. So that of peace and quietnesse there is not any way possible, vnlesse the probable voice of euery intire society or body politique, ouerrule all priuate of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually prooueth, that God being author of peace and not of confusion in the Church, must needs be author of those mens peaceable resolutions, who concerning these things, haue determined with themselues to thinke and doe as the Church they are of, decreeth, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

7.C.3.p. 171.

7. Nor is mine own intent any other in these seuerall Bookes of discourse, then to make it appeare vnto you, that for the Ecclesiastical lawes of this land we are led by great reason to obserue them, and yee by no necessity bound to impugne them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set vpon the face of this cause any fairer glasse then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeuour is to resolue the conscience, and to shew as neare as I can what in this controuersie the heart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere iudgement, without either cloud of preiudice or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore seeing that lawes and ordinances in particular, whether such as we obserue, or such as your selues would haue established, when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs haue often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kindes, and qualities of lawes in generall, whereof vnlesse it be throughly enformed, there will appeare no certainty to stay our perswasion vpon: I haue for that cause set downe in the first place an introduction on both sides needfull to bee considered: Declaring therein what law is, how different kindes of lawes there are, and what force they are of according vnto each kinde. This done, because yee suppose the lawes for which yee striue are found in Scripture; but those vnto against which we striue; and vpon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the verie

The matter contained in these eight Bookes

ry maine pillar of your whole cause, that Scripture ought to be the onely rule of all our actions, *and consequently that the Church-orders which we obserue being not commanded in Scripture, are offensiue and displeasant vnto God: I haue spent the second Booke in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon yee build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will haue alwayes a Church vpon earth while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in neede of gouernment, of which gouernment it behoooueth himselfe to be both the authour and teacher: so it cannot stand with dutie, that man should euer presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore,* That in Scripture there must of necessity be fouud some particular forme of Ecclesiasticall politie, the lawes whereof admit not any kinde of alteration. *The first three Bookes being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cause, vnto your generall accusations against vs, as hauing in the orders of our Church (for so you pretend)* corrupted the right forme of Church-politie with manifolde popish Rites and Ceremonies, which certaine reformed Churches haue banished from amongst them, and haue thereby giuen vs such example as (*you thinke*) we ought to follow. *This your assertion hath herein drawne vs to make search, whether these be iust exceptions against the customes of our Church, when ye pleade that they are the same which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the same which some other reformed Churches haue deuised. Of those foure Bookes which remaine and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lyeth in controuersie, the first examineth the causes by you alleaged, wherefore the publike duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our Sacraments and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with vs they are; nor that power whereby the persons of men are consecrated vnto the Ministery, be disposed of in such manner as the lawes of this Church doe allow. The second and third are concerning the power of iurisdiction: the one, whether lay men such as your gouerning Elders are, ought in all congregations for euer to be inuested with that power; the other, whether Bishops may haue that power ouer other Pastors, and therewithall that honour which with vs they haue. And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons haue, and the power of iurisdiction which neither they all, nor they only haue, there is a third power, a power of Ecclesiasticall Dominion, communicable, as we thinke vnto persons not Ecclesiasticall, and most fit to be restrained vnto the Prince our Soueraigne commander ouer the whole body politique: the eight booke we haue allotted vnto this question, and haue sifted therein your*

obiections againſt thoſe preeminences royal wherunto appertain. Thus haue I layed before you the briefe of theſe my trauailes, and preſented vnder your view the limmes of that cauſe litigious betweene vs: the whole intire body whereof being thus compact, it ſhall bee no troubleſome thing for any man to find each particular controuerſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How iuſt cauſe there is to feare the manifold dangerous euents likely to enſue vpon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8 The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore my brethren, as it doth, the wiſdome of gouernors ye muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange & dangerous innouations, which are more then likely to follow, if your diſcipline ſhould take place, haue for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their dutie to withſtand your endeuours that way. The rather, for that they haue ſeene alreadie ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruites thereof, in them, who concurring with you in iudgement about the neceſſitie of that diſcipline, haue aduentured without more adoe, to ſeparate themſelues from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe mens haſtines the warier ſort of you doth not commend, yee wiſh they had held themſelues longer in, and not ſo daungerouſly flowne abroad before the feathers of the cauſe had been growne: their errour with mercifull termes ye reproue, naming them in great commiſeration of mind, your poore brethrē. They on the contrarie ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their falſe brethren, and againſt you they pleade ſaying: From your breaſts it is, that wee haue ſucked thoſe things, which when yee deliuered vnto vs, yee termed that heauenly, ſincere, and wholeſome milke of Gods word, howſoeuer yee now abhorre as poyſon that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in vs. Ye ſometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we haue had moſt ſweete conſultations, are now become our profeſſed aduerſaries, becauſe wee thinke the Statute-congregations in England to bee no true Chriſtian Churches; becauſe we haue ſeuered our ſelues from them, and becauſe without their leaue or licence that are in Ciuill authoritie, wee haue ſecretly framed our owne Churches according to the platforme of the worde of God. For of that point betweene you and vs there is no controuerſie. Alas what would yee haue vs to doe? At ſuch time as yee were content to accept vs in the number of your owne, your teachings we heard, we read your writings: and though wee would, yet able wee are not to forget with what zeale yee haue euer profeſt, that in the Engliſh congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according vnto their owne lawes,) the very publique ſeruice of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heapes of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning forme, borrowed from the ſhoppe of Antichriſt; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the moſt holy: the

1. Pet. 2. 2.

Pſal. 55. 13.

kinde

kinde of their gouernment by Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Antichriſtian, that diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tyed, that is to ſay, ſo vnited vnto his Church, that wee cannot accompt it really to be his Church, which hath not in it the ſame diſcipline, that very diſcipline no leſſe there deſpiſed, then in the higheſt throne of Antichriſt, all ſuch partes of the word of God as doe any way concerne that Diſcipline, no leſſe vnſoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized Engliſh Paſtors, then by Antichriſts factors themſelues, at Baptiſme croſſing, at the ſupper of the Lord kneeling, at both a number of other the moſt notorious badges of Antichriſtian recogniſance vſuall. Being moued with theſe and the like your effectuall diſcourſes, whereunto we gaue moſt attentiue eare, till they entred euen into our ſoules, and were as fire within our boſomes; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accompted a true Church of Chriſt, yee by accuſing all congregations ordered according to the lawes of England as Antichriſtian, did meane to condemne thoſe congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Chriſtian Church. Yee tell vs now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatnings of them, who profeſſing thẽſelues the inhabitants of mount Sion, were too loath to depart wholly as they ſhould out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearefully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo neere her confines, leaſt her plagues might ſuddenly ouertake vs, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſinnes: for ſo wee could not chuſe but acknowledge with griefe that we were, when they doing euill, we by our preſence in their aſſemblies ſeemed to like thereof, or at leaſt wiſe not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glory. For aduenturing to erect the diſcipline of Chriſt without the leaue of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, happily ye may condemne vs as fooles, in that we hazard thereby our eſtates and perſons, further then you which are that way more wiſe thinke neceſſary: but of any offence or ſinne therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe vs when your owne poſitions are, that the things we obſerue ſhould euery of them be dearer vnto vs then ten thouſand liues; that they are the peremptory commandements of God; that no mortall man can diſpenſe with them, and that the Magiſtrate grieuouſly ſinneth in not conſtraining thereunto? Will yee blame any man for doing that of his owne accord, which all men ſhould be compelled to doe that are not willing of themſelues? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwer that we will obey, if ſo be Cæſar will grant vs leaue? Is diſcipline an Eccleſiaſticall matter or a Ciuill? If an Eccleſiaſticall, it muſt of neceſſitie belong to the duty of the Miniſter. And the Miniſter (ye ſay) holdeth all his authority of doing

Pref. againſt D. Bancr.

doing whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the ſpirituall charge of the houſe of God euen immediatly from God himſelfe, without dependency vpon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as wee ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to bee vnder the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelfe hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor doe we finde that hitherto greatly ye haue diſliked thoſe Churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly miniſters, haue euen againſt the will of the Magiſtrate brought in either the doctrine or diſcipline of Ieſus Chriſt: For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you, which our Sauiour did ſometime vtter concerning falſe harted Scribes and Phariſes, They ſay and do not. *Thus the*
Math. 23.3. *fooliſh Barrowiſt deriueth his ſchiſme by way of concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainely out of your principles. Him therefore wee leaue to be ſatiſſied by you from whome he hath ſprung. And if ſuch by your owne acknowledgement bee perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they haue made are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likely to inſue throughout all ſtates and vocations within this land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought vpon. Firſt concerning the ſupreme power of the higheſt, they are no ſmall prerogatiues, which now thereunto belonging the forme of your diſcipline will conſtraine it to reſigne, as in the laſt booke of this treatiſe we haue ſhewed at large. Againe it may iuſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobilitie, when the matter came in tryall, would contentedly ſuffer themſelues to bee alwayes at the call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of meane perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poore teacher, a man (as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeake, yet little or no whit apter to iudge then the reſt: from whom, be their dealings neuer ſo abſurd (vnleſſe it be by way of complaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made vnto any one of higher power, in asmuch as the order of your diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequalitie of Courts, no ſpirituall iudge to haue any ordinary ſuperiour on earth, but as many ſupremacies as there are pariſhes and ſeuerall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe that ſo many do feare the ouerthrow of all learning, as a threatned ſequele of this your intended diſcipline. For if the* worlds perſeruation
Sap. 6.24. *depend vpon* the multitude of the wiſe; *and of that ſorte the number*
Eccl. 26.29. *hereafter be not likely to waxe ouer great,* when (*that wherewith the ſonne of Syrach profeſseth himſelfe* at the heart grieued) men of vnderſtanding are *already ſo* little ſet by: *how ſhould their mindes whome the loue of ſo precious a Jewell filleth with ſecret iealouſie euen in regard of the leaſt things, which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, chuſe but*

miſdoubt

miſdoubt leaſt this diſcipline, which alwaies you match with diuine doctrin as her naturall and true ſiſter, be found vnto all kinds of knowledge a ſtep-mother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed vnto the chiefeſt kind of learning, ye ſeeke vtterly to extirpate as weedes; and haue grounded your platforme on ſuch propoſitions, as do after a ſort vndermine thoſe moſt renowned habitations, where through the goodneſſe of almighty God all commendable arts and ſciences are with exceeding great induſtrie hitherto (and ſo may they for euer continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, and profeſt. To charge you as purpoſely bent to the ouerthrow of that wherein ſo many of you haue attained no ſmall perfection, were iniurious. Only therfore I wiſh that your ſelues did well conſider how oppoſite certaine your poſitions are vnto the ſtate of Collegiate ſocieties, whereon the two Vniuerſities conſiſt. Thoſe degrees which their ſtatutes bind them to take, are by your lawes taken away; your ſelues who haue ſought them ye ſo excuſe, as that ye would haue men to thinke ye iudge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with for ſome helpe which ye find in them vnto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your lawes forbidding Eccleſiaſticall perſons vtterly the exerciſe of Ciuill power, muſt needs deprive the Heads and Maiſters in the ſame Colledges of all ſuch authority as now they exerciſe, either at home, by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who not as children to their parents by the law of Nature, but altogether by Ciuill authority are ſubiect vnto them, or abroad, by keeping Courts amongſt their tenants. Your lawes making permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters a thing repugnant to the word of God enforce thoſe Colledges, the Seniors whereof are all or any part of them Miniſters vnder the gouernment of a Maſter in the ſame vocation, to chooſe as oft as they meete together a new preſident. For if ſo ye iudge it neceſſary to do in Synods, for the auoiding of permanent inequalitie amongſt Miniſters, the ſame cauſe muſt needs euen in theſe Collegiate aſſemblies enforce the like. Except peraduenture ye meane to auoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſoluing thoſe Corporations, and by bringing the Vniuerſities vnto the forme of the Schoole of Geneua. Which thing men the rather are enclined to looke for, in aſmuch as the miniſterie, where into their founders with ſingular prouidence haue by the ſame ſtatutes appointed them neceſſarily to enter at a certaine time, your lawes bind them much more neceſſarily to forbeare, till ſome pariſh abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the law Ciuill is, that the knowledge thereof might be ſpared, as a thing which this land doth not need. Profeſſors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to ſpurne at them, and not to diſſemble your minds as conerning their remoouall: in

Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50.

whoſe

whoſe ſtudies although my ſelfe haue not much beene conuerſant; neuertheleſſe exceeding great cauſe I ſee there is to wiſh that thereunto more encouragement were giuen, as well for the ſingular treaſures of wiſedome therein conteined, as alſo for the great vſe we haue thereof both in deciſion of certaine kinds of cauſes ariſing daily within our ſelues, and eſpecially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is moſt requiſite: The reaſons wherewith ye would perſwade that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in euery reſpect as effectuall for proofe that the ſame is the onely law whereby to determine all our Ciuill controuerſies. And then what doth let, but that as thoſe men may haue their deſire, who frankely broch it already that the worke of reformation will neuer bee perfect, till the law of Jeſus Chriſt bee receiued alone; ſo pleaders and Counſellors may bring their bookes of the Common law, and beſtow them as the ſtudents of curious and needles arts did theirs in the Apoſtles time? I leaue them to ſcanne how farre thoſe words of yours may reach, wherin ye declare that whereas now many houſes lye waſte through inordinate ſuits of law,

Act. 19. 19.

Humb. Mot. p. 74.

This one thing will ſhew the excellencie of Diſcipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subiects, that the Church is to cenſure ſuch a party who is apparantly troubleſome and contentious, and without REASON ABLE CAVSE vpon a meere wil and ſtomacke doth vexe and moleſt his brother and trouble the Country. *For mine owne part I doe not ſee but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your diſcipline were fully planted, euen to ſend out your writs of ſurceaſe vnto all Courts of England beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceed and deſcend lower. But for as much as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties your anſwer is, that we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to Gods will, not which be moſt for our owne eaſe; and therefore that your diſcipline being (for ſuch is your errour) the abſolute commandement of Almighty God, it muſt be receiued although the world by receiuing it ſhould be cleane turned vpſide downe; herein lyeth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of diuine authoritie is vſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the commandements of God, but your owne erronius collections; on him yee muſt father whatſoeuer ye ſhall afterwards be led, either to doe in withſtanding the aduerſaries of your cauſe, or to thinke in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of error, the mind once imagining it ſelfe to ſeeke the execution of Gods will, laboureth foorthwith to remooue both things and perſons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes if any ſtrange or new thing ſeeme re-*

Counterp. p. 108.

quiſite

quiſite to be done, a ſtrange and new opinion concerning the lawfulneſſe thereof, is withall receiued and broched vnder countenance of diuine authoritie. One example herein may ſerue for many, to ſhew that falſe opinions touching the will of God to haue things done, are woont to bring foorth mighty and violent practiſes againſt the hinderances of them; and thoſe practiſes new opinions more pernicious then the firſt, yea moſt extremely ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeeme to intend. Where the people tooke vpon them the reformation of the Church by caſting out popiſh ſuperſtition, they hauing receiued from their Paſtors a generall inſtruction that whatſoeuer the heauenly Father hath not planted, muſt bee rooted out, proceeded in ſome forrein places ſo farre, that downe went oratories and the very temples of God themſelues. For as they chanced to take the compaſſe of their commiſſion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſſe moderate. Amongſt others there ſprung vp preſently one kind of men, with whoſe zeale and forwardneſſe the reſt being compared, were thought to be maruellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelues on rules more generall; that whatſoeuer the law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the author; and that whatſoeuer Antichriſt or his adherents did in the world, the true profeſſors of Chriſt are to vndoe; found out many things more then others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceipt as neceſſary as of any thing before remooued. Hereupon they ſecretly made their dolefull complaints euery where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profeſſe ſome diſlike of that which was euill in the Kingdome of darkneſſe, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not ſeene; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeuour to purge the truth of all manner euill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteouſneſſe only ſhould dwell. Priuate repentance they ſaid muſt appeare by euery mans faſhioning his own life contrary vnto the cuſtome and orders of this preſent world, both in greater things and in leſſe. To this purpoſe they had alwayes in their mouths thoſe greater things, Charity, Faith, the true feare of God, the Croſſe, the mortification of the fleſh. All their exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this world, to count riches and honors vanity, and in token thereof not onely to ſeeke neither, but if men were poſſeſſors of both, euen to caſt away the one and reſigne the other, that all men might ſee their vnfained conuerſion vnto Chriſt. They were ſollicitors of men to faſts, to often meditations of heauenly things, & as it were conferences in ſecret with God by praiers, not framed according to the frozen maner of the world, but expreſſing ſuch feruēt deſires as might euen force God to hearken vnto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture

Mat. 15. 13

Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabapti-ſtes p. 4.

p. 5.

p. 16 p. 118. 119.

furniture of house, or any other way obserners of Ciuilitie, and decent order,
120. but they reprooued as being carnally and earthly minded. Euery word o-
p.116. therwise then seuerely and sadly vttered, seemed to pierce like a sword thorow them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with
p.124. sighs to repeate those words of our Sauiour Christ, Wo be to you which
Luc.6.12. now laugh, for ye shall lament. So great was their delight to be alwayes in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their liues, they iudged of all
p.117. other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to crosse the ordinary custome in euery thing, that when other men vse was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselues openly abroad in worse: the ordinary names of the dayes in the weeke they thought it a kind of prophanesse to vse, and therefore accustomed themselues to make no other distinction then by numbers, The First, Second, Third day. From this they proceeded vnto publike reformation, first Ecclesiasticall, and then Ciuill.
p.40. Touching the former, they boldly auouched, that themselues only had the truth, which thing vpon perill of their liues they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles liued, the same was neuer before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore that things might againe bee brought to that ancient integritie which Iesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to controule the Ministers of the Gospel for attributing so much force and vertue vnto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to conuert the soule of man, or to worke any such spirituall diuine effect, these speeches are not therewnto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in vs by the power of the holy Ghost opening the eyes of our vnderstanding, and so reuealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Ieremy promised
Ier.31.34. before should be, saying, I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The Booke of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their
p.29. opinions then onely by allegation of Scripture they would not heare; besides it, they thought no other writings in the world should bee studied; in so much as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects vnto humane writings, so farre to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any Bookes saue the holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publiquely on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange phantasticall opinion soeuer at any time entered into their heads, their vse was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Sauiours incarnation, the state of soules departed, and such like, are things needlesse to be rehearsed. And for as

much

much as they were of the same suite with those of whome the Apostle speaketh, saying, They are still learning, but neuer attaine to the knowledge of truth; *it was no maruaile to see them euery day broach some newe thing, not heard of before. Which restlesse leuitie they did interpret to be their growing to spirituall perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this meane in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose braine was not possest with some speciall mystery. Whereupon although their mutuall contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselues: yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the aduersaries of their faction, they had wayes to licke one another whole, the sounder in his owne perswasion, excusing* THE DEARE BRETHREN, *which were not so farre enlightned, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them notwithstanding their swaruing from him in some things. Their owne ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God: the rest their manner was to terme disdainefully Scribes and Pharises, to accompt their calling an humaine creature, and to detaine the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments; Baptisme administred in the Church of Rome, they iudged to bee but an execrable mockery and no Baptisme; both becausse the Ministers thereof in the papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, theeues, and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to Baptize is a proper action belonging vnto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrists synagogue. The custome of vsing Godfathers and Godmothers at Christnings they scorned. Baptising of infants, although confest by themselues to haue beene continued euen sithence the very Apostles owne times, yet they altogether condemned: partly becausse sundry errours are of no lesse antiquity; and partly for that there is no commaundement in the Gospell of Christ, which sayth,* Baptize infants, *but bee contrariwise in saying,* Goe preach and Baptize, *doth appoint that the minister of Baptisme shall in that action first administer Doctrine, and then Baptisme, as also in saying,* whosoeuer doth beleeue and is Baptized, *he appointeth that the party to whome Baptisme is administred shall first beleeue, and then be Baptised; to the end that beleeuing may goe before this Sacrament in the receiuer, no otherwise then preaching in the giuer, sith equally in both, the law of Christ declareth not onely what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they receiued (pretending our Lord and Sauiours example) after supper: and for auoiding*

2. Tim. 3. 7.
Pag. 65. 66.
Pag. 135.
Pag. 25.
Pag. 71.
124.
764.
748.
512.
518.
722.
726.
688.
Pag. 38.

all thoſe impieties which haue beene grounded vpon the myſticall wordes of Chriſt, This is my body, This is my bloud; *they thought it not ſafe to mention either body or bloud in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to vſe no words but theſe*, Take, eate, declare the death of our Lord: drincke, ſhew foorth our Lords death. *In Rites and Ceremonies their profeſſion was hatred of all conformitie with the Church of Rome: for which cauſe they would rather indure any torment then obſerue the ſolemne feſtiuals which others did, in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was the firſt inuentor of them. The pretended end of their Ciuill reformation, was that Chriſt might haue dominion ouer all, that all crownes and ſcepters might bee throwne downe at his feete, that no other might raigne ouer Chriſtian men but hee, no regiment keepe them in awe but his Diſcipline; amongſt them no ſword at all bee carried beſides his, the ſword of ſpirituall excommunication. For this cauſe they laboured with all their might in ouerturning the ſeates of Magiſtracy, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid*, Kings of Nations; *in aboliſhing the execution of iuſtice, becauſe Chriſt hath ſayd*, Reſiſt not euill; *in forbidding oathes the neceſſary meanes of iudiciall tryall, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid*, Sweare not at all; *finally in bringing in community of goods, becauſe Chriſt by his Apoſtles hath giuen the world ſuch example to the end that men might excell one another, not in wealth the pillar of ſecular authority, but in vertue. Theſe men at the firſt were onely pittied in their errour, and not much withſtood by any; the great humilitie, zeale and deuotion which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmleſſe meaning. The bardeſt that men of ſound vnderſtanding conceiued of them was but this*, O quam honeſta voluntate miſeri erant? With how good a meaning theſe poore ſoules doe euill. *Luther made requeſt vnto Fredericke Duke of Saxony, that within his dominion they might be fauourably dealt with and ſpared, for that (their error exempted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good men. By meanes of which merciſull tolleration they gathered ſtrength, much more then was ſafe for the ſtate of the common wealth wherein they liued. They had their ſecret corner-meetings and aſſemblies in the night, the people flocked vnto them by thouſands: The meanes whereby they both allured and retained ſo great multitudes were moſt effectuall; firſt a wonderfull ſhew of zeale towards God, wherewith they ſeemed to bee euen rapt in euery thing they ſpake: ſecondly an hatred of ſinne, and a ſingular loue of integrity, which men did thinke to be much more then ordinary in them, by reaſon of the cuſtome which they had to fill the eares of the people with inuectiues againſt their authorized*

p. 122.

p. 841.

833.

849.

40.

Lactant. de

Iuſtit. lib. 5. Cap. 19. p 6.

p 4.20

55.

guides

guides as well ſpirituall as ciuill: thirdly the bountifull reliefe wherwith they eaſed the broken eſtate of ſuch needy creatures, as were in that reſpect the more apt to be drawn away: fourthly a tender compaſſion which they were thought to take vpon the miſeries of the common ſort, ouer whoſe heads their manner was euen to powre downe ſhowers of teares in complaining that no reſpect was had vnto them, that their goods were deuoured by wicked cormorants, their perſons had in contempt, all liberty both temporall and ſpirituall taken from them, that it was high time for God now to heare their grones, and to ſend them deliuerance: laſtly a cunning ſlight which they had to ſtroke and ſmooth vp the mindes of their followers, as well by appropriating vnto them all the fauourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as alſo by caſting the contrary alwayes on the heads of ſuch as were ſeuered from that retinue. Whereupon the peoples common acclamation vnto ſuch deceiuers was, Theſe are verily the men of God, theſe are his true and ſincere Prophets. If any ſuch Prophet or man of God did ſuffer by order of law condigne and deſerued puniſhment; were it for fellony, rebellion, murder, or what elſe, the people (ſo ſtrangely were their hearts inchanted) as though bleſſed Saint Stephen had beene againe martyred, did lament that God tooke away his moſt deere ſeruants from them. In all theſe things being fully perſwaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men ſhould doe the like, there remained after ſpeculation practiſe, whereby the whole world thereVnto (if it were poſsible) might bee framed. This they ſaw could not be done, but with mighty oppoſition and reſiſtance: againſt which to ſtrengthen themſelues, they ſecretly entred into a league of aſſociation. And peraduenture conſidering, that although they were many, yet long warres would in time waſte them out; they began to thinke whether it might not be that God would haue them doe for their ſpeedy and mighty increaſe, the ſame which ſometime Gods owne choſen people, the people of Iſrael did. Glad and faine they were to haue it ſo: which very deſire was it ſelfe apt to breed both an opinion of poſsibilitie, and a willingneſſe to gather arguments of likelihood, that ſo God himſelfe would haue it. Nothing more cleare vnto their ſeeming, then that a newe Ieruſalem being often ſpoken of in Scripture, they vndoubtedly were themſelues that new Ieruſalem, and the olde did by way of a certain [illegible]ratiue reſemblance ſignifie what they ſhould both bee and doe. Here they drewe in a Sea of matter, by applying all thinges vnto their owne companie, which are any where ſpoken concerning diuine fauours and benefits beſtowed vpon the old Common-wealth of Iſrael; concluding that as Iſrael was deliuered out of

Pag. 6. 7. 7. 27. 8.

Ægypt, ſo they ſpiritually out of the Ægypt of this worldes ſeruile thraldome vnto ſinne and ſuperſtition; as Iſrael was to root out the Idolatrous nations and to plant inſteed of them a people which feared God, ſo the ſame Lords goodwill and pleaſure was now, that theſe new Iſralites ſhould vnder the conduct of other Ioſuaes, Sampſons, and Gedeons, performe a worke no leſſe miraculous in caſting out violently the wicked from the earth, and eſtabliſhing the kingdome of Chriſt with perfect liberty: and therefore as the cauſe why the children of Iſrael tooke vnto one man many wiues, might be leaſt the caſualties of war ſhould any way hinder the promiſe of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; ſo it was not vnlike that for the neceſſary propagation of Chriſts kingdom vnder the Goſpel, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatſoeuer they did in ſuch ſort collect out of Scripture, when they came to iuſtifie or perſwade it vnto others, all was the heauenly Fathers appointment, his commandement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I haue gathered this declaration. For my purpoſe herein is to ſhew, that when the minds of men are once erroniouſly perſwaded, that it is the will of God to haue thoſe things done which they phancy; their opinions are as thornes in their ſides, neuer ſuffering them to take reſt till they haue brought their ſpeculations into practiſe: the lets & impediments of which practiſe their reſtleſſe deſire and ſtudy to remoue, leadeth them euery day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, ſometimes quite & cleane contrary to their firſt pretended meanings: ſo as what will grow out of ſuch errors as goe masked vnder the cloake of diuine authoritie, impoſſible it is, that euer the wit of man ſhould imagine, till time haue brought forth the fruits of them: for which cauſe it behoueth wiſedome to feare the ſequels thereof, euen beyond all apparãt cauſe of feare. Theſe men in whoſe mouthes at the firſt, ſounded nothing but onely mortification of the fleſh; were come at the length to thinke they might lawfully haue their ſix or ſeuen wiues apeece: they which at the firſt thought iudgement and iuſtice it ſelfe to bee mercileſſe cruelty; accompted at the length their owne hands ſanctified with being imbrued in Chriſtian bloud: they who at the firſt were wont to beate downe all dominion, and to vrge againſt poore Conſtables, Kings of Nations, beat at the length both Conſuls & Kings of their own erection amongſt the[illegible]s: finally they which could not brook at the firſt that any man ſhould ſeeke, no not by law, the recouery of goods iniuriouſly taken or withheld from him; were growne at the laſt to thinke they could not offer vnto God more acceptable ſacrifice, then by turning their aduerſaries cleane out of houſe and home, and by inriching themſelues with all kind of ſpoile and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they

P. 41.

had

had in a readines their anſwer, that now the time was come, whē according to our Sauiours promiſe, The meeke ones muſt inherite the earth, *and that their title hereunto was the ſame which the righteous Iſralites had vnto the goods of the wicked Egyptians. Wherfore ſith the world hath had in theſe men ſo freſh experience, how dangerous ſuch actiue errors are, it muſt not offend you though touching the ſequel of your preſent miſperſwaſions much more be doubted, then your own intents and purpoſes do happily aime at. And yet your words already are ſomewhat, when yee affirme that your paſtors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of England,* whether her Maieſty and our ſtate wil or no; *when for the animating of your confederates ye publiſh the muſters which ye haue made of your own bands, & proclaime thē to amount I know not to how many thouſands; when ye threaten, that ſith neither your ſuites to the Parliament, nor ſupplications to our Cōuocation houſe, neither your defences by writing, nor chalenges of diſputation in behalf of that cauſe are able to preuaile, we muſt blame our ſelues if to bring in diſcipline ſome ſuch meanes hereafter be vſed as ſhall cauſe all our harts to ake.* That things doubtfull are to be conſtered in the better part, *is a principle not ſafe to be followed in matters concerning the publike ſtate of a cōmonweale. But howſoeuer theſe and the like ſpeechs be accompted as arrowes idly ſhot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting place: hath not your longing deſire for the practiſe of your diſcipline, brought the matter already vnto this demurrer amongſt you, whether the people & their godly paſtors that way affected, ought not to make ſeparation from the reſt, and to begin the exerciſe of diſcipline without the licence of ciuil powers, which licence they haue ſought for, and are not heard? Vpon which queſtion as ye haue now deuided your ſelues, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other; ſo in caſe theſe earneſt ones ſhould preuaile, what other ſequell can any wiſeman imagine but this, that hauing firſt reſolued that attempts for diſcipline without ſuperiors are lawful, it wil follow in the next place to be diſputed what may be attempted againſt ſuperiors which wil not haue the ſcepter of that diſcipline to rule ouer them? Yea euen by you which haue ſtayed your ſelues from running headlong with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath beene done without the leaue or liking of your lawfull ſuperiours, for the exerciſe of a part of your diſcipline amongſt the Cleargy thereunto addicted. And leaſt examination of principall parties therein ſhould bring thoſe things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings, behold for a bar againſt that impediment, one opinion ye haue newly added vnto the reſt euen vpō this occaſion, an opiniō to exempt*

Matth. 5. 5. Exod. 11. 2.

Mart. in his 3. libel. pa. 28.

Demonſtr. in the Preſ.

you from taking oathes, which may turne to the moleſtation of your brethren in that cauſe. The next neighbour opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for diſpenſation with oathes already taken, if they afterwards bee found to import a neceſſitie of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good men into trouble or damage, whatſoeuer the cauſe be. O merciſull God, what mans wit is there able to ſound the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearefull euils, wherinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to ſinke it ſelfe, rather then to ſhew an acknowledgement of error in that which once we haue vnaduiſedly taken vpon vs to defend, againſt the ſtreame as it were of a contrarie publique reſolution? Wherefore if we any thing reſpect their error, who being perſwaded euen as ye are, haue gone further vpon that perſwaſion then ye allow, if we regard the preſent ſtate of the higheſt gouernour placed ouer vs, if the quality and diſpoſition of our Nobles, if the orders and lawes of our famous Vniuerſities, if the profeſſion of the Ciuill, or the practiſe of the Common law amongſt vs, if the miſchiefes whereinto euen before our eyes ſo many others haue fallen headlong from no leſſe plauſible and faire beginnings then yours are: there is in euery of theſe conſiderations moſt iuſt cauſe to feare, leaſt our haſtineſſe to embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, ſhould cauſe poſteritie to feele thoſe euils, which as yet are more eaſie for vs to preuent, then they would be for them to remedie.

The Concluſion of all.

9. The beſt and ſafeſt way for you therefore my deere brethren is, to all your deeds paſt to a new reckoning, to reexamine the cauſe yee haue taken in hand, and to trie it euen point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactneſſe yee can; to lay aſide the gall of that bitterneſſe wherein your minds haue hitherto ouerabounded, and with meekneſſe to ſearch the truth. Thinke ye are men, deeme it not impoſſible for you to erre: ſift vnpartially your owne hearts, whether it be force of reaſon or vehemencie of affection, which hath bred, and ſtill doth feede theſe opinions in you. If truth doe any where manifeſt it ſelfe, ſeeke not to ſmother it with gloſing deluſion, acknowledge the greatneſſe thereof, and thinke it your beſt victorie when the ſame doth preuaile ouer you.

That yee haue beene earneſt in ſpeaking or writing againe and againe the contrarie way, ſhould bee no blemiſh or diſcredit at all vnto you. Amongſt ſo many ſo huge volumes as the infinite paines of Saint Auguſtine haue brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater loue, commendation and honour, then the Booke wherein hee carefully collecteth his owne ouerſights, and ſincerely condemneth them? Many ſpeeches there are of Iobes, whereby his wiſedome and other vertues may appeare: but the glorie of an ingenuous minde bee hath purchaſed by theſe words onely, Behold, I will

Iob.39.37.

lay

lay mine hand on my mouth; I haue ſpoken once, yet will I not therefore maintaine argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cauſe further I will not proceed. *Farre more comfort it were for vs (ſo ſmall is the ioy we take in theſe ſtrifes) to labour vnder the ſame yoke, as men that looke for the ſame eternall reward of their labours, to be enioyed with you in bands of indiſſoluble loue and amity, to liue as if our perſons being many, our ſoules were but one, rather in ſuch diſmembred ſort to ſpend our few and wretched daies in a tedious proſecuting of weariſome contentions: the end whereof, if they haue not ſome ſpeedy end, will be heauy euen on both ſides. Brought already we are euen to that eſtate which Gregory Nazianzene mournefully deſcribeth, ſaying.*

My minde leadeth me (*ſith there is no other remedy*) to flye and to conuey my ſelfe into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may ſcape from this cloudy tempeſt of maliciouſneſſe, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly warre amongſt themſelues, and that little remnant of loue which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The onely godlineſſe we glory in, is to find out ſomewhat whereby we may iudge others to be vngodly. Each others faults we obſerue, as matter of exprobration, and not of griefe. By theſe meanes we are growne hateful in the eyes of the Heathens themſelues; and (which woundeth vs the more deeply) able wee are not to denie but that we haue deſerued their hatred. With the better ſort of our owne, our fame and credit is cleane loſt. The leſſe wee are to maruell if they iudge vilely of vs, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they alſo build that are lewd, and what we obiect one againſt an other, the ſame they vſe to the vtter ſcorne and diſgrace of vs all. This wee haue gained by our mutuall home diſſentions. This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to ſtriue, then becommeth men of vertuous and milde diſpoſition. *But our truſt in the Almighty is, that with vs contentions are now at their higheſt floate, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpaire is there) when the paſſions of former enmitie being allaied, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our vnfainedly recontiled loue, ſhew our ſelues each towards other the ſame, which Joſeph and the brethren of Ioſeph were at the time of their enteruiew in Ægypt. Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſtie deſire whereof what man ſoeuer amongſt you ſhall any way helpe to ſatisfie, (as we truely hope there is no one amongſt you but ſome way or other will) the bleſſings of the God of peace both in this world and in the world to come, be vppon him more then the ſtarres of the firmament in number.*

Greg. Naz. in Apol.

VVhat things are handled in the *Bookes following.*

THE *first* Booke, concerning Lawes in generall.

THE *second*, of the vſe of diuine Lawe contained in Scripture, whether that be the onely Lawe which ought to ſerue for our direction in all things without exception.

THE *third*, of Lawes concerning Eccleſiaſticall Politie; whether the forme thereof be in Scripture ſo ſet downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

THE *fourth*, of generall exceptions taken againſt the Lawes of our Politie, as being Popiſh and baniſhed out of certaine Reformed Churches.

THE *fift*, of our Lawes that concerne the publike religious duties of the Church; and the maner of beſtowing that power of order, which inableth men in ſundrie degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

THE *ſixt*, of the power of Iuriſdiction, which the reformed platforme claimeth vnto Lay-elders, with others.

THE *ſeuenth*, of the power of Iuriſdiction, and the honor, which is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.

THE *eighth*, of the power of Eccleſiaſticall dominion or ſupreme Authoritie, which with vs the higheſt gouernour or Prince hath, as well in regard of domeſticall Iuriſdictions, as of that other forrainely claimed by the Biſhop of Rome.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The first Booke.

Concerning Lawes, and their ſeuerall kinds *in generall.*

The matter conteined in this firſt Booke.

1 *THE cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe concerning lawes.*
2 *Of that lawe which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelfe to doe all things by.*
3 *The law which naturall agents obſerue, and their neceſſary maner of keeping it.*
4 *The lawe which the Angels of God obey.*
5 *The lawe whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.*
6 *Mens firſt beginning to vnderſtand that lawe.*
7 *Of mans will, which is the firſt thing that lawes of action are made to guide.*
8 *Of the naturall finding out of lawes by the light of reaſon to guide the will vnto that which is good.*
9 *Of the benefit of keeping that lawe which reaſon teacheth.*
10 *How reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about lawes whereby the fellowſhip or communion of independent ſocieties ſtandeth.*
11 *Wherefore God hath by ſcripture further made knowne ſuch ſupernaturall lawes as doe ſerue for mens direction.*
12 *The cauſe why ſo many naturall or rationall lawes are ſet downe in holy ſcripture.*
13 *The benefit of hauing diuine lawes written.*
14 *The ſufficiencie of ſcripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted.*
15 *Of lawes poſitiue conteined in ſcripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vſe of ſcripture.*
16 *A concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.*

The cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe.

HE that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well gouerned as they ought to be, ſhall neuer want attentiue and fauourable hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects whereunto euery kind of regiment is ſubiect, but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publike proceedings are innumerable and ineuitable, they haue not ordinarily the iudgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reproue ſuppoſed diſorders of ſtate are taken for principal friends to the common benefite of all, and for men that carry ſingular freedom of mind; vnder this faire and plauſible colour whatſoeuer they vtter, paſſeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the waight of their ſpeech, is ſupplyed by the aptneſſe of mens minds to accept and beleeue it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintaine things that are eſtabliſhed, we haue not onely to ſtriue with a number of heauie preiudices deepely rooted in the hearts of men, who thinke that herein we ſerue the time, and ſpeake in fauour of the preſent ſtate, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeeke preferment; but alſo to beare ſuch exceptions as minds ſo auerted before hand vſually take againſt that which they are loath ſhould be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that we are to ſpeake in this preſent cauſe, may ſeeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, darke, and intricate, (for many talke of the truth, which neuer ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth, and therefore when they are led thereunto they are ſoone weary, as men drawne from thoſe beaten pathes wherewith they haue bene inured): yet this may not ſo farre preuaile, as to cut off that which the matter it ſelfe requireth, howſoeuer the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They vnto whom we ſhall ſeeme tedious, are in no wiſe iniuried by vs, becauſe it is in their owne hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complaine of obſcuritie, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it commeth no otherwiſe to paſſe, then in ſundry the workes both of art and alſo of nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelfe oftentimes not ſeene. The ſtatelineſſe of houſes, the goodlineſſe of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth vp the one, that roote which miniſtreth vnto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſome of the earth concealed; and if there be at any time occaſion to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary then pleaſant, both to them which vndertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner the vſe and benefite of good lawes, all that liue vnder them may enioy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt originall cauſes from whence they haue ſprung be vnknowne, as to the greateſt part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend that the lawes which they ſhould obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behoueth the very foundation & roote, the higheſt welſpring and fountaine of them to be diſcouered. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to doe, when we doe it, the paines wee take are more needefull a great

great deale then acceptable, and the matters which we handle ſeeme by reaſon of newneſſe, (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) darke, intricate, and vnfamiliar. For as much helpe whereof as may be in this caſe, I haue endeuoured throughout the body of this whole diſcourſe, that euery former part might giue ſtrength vnto all that follow, and euery later bring ſome light vnto all before. So that if the iudgements of men doe but hold themſelues in ſuſpence as touching theſe firſt more generall meditations, till in order they haue peruſed the reſt that enſue: what may ſeeme darke at the firſt will afterwards be found more plaine, euen as the later particular deciſions will appeare I doubt not more ſtrong, when the other haue beene read before. The lawes of the Church, whereby for ſo many ages together wee haue beene guided in the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion, and the ſeruice of the true God, our rites, cuſtomes, and orders of Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, are called in queſtion; wee are accuſed as men that will not haue Chriſt Ieſus to rule ouer them, but haue wilfully caſt his ſtatutes behinde their backes, hating to be reformed, and made ſubiect vnto the ſcepter of his diſcipline. Behold therefore wee offer the lawes whereby wee liue vnto the generall triall and iudgement of the whole world; hartily beſeeching almightie God, whom we deſire to ſerue according to his owne will, that both wee and others (all kinde of partiall affection being cleane laid aſide) may haue eyes to ſee, and hearts to embrace, the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe the point about which wee ſtriue is the qualitie of our lawes, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with conſideration of the nature of lawe in generall, and of that lawe which giueth life vnto all the reſt which are commendable, iuſt, and good, namely the lawe whereby the Eternall himſelfe doth worke. Proceeding from hence to the lawe, firſt of nature, then of ſcripture, we ſhall haue the eaſier acceſſe vnto thoſe things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cauſe and queſtion which we haue in hand.

Of that lawe which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelfe to do all things by.

2 All things that are, haue ſome operation not violent or caſuall. Neither doth any thing euer begin to exerciſe the ſame, without ſome foreconceiued end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obteined, vnleſſe the worke be alſo fit to obteine it by. For vnto euery end euery operation will not ſerue. That which doth aſſigne vnto each thing the kinde, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the forme and meaſure of working, the ſame we tearme a *Lawe*. So that no certaine end could euer be attained, vnleſſe the actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to ſay, made ſuteable, fit, and correſpondent vnto their end, by ſome Canon rule or lawe. Which thing doth firſt take place in the workes euen of God himſelfe. All things therefore doe worke after a ſort according to lawe: all other things according to a lawe, whereof ſome ſuperiours vnto whome they are ſubiect is author; onely the workes and operations of God, haue him both for their worker, and for the lawe whereby they are wrought. The being of God, is a kinde of lawe to his working: for that perfection which God is, giueth perfection to that he doth. Thoſe naturall, neceſſary, and internall operations of God, the *generation* of the Sonne, the *proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compaſſe of my preſent intent: which is to touch onely ſuch opera-

tions as haue their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be. Which eternall decree is that we tearme an eternall lawe. Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the most High; whome although to know be life, and ioy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that wee know him not as indeede hee is, neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence, when we confesse without confession, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatnesse aboue our capacitie and reach. Hee is aboue, and wee vpon earth; therefore sobeth our words to be warie and fewe. Our God is one, or rather very *Oneness* and meere vnitie, hauing nothing ioined to it selfe in it selfe, and not consisting (as all things doe besides God) of many things. In which essentiall vnitie of God, a Trinitie personall neuertheless subsisteth, after a maner far exceeding the possibilitie of mans conceipt. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one deitie, from the Father, by the Sonne, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Sonne doth heare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receiue of the Father, and the Sonne, the same we haue at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last, and therefore the neareſt vnto vs in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned among the very Heathens themselues haue all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither haue they other wise spoken of that cause, then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obserueth in working a most exact *order* or *lawe*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, [a] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegist.* [b] Ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα λόγῳ ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν ἀνεδήσατο. Thus much confest by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *Intellectual* worker. Finally the Stoikes, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held neuertheless that the same fire hauing art, did [c] ὁδῷ καθίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσεις ἄλλας. They all confesse therfore in the working of that first cause, that *counsell* is vsed, *reason* followed, a *way* obserued, that is to say, constant *order* and *law* is kept, whereof it selfe must needs be author vnto it selfe. Otherwise it should haue some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not it selfe be the first. Being the first, it can haue no other then it selfe to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by. God therfore is a law both to himselfe, and to all other things besides. To himselfe he is a law in all those things whereof our Sauiour speaketh, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I.* God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, haue some end for which they are done: and the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created, *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone*, Therefore let vs make an helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leaue vndone were not so good. If therefore it bee demaunded, why God hauing power and habilitie infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as wee see they are: the reason hereof is, the end which hee hath proposed, and the lawe where-

Iohn 16.13.14. 15.

[a] Iupiters counsell was accomplished.

[b] The creator made the whole world not with hands but by reason. *Stob. in eclog. phys.*

[c] Proceed by a certaine and a set way in the making of the world.

Iohn 5.17.

Gen. 2.18.

by

by his wiſedome hath ſtinted the effects of his power in ſuch ſort, that it doth not worke infinitely, but correſpondently vnto that end for which it worketh, euen all things χτισῶι, in moſt decent and comely ſort, all things in *meaſure, number, and weight.* The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exerciſe of his moſt glorious and moſt abundant vertue: Which abundance doth ſhew it ſelfe in varietie, and for that cauſe this varietie is oftentimes in Scripture expreſt by the name of *riches. The Lord hath made all things for his owne ſake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall vnto him, but all things for him to ſhew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of euery act proceeding externally from God, we are not able to diſcerne, and therefore cannot alwaies giue the proper and certaine reaſon of his works. Howbeit vndoubtedly, a proper and certaine reaſon there is of euery finite worke of God, in as much as there is a law impoſed vpon it; which if there were not, it ſhould be infinite euen as the worker himſelfe is. They erre therefore who thinke that of the will of God to doe this or that, there is no reaſon beſides his will. Many times no reaſon knowne to vs; but that there is no reaſon thereof, I iudge it moſt vnreaſonable to imagine, in as much as he worketh all things κατ' βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not onely according to his owne will, but *the counſell of his owne will.* And whatſoeuer is done with counſell or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſitie ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to vs in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of man to ſtand, as the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelfe doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdome and knowledge of God, How vnſearchable are his iudgements, &c!* That law eternall which God himſelfe hath made to himſelfe, and thereby worketh all things wherof he is the cauſe & author; that law in the admirable frame whereof ſhineth with moſt perfect beautie the countenance of that wiſdome which hath teſtified concerning her ſelfe, *The Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, euen before his works of old I was ſet vp;* that lawe which hath bene the patterne to make, and is the Carde to guide the world by; that law which hath bene of God, and with God euerlaſtingly; that law the author and obſeruer whereof is one onely God to be bleſſed for euer; how ſhould either men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The booke of this law we are neither able nor worthie to open and looke into. That little thereof which we darkely apprehend, we admire; the reſt with religious ignorance we humbly and meekely adore. Seeing therefore that according to this law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things*; although there ſeeme vnto vs confuſion and diſorder in the affaires of this preſent world; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, rectè fieri cuncta ne dubites,* Let no man doubt but that euery thing is well done, becauſe the world is ruled by ſo good a guide, as tranſgreſſeth not his owne law, then which nothing can be more abſolute, perfect, and iuſt. The law wherby he worketh, is eternall, and therefore can haue no ſhew or colour of mutabilitie: for which cauſe a part of that law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made, (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but declarations what God will do for the good of men) touching thoſe promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, that God may as poſſibly deny himſelf & not be God, as faile to performe them. And concerning the counſell of God, he termeth it likewiſe a thing *vnchangeable*; the counſell of God, and that law of God whereof now we ſpeake, being one.

Sap.8.1. Sap.11.17. Eph.1.5. Phil.4.19. Col.2.3. Prou.16.4. Ephe.1.11. Rom.11.33. Prou.8.23. Rom.11.36. Boet. lib.4.de Conſol.philoſ. 2.Tim.2.13. Heb.6.17.

Nor is the freedome of the will of God any whit abated, let or hindered by meanes of this; becauſe the impoſition of this law vpon himſelfe is his owne free and voluntary act. This law therefore wee may name eternall, being *that order which God before all ages hath ſet downe with himſelfe, for himſelfe to doe all things by.*

Law Eternal

The law which natural agents haue giuen them to obſerue, and their neceſſary maner of keeping it.

3 I am not ignorant that by law eternall the learned for the moſt part doe vnderſtand the order, not which God hath eternally purpoſed himſelfe in all his works to obſerue, but rather that which with himſelfe he hath ſet downe as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the ſeuerall condition wherewith he hath indued them. They who thus are accuſtomed to ſpeake, apply the name of *Lawe* vnto that onely rule of working which ſuperiour authority impoſeth; whereas we ſomewhat more enlarging the ſenſe thereof, terme any kind of rule or Canon whereby actions are framed, a lawe. Now that lawe which as it is laid vp in the boſome of God, they call *eternall*, receiueth according vnto the different kind of things which are ſubiect vnto it, different and ſundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth naturall agents, we call vſually *natures* law: that which Angels do clearely behold, and without any ſwaruing obſerue, is a law *cæleſtiall* and heauenly: the law of *reaſon*, that which bindeth creatures reaſonable in this world, and with which by reaſon they may moſt plainely perceiue themſelues bound; that which bindeth them, and is not knowne but by ſpeciall reuelation from God, *Diuine* law; *humane* law, that which out of the law either of reaſon or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a lawe. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto *this ſecond law eternall*; and euen thoſe things which to this *eternall* law are not conformable, are notwithſtanding in ſome ſort ordered by *the firſt eternall lawe*. For what good or euill is there vnder the Sunne, what action correſpondent or repugnant vnto the lawe which God hath impoſed vpon his creatures, but in or vpon it God doth worke according to the law which himſelfe hath eternally purpoſed to keepe, that is to ſay, the *firſt law eternall*? So that a two-fold law eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceiue how they both take place in [a] all things. Wherefore to come to the law of nature, albeit thereby we ſometimes meane that manner of working which God hath ſet for each created thing to keepe: yet for as much as thoſe things are tearmed moſt properly naturall agents, which keepe the lawe of their kind vnwittingly, as the heauens and elements of the world, which can doe no otherwiſe then they doe; and for as much as we giue vnto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* agents, that ſo wee may diſtinguiſh them from the other: expedient it wil be, that wee ſeuer the law of nature obſerued by the one, from that which the other is tied vnto. Touching the former, their ſtrict keeping of one tenure, ſtatute and law is ſpoken of by all, but hath in it more then men haue as yet attained to know, or perhaps euer ſhall attaine, ſeeing the trauell of wading herein is giuen of God to the ſonnes of men, that perceiuing

[a] Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, eſt materia legis æternæ.

Th. 1.2.q.93.art.4.5.6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus ſummi creatoris ordinationique ſubtrahitur, à quo pax vniuerſitatis adminiſtratur. Auguſt. de ciu.dei lib.19.c.12. *Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo iuſtè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ ſubjicitur peccatum, quatenus voluntaria legis tranſgreſſio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inferit, iuxta illud Auguſtini*, Iuſſiſti Domine & ſic eſt, vt pœna ſua ſibi ſit omnis animus inordinatus. Confeſ. lib.1. c.12. *Nec male ſcholaſtici*, Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipſo quòd à fine particulari ſuo atq; adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus conſequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipſis in caſu particulari conſtitutum: ſic veriſimile eſt homines etiam cùm peccant & deſciſcunt à lege æternâ vt præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis vt punientis.

ceiuing how much the leaſt thing in the world hath in it more then the wiſeſt are able to reach vnto, they may by this meanes learne humilitie. *Moſes* in deſcribing the worke of creation, attributeth ſpeech vnto God, *God ſaid, Let there be light: Let there be a firmament: Let the waters vnder the heauen be gathered together into one place: Let the earth bring forth: Let there be lights in the firmament of heauen.* Was this onely the intent of *Moſes*, to ſignifie the infinite greatneſſe of Gods power by the eaſineſſe of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without trauell, paine, or labour? Surely it ſeemeth that *Moſes* had herein beſides this a further purpoſe, namely, firſt to teach that God did not worke as a neceſſary, but a voluntary agent, intending before hand and decreeing with himſelfe that which did outwardly proceed from him: ſecondly to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a law naturall to be obſerued by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of lawes, the inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemne iniunction. His commanding thoſe things to be which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, to keepe that tenure and courſe which they doe, importeth the eſtabliſhment of natures law. This worlds firſt creation, and the preſeruation ſince of things created, what is it but only ſo far-forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the eternall lawe of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to paſſe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all ſtates framing themſelues thereunto; euen ſo let vs thinke it fareth in the naturall courſe of the world: ſince the time that God did firſt proclaime the edicts of his law vpon it, heauen and earth haue harkned vnto his voice, and their labour hath bene to do his will: *He made a law for the raine*, He gaue his *decree vnto the ſea, that the waters ſhould not paſſe his commandement.* Now if nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leaue altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſeruation of her owne lawes; if thoſe principall and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, ſhould looſe the qualities which now they haue; if the frame of that heauenly arch erected ouer our heads ſhould looſen and diſſolue it ſelfe; if celeſtiall ſpheares ſhould forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubilitie turne themſelues any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heauen, which now as a Giant doth runne his vnwearied courſe, ſhould as it were through a languiſhing faintneſſe begin to ſtand and to reſt himſelfe; if the Moone ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the yeare blend themſelues by diſordered and confuſed mixture, the winds breath out their laſt gaſpe, the clouds yeeld no rayne, the earth be defeated of heauenly influence, the fruites of the earth pine away as children at the withered breaſts of their mother no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what would become of man himſelfe, whom theſe things now do all ſerue? See wee not plainely that obedience of creatures vnto the lawe of nature is the ſtay of the whole world? Notwithſtanding with nature it commeth ſometimes to paſſe as with arte. Let *Phidias* haue rude and obſtinate ſtuffe to carue, though his arte doe that it ſhould, his worke will lacke that beautie which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might haue had. He that ſtriketh an inſtrument with skill, may cauſe notwithſtanding a very vnpleaſant ſound, if the ſtring whereon he ſtriketh chaunce to be vncapeable of harmonie. In the matter whereof things naturall Pſal. 19. 5.

Theophr. in Metaph.

turall consist, that of Theophrastus taketh place, Πολὺ δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένει ἀεὶ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ, *much of it is oftentimes such as will by no meanes yeeld to receiue that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gaue themselues vnto the contemplation of nature amongst the heathen obserued often: but the true originall cause thereof, diuine malediction, laid for the sinne of man vpon these creatures which God had made for the vse of man; this being an article of that sauing truth which God hath reuealed vnto his Church, was aboue the reach of their meerely naturall capacitie and vnderstanding. But howsoeuer these swaruings are now and then incident into the course of nature, neuertheless so constantly the lawes of nature are by naturall agents obserued, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwaies or for the most part after one and the same manner. If heere it be demaunded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her owne lawe, we must haue recourse to that higher lawe whereof we haue already spoken, and because all other lawes doe thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall neede for briefe resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certaine exemplary draughts or patternes, which subsisting in the bosome of the Highest, and being thence discouered, she fixeth her eye vpon them, as trauellers by sea vpon the pole-starre of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to worke by imitation: although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, that *Each thing both in small and in great fulfilleth the taske which destenie hath set downe*: and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, *What they doe they knowe not, yet is it in shewe and appearance, as though they did know what they doe, and the truth is they doe not discerne the things which they looke on*: neuertheless for as much as the works of nature are no lesse exact, then if she did both beholde and studie how to expresse some absolute shape or mirror alwayes present before her; yea such her dexteritie and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacite to doe that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot bee, but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of nature, but onely the God of nature? *In him wee liue, moue, and are.* Those things which nature is said to do, are by diuine arte performed, vsing nature as an instrument: nor is there any such arte or knowledge diuine in nature her selfe working, but in the guide of natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall which are not in the number of voluntary agents (for of such onely we now speake and of no other) do so necessarily obserue their certaine lawes, that as long as they keepe those [a] formes which giue them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise then they doe; seeing the kindes of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the seuerall ends for which they serue, they themselues in the meane while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth vp, and euen actually frameth the same. The manner of this diuine efficiencie being farre aboue vs, we are no more able to conceiue by our reason, then creatures vnreasonable by their sense

Aristot. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Ἅ πεφυκόσιν μάλιστα ἕκαστον ἐκτελεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὃ σημαίνουσιν ὅτι οὐκ εἰδόσιν, οὐδὲ σκέψεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐοικέναι καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁρῶσι καὶ γινώσκουσι.

Act. 17. 28.

[a] Forme in other creatures, is a thing proportionable vnto the soule in liuing creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernable, then only by effects. According to the diuersitie of inward formes, things of the world are distinguished into their kindes.

ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affaires. Onely thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall generation and proceſſe of all things receiueth order of proceeding from the ſetled ſtabilitie of diuine vnderſtanding: This appointeth vnto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof in the puritie of Gods owne knowledge and will is rightly tearmed by the name of *Prouidence*. The ſame being referred vnto the things themſelues here diſpoſed of, was woont by the auncient to be called *naturall deſtinie*. That lawe the performance whereof we beholde in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall, or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelfe; whoſe ſpirit being to execute the ſame, vſeth euery particular nature, euery meere naturall agent, onely as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and euer ſince the beginning vſed to worke his owne will and pleaſure withall. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but Gods inſtrument: in the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceiuing ſome ſuddaine diſturbance, is ſaid to haue cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſoluitur*, Either God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater then himſelfe hindered; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the world, the execution of that law beginning now to ſtand ſtill, without which the world cannot ſtand. This workeman whoſe ſeruitor nature is, being in truth but onely one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gaue him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the aire the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Neptune*, in the earth the name of *Veſta* and ſometimes of *Ceres*, the name of *Apollo* in the Sunne, in the Moone the name of *Diana*, the name of *Aeolus* and diuers other in the windes; and to conclude euen ſo many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they ſawe there were kindes of things naturall in the world. Theſe they honored, as hauing power to worke or ceaſe accordingly as men deſerued of them. But vnto vs there is one onely guide of all agents naturall, and he both the creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored and honoured by all for euer. That which hitherto hath beene ſpoken, concerneth naturall agents conſidered in themſelues. But wee muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they haue their law, which law directeth them in the meanes whereby they tend to their owne perfection. So likewiſe an other lawe there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts vnited into one body; a lawe which bindeth them each to ſerue vnto others good, and all to preferre the good of the whole before whatſoeuer their owne particular; as we plainely ſee they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall woont, that which is heauie mounting ſometime vpwards of it owne accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to it ſelfe is moſt naturall, euen as if it did heare it ſelfe commaunded to let goe the good it priuately wiſheth, and to relieue the preſent diſtreſſe of nature in common.

Vide Thom. hi Compend. theol. cap. 3.

Omne quod mouetur ab aliquo eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quodammodo primi mouentis.

Rid autem eſt autem etiam apud ſtudioſos ponere inſtrumentum moueri non ab aliquo principali agente.

4 But now that we may lift vp our eyes (as it were) from the footſtoole to the throne of God, and leauing theſe naturall, conſider a little the ſtate of heauenly and diuine creatures; touching Angels which are ſpirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious inhabitants of thoſe ſacred pallaces, where nothing but light and bleſſed immortalitie, no ſhadow of matter for teares, diſcontentments, griefes, and vncomfortable paſſions to worke vpon, but all ioy, tranquilitie, and

The law which Angels doe worke by. *Pſal.* 104. 4. *Heb.* 1. 7. *Eph.* 3. 10.

and peace, euen for euer and euer doth dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mightie, and royall armies; so likewise in perfection of obedience vnto that lawe, which the Highest, whom they adore, loue, and imitate, hath imposed vpon them, such obseruants they are thereof, that our Sauiour himselfe being to set downe the perfect *idea* of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more, then onely that heere it might be with vs, as with them it is in heauen. God which mooueth meere naturall agents as an efficient onely, doth otherwise mooue intellectuall creatures, and especially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of so great excellencie they all adore him; and being rapt with the loue of his beautie, they cleane inseparably for euer vnto him. Desire to resemble him in goodnesse, maketh them vnweariable, and euen vnsatiable in their longing to do by all meanes all manner good vnto all the creatures of God, but especially vnto the children of men; in the countenance of whose nature looking downeward they behold themselues beneath themselues, euen as vpward in God, beneath whom themselues are, they see that character which is no where but in themselues and vs resembled. Thus farre euen the Painims haue approched; thus farre they haue seene into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confessing, that the fiery throne of God is attended on by those most industrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongst men; and the mirror of humaine wisedome plainely teaching, that God mooueth Angels, euen as that thing doth stirre mans heart, which is thereunto presented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced vnto these three generall kinds; first, most delectable loue, arising from the visible apprehension of the puritie, glory, and beautie of God, inuisible sauing onely vnto Spirits that are pure; secondly adoration, grounded vpon the euidence of the greatnesse of God, on whom they see how all things depend; thirdly imitation, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodnes, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heauen and earth with the rich treasures of most free and vndeserued grace. Of Angels we are not to consider onely what they are, and doe, in regard of their owne being; but that also which concerneth them as they are lincked into a kind of corporation amongst themselues, and of societie or fellowship with men. Consider Angels each of them seuerally in himselfe, and their law is that which the Prophet Dauid mentioneth, *All yee his Angels praise him.* Consider the Angels of God associated, and their lawe is that which disposeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree aboue an other. Consider finally the Angels as hauing with vs that communion which the Apostle to the Hebrewes noteth, and in regard whereof Angels haue not disdained to professe themselues our *fellowseruants*; from hence there springeth vp a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministeriall imployment. Euery of which their seuerall functions are by them performed with ioy. A part of the Angels of God notwithstanding (we know) haue fallen, and that their fall hath beene through the voluntary breach of that lawe, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable vertue. Impossible it was that euer their will should change or encline to remit any part of their dutie, without some obiect hauing force to auert their conceit from God, and to draw it an other way; and that before they attained that high perfection

of

Dan.7.10. *Matth.26.53.* *Heb.12.22.* *Luc.2.13.*

Matth.6.10.

Matth.18.10.

Psal.91.11.12. *Luc.15.7.* *Heb.1.14.* *Act.10.3.* *Dan.9.23.* *Matth.18.10.* *Dan.4.10.*

Σῶ δι θρόνῳ συνήθεις παρεδρεύει πολυμύχθοις Ἄγγελοι, δίοπι μίμηλε Θεοῦ βίος ὡς πάντα τελεῖται.

Arist.Metaph. 12.cap.7. *Iob.38.7.* *Matth.18.10.* *Psal.148.2.* *Heb.1.6.* *Esa.6.3.*

This is intimated whersoeuer we finde them termed the sonnes of God: as *Iob.1. 6.and 38.7.* *2.Pet.2.4.* *Ep.Iud.vers.6.* *Psal.148.2.* *Luk.2.13.* *Matth.26.53.* *Psal.148.2.* *Heb.12.22.* *Apoc.22.9.*

of bliſſe, wherein now the elect Angels are without poſſibilitie of falling. Of any thing more then of God they could not by any meanes like, as long as whatſoeuer they knew beſides God, they apprehended it not in it ſelfe without dependencie vpon God; becauſe ſo long God muſt needs ſeeme infinitely better then any thing which they ſo could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented vnto their eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee alwayes how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to ſinne, but by reflex of their vnderſtanding vpon themſelues; when being held with admiration of their owne ſublimitie and honor, the memorie of their ſubordination vnto God and their dependencie on him was drowned in this conceipt; whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God, could not chooſe but be alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride. Since their fall, their practiſes haue beene the cleane contrary vnto thoſe before mentioned. For being diſperſed ſome in the ayre, ſome on the earth, ſome in the water, ſome amongſt the minerals, dennes, and caues, that are vnder the earth: they haue by all meanes laboured to effect an vniuerſall rebellion againſt the lawes, and as farre as in them lyeth, vtter deſtruction of the works of God. Theſe wicked ſpirits the Heathens honoured in ſtead of Gods, both generally vnder the name of *Dii inferi* Gods infernall; and particularly, ſome in Oracles, ſome in Idoles, ſome as houſehold Gods, ſome as Nymphes; in a word no foule and wicked ſpirit which was not one way or other honored of men as God, till ſuch time as light appeared in the world, and diſſolued the works of the diuell. Thus much therefore may ſuffice for Angels, the next vnto whom in degree are men.

Iohn 8.44. 2.Pet.2.4. Apoc.9.11. Gen.3.15. 1.Chro.21.1. Iob 1.7. & 2.2. Iohn 13.27. Act.5.3. Apoc.20.8.

5 God alone excepted, who actually and euerlaſtingly is whatſoeuer he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not; all other things beſides are ſomewhat in poſſibilitie, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cauſe there is in all things an appetite or deſire, whereby they incline to ſomething which they may be: and when they are it, they ſhall be perfecter then now they are. All which perfections are contained vnder the generall name of *Goodneſſe*. And becauſe there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not ſome way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Againe, ſith there can be no goodneſſe deſired which proceedeth not from God himſelfe, as from the ſupreme cauſe of all things; and euerie effect doth after a ſort containe, at leaſt wiſe reſemble the cauſe from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are ſaid in ſome ſort to ſeeke the higheſt, and to couet more or leſſe the participation of God himſelfe. Yet this doth no where ſo much appeare as it doth in man: becauſe there are ſo many kinds of perfections which man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of goodneſſe is that generall perfection which all things do ſeeke, in deſiring the continuance of their beeing. All things therefore coueting as much as may be to be like vnto God in being euer, that which cannot hereunto attaine perſonally, doth ſeeke to continue it ſelfe another way, that is by offſpring and propagation. The next degree of goodneſſe, is that which each thing coueteth by affecting reſemblance with God, in the conſtancie and excellencie of thoſe operations which belong vnto their kind. The immutabilitie of God they ſtriue vnto, by working either alwayes or for the moſt

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. *Ariſt. de an. lib.2.cap.4.*

moſt part after one and the ſame manner; his abſolute exactnes they imitate, by tending vnto that which is moſt exquiſite in euery particular. Hence haue riſen a number of axiomes in Philoſophie, ſhewing, how *The works of nature doe alwayes ayme at that which cannot be bettered.* Theſe two kinds of goodneſſe rehearſed are ſo neerely vnited to the things themſelues which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceiue the appetite to ſtirre in reaching foorth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe perfections which grow externally is more apparent; eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſſely deſired vnleſſe they be firſt knowne, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe then for knowledge it ſelfe deſired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exerciſe of vertue, man amongſt the creatures of this inferiour world, aſpireth to the greateſt conformity with God; this is not only knowne vnto vs, whom he himſelfe hath ſo inſtructed, but euen they doe acknowledge, who amongſt men are not iudged the neereſt vnto him. With *Plato* what one thing more vſuall, then to excite men vnto the loue of wiſedome, by ſhewing how much wiſe men are thereby exalted aboue men; how knowledge doth rayſe them vp into heauen; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and diuine? And *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſpeaking of the vertues of a righteous ſoule, *Such ſpirits* (ſayth he) *are neuer cloyed with praiſing and ſpeaking well of all men, with doing good vnto euery one by word and deed, becauſe they ſtudie to frame themſelues according to* THE PATERNE *of the father of ſpirits.*

Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον ἀεὶ ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον· ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τοῦτο ὃ ἐνδεχόμενον τὸ βέλτιστον. *Ari. 2. de cœl. ca. 5.*

Matth. 5. 48.

Sap. 7. 27.

ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κέρδος οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνοῦσα ἐυφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας ὠφελοῦσα. μιμεῖται αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα.

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is betweene the Angels of God and the children of men this difference. Angels alreadie haue full and complete knowledge in the higheſt degree that can be imparted vnto them: men if we view them in their ſpring, are at the firſt without vnderſtanding or knowledge at all. Neuertheleſſe from this vtter vacuitie they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be euen as the Angels themſelues are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other ſhall attaine vnto in the end; they are not ſo farre diſioyned and ſeuered, but that they come at length to meete. The ſoule of man being therefore at the firſt as a booke, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to ſearch by what ſteppes and degrees it riſeth vnto perfection of knowledge. Vnto that which hath bene alreadie ſet downe concerning naturall agents this we muſt adde, that albeit therein we haue compriſed as well creatures liuing, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; neuertheleſſe a difference we muſt obſerue betweene thoſe naturall agents that worke altogether vnwittingly, and thoſe which haue though weake, yet ſome vnderſtanding what they do; as fiſhes, foules, and beaſts haue. Beaſts are in ſenſible capacitie as ripe euen as men themſelues, perhaps more ripe. For as ſtones, though in dignitie of nature inferior vnto plants, yet exceed them in firmeneſſe of ſtrength or durability of being; and plants though beneath the excellency of creatures indued with ſenſe, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation and of fertility: ſo beaſts though otherwiſe behind men, may notwithſtanding in actions of ſenſe and phancie goe beyond them; becauſe the endeuors of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to ſeeke, are in lower the more remiſſe, not eſteeming thereof ſo much as thoſe things do, which haue no better

Mens firſt beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to obſerue. *Vide Iſa. 7. 16.*

propoſed

proposed vnto them. The soule of man therefore being capable of a more diuine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing vnto sensible knowledge which is common vnto vs with beasts) a further hability, whereof in them there is no shew at all, the ability of reaching [a] higher then vnto sensible things. Till we grow to some ripenesse of yeares, the soule of man doth onely store it selfe with conceipts of things of inferiour and more open qualitie, which afterward do serue as instruments vnto that which is greater: in the meane while aboue the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing aboue this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in speech; we then count it to haue some vse of naturall reason. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true art and learning, (which helps I must plainely confesse this age of the world, carying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard) there would vndoubtedly be almost as great differeuce in maturitie of iudgement betweene men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as betweene men that are now and innocents. Which speech if any condemne, as being ouer hyperbolicall, let them consider but this one thing. No art is at the first finding out so perfect as industrie may after make it. Yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neere in all parts of naturall knowledge, then sithence in any one part thereof, the whole world besides hath done. In the pouertie of that other new deuised aid, two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marueilous quicke dispatch it is, and doth shew them that haue it as much almost in three dayes, as if it dwell threescore yeares with them. Againe because the curiositie of mans wit, doth many times with perill wade farther in the search of things, then were conuenient: the same is thereby restrained vnto such generalities, as euery where offering themselues, are apparant vnto men of the weakest conceipt that need be. So as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may find it to be, an Art which teacheth the way of speedy discourse, and restraineth the minde of man that it may not waxe ouer wise. Education and instruction are the meanes, the one by vse, the other by precept, to make our naturall faculty of reason, both the better and the sooner able to iudge rightly betweene truth and error, good and euill. But at what time a man may be sayd to haue attained so farre forth the vse of reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those lawes, whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deale more easie for common sense to discerne, then for any man by skill and learning to determine: euen as it is not in Philosophers, who best know the nature both of fire and of gold, to teach what degree of the one will serue to purifie the other, so well as the artisan (who doth this by fire) discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heate which sufficeth for his purpose.

[a] ὃ δὴ ἄνθρωπος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες ἀναζητοῦσι, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτόν, καὶ ὁδὸς αὕτη μὲν ὅδε αὐτῷ ἐνδελεχὴς, αὕτη δὲ παυσιπόνως, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τλῶ γλῶ καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. *Mercur. Trism.* Aristotelicall demonstratiõ.

Ramistry.

7 By reason man attaineth vnto the knowledge of things that are and are not sensible: It resteth therefore that we search how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of such things vnsensible, as are to be knowne that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can moue vnlesse there be some end, the desire wherof prouoketh vnto motion; how should that diuine power of the soule, that *Spirit*

Of mans will, which is the thing that lawes of action are made to guide.

Eph. 4. 23. *of our mind* as the Apoſtle termeth it, euer ſtir it ſelfe vnto action, vnleſſe it haue alſo the like ſpurre? The end for which we are moued to worke, is ſometimes the goodnes which we conceiue of the very working it ſelfe, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action is the meere deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certaine turbulent Saluſt. wits it is ſaid, *Illis quieta mouere magna merces videbatur*, They thought the very diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed an hyre ſufficient to ſet them on worke. Sometimes that which we doe is referred to a further end, without the deſire Matth. 6. 2. whereof we would leaue the ſame vndone, as in their actions that gaue almes to purchaſe thereby the prayſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeneſſe of his maker, reſembleth him alſo in the maner of working; ſo that whatſoeuer we worke as men, the ſame we doe wittingly worke and freely; neither are we according to the maner of naturall agents any way ſo tied, but that it is in our power to leaue the things we doe vndone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the very doing it ſelfe, cauſeth not action, vnleſſe apprehending it as good, we ſo like and deſire it. That we do vnto any ſuch end, the ſame we chooſe and preferre before the leauing of it vndone. Choice there is not, vnleſſe the thing which wee take, be ſo in our power that wee might haue refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to do, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can do no other. To chooſe is to will one thing before another. And to will is to bend our ſoules to the hauing or doing of that which they ſee to be good. Goodneſſe is ſeene with the eye of the vnderſtanding. ¶ And the light of that eye, is reaſon. So that two principall fountaines there are of humane action, *Knowledge* and *Will*; which will in things tending towards Deut. 30. 19. any end is termed *Choice*. Concerning knowledge, Behold ſayth *Moſes*, *I haue ſet before you this day good and euill, life and death*. Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend vnto life, them chooſe. But of one thing we muſt haue ſpeciall care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, how the will properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred vnto the end that man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour naturall deſire which we call appetite. The obiect of appetite is whatſoeuer ſenſible good may be wiſhed for; the obiect of will is that good ¶ which reaſon doth leade vs to ſeeke. Affections, as ioy, and griefe, and feare, and anger, with ſuch like, being as it were the ſundry faſhions and formes of appetite, can neither riſe at the conceipt of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with affections or no: whereas actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the will, are in the power thereof to be performed or ¶ ſtaied. Finally, appetite is the wils ſollicitor, and the will is appetites controller; what we couet according to the one, by the other we often reiect: neither is any other deſire termed properly will, but that where reaſon and vnderſtanding, or the ſhew of reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, whether thoſe operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is ſenſible prouoketh appetite, and appetite cauſeth action, reaſon being neuer called to councel; as whē we eate or drinke, or betake our ſelues vn-

to

to reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in men hauing attained to the vſe of reaſon are voluntary. For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen in thoſe things which are done without their priuitie, and are of ſo meane reckening that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like ſort voluntarily we are ſaid to do that alſo, which the will if it liſted might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expreſſely vſe our reaſon or vnderſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our wils thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facility, the will doth yeeld her aſſent, as it were with a kind of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect her force is not ſo apparant, as in expreſſe mandates or prohibitions, eſpecially vpon aduice and conſultation going before. Where vnderſtanding therefore needeth in thoſe things, reaſon is the director of mans will, by diſcouering in action what is good. For the lawes of well doing are the dictates of right reaſon. Children which are not as yet come vnto thoſe yeares whereat they may haue; againe innocents which are excluded by naturall defect from euer hauing; thirdly mad men which for the preſent cannot poſſibly haue the vſe of right reaſon to guide themſelues, haue for their guide the reaſon that guideth other men, which are tutors ouer them to ſeeke and to procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that light of reaſon, whereby good may be knowne from euill, and which diſcouering the ſame rightly is termed right. The will notwithſtanding doth not incline to haue or doe that which reaſon teacheth to be good, vnleſſe the ſame doe alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, be it neuer ſo impoſſible: yet for ſuch things the reaſonable will of man doth neuer ſeeke. Let reaſon teach impoſſibilitie in any thing; and the will of man doth let it go; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibility thereof being manifeſt. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular obiect whatſoeuer being preſented vnto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect ſo good, but it may haue the ſhew of ſome difficultie or vnpleaſant qualitie annexed to it; in reſpect whereof the will may ſhrinke and decline it: contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular euill, which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſſe whereby to inſinuate it ſelfe. For euill as euill cannot be deſired: if that be deſired which is euill, the cauſe is the goodneſſe which is or ſeemeth to be ioyned with it. Goodneſſe doth not mooue by being, but by being apparant; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt pretious, onely becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible goodneſſe is moſt apparent, neere, and preſent; which cauſeth the appetite to be therewith ſtrongly prouoked. Now purſuit and refuſall in the will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodnes; which the vnderſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelfe vpon ſenſe, vnleſſe ſome higher reaſon doe chance to teach the contrary. And if reaſon haue taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparently that the minde receiueth it with vtter impoſſibilitie of beeing otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the will to take or leaue. Whereas therefore amongſt ſo many things as are to be done, there are ſo fewe, the goodneſſe whereof reaſon in ſuch ſort doth or eaſily can diſcouer; wee are not to maruaile at the choyce of euill, euen then when the

O mihi præteritas referat ſi Iuppiter annos.

Εἰ δέ τις ἔστι κακίαν ὁρμᾶ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ὅτι κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. *Paulo poſt.* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτά, ὅτι ἐλπίδι ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἐλάττονι κακῷ. *Alcin. de dogmat. Plat.*

the contrary is probably knowne. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that cuſtome inuring the mind by long practiſe, and ſo leauing there a ſenſible impreſſion, preuaileth more then reaſonable perſwaſion what way ſo euer. Reaſon therefore may rightly diſcerne the thing which is good, and yet the will of man not incline it ſelfe thereunto, as oft as the preiudice of ſenſible experience doth ouerſway. Nor let any man thinke that this doth make any thing for the iuſt excuſe of iniquitie. For there was neuer ſinne committed, wherein a leſſe good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of nature, and the vtter diſturbance of that diuine order, whereby the preeminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth vs, but it hath euidence inough for it ſelfe, if reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſometimes the ſubtilty of Satan inueagling vs, as it did [a] Eue; ſometimes the haſtineſſe of our wils preuenting the more conſiderate aduice of ſound reaſon, as in [b] the Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from heauen; ſometimes the very cuſtome of euill making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoeuer inſtructions to the contrary, as in them ouer whom our Sauiour ſpake weeping [c] *O Ieruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, In doing euill, we prefer a leſſe good before a greater, the greatneſſe whereof is by reaſon inueſtigable and may be knowne. The ſearch of knowledge is a thing painefull; and the painefulneſſe of knowledge is that which maketh the will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The roote hereof, diuine malediction; whereby the [d] inſtruments being weakened wherewithall the ſoule (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth worke, it preferreth reſt in ignorance, before wearieſome labour to know. For a ſpurre of diligence therefore we haue a naturall thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in vs. But by reaſon of that originall weakeneſſe in the inſtruments, without which the vnderſtanding part is not able in this world by diſcourſe to worke, the very conceipt of painefulneſſe is as a bridle to ſtay vs. For which cauſe the Apoſtle who knew right well, that the wearineſſe of the fleſh is an heauy clog to the will, ſtriketh mightily vpon this key, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, Caſt off all which preſſeth downe, Watch, Labour, ſtriue to go forward and to grow in knowledge.*

[a] 2. *Cor.* 11. 3.
[b] *Luc.* 9. 54.
[c] *Matth.* 23. 37.
[d] *Sap.* 9. 15. A corruptible body is heauy vnto the ſoule and the earthly manſion keepeth downe the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we diſcern the things that are vpō earth, and with great labor find we out the things which are before vs. Who can then ſeeke out the things that are in heauen? *Eph* 5. 14. *Heb.* 12. 1. 12. 1. *Cor.* 16. 15. *Prou.* 2. 4. *Luc.* 13. 24.

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent of diſcouering the naturall way, whereby rules haue bene found out concerning that goodnes wherewith the will of man ought to be moued in humane actions; As euery thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the vtmoſt good and greateſt perfection whereof nature hath made it capable, euen ſo man. Our felicitie therefore being the obiect and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and couet it. All particular things which are ſubiect vnto action, the will doth ſo farre foorth incline vnto, as reaſon iudgeth them the better for vs, and conſequently the more auaileable to our bliſſe. If reaſon erre, we fall into euill, and are ſo farre foorth depriued of the generall perfection we ſeeke. Seeing therfore that for the framing of mens actions the knowledge of good from euill is neceſſarie; it onely reſteth that we ſearch how this may be had. Neither muſt we ſuppoſe that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the euill by. For he that knoweth what

Of the naturall way of finding out lawes by reaſon, to guide the will vnto that which is good.

what is ſtraight, doth euen thereby diſcerne what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraightneſſe in bodies capable thereof is crookednesſe. Goodneſſe in actions is like vnto ſtraitneſſe; wherefore that which is done well we terme right. For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that trauaileth, becauſe by it he commeth ſooneſt to his iourneys end: ſo in action, that which doth lye the eueneſt betweene vs and the end we deſire, muſt needes be the fitteſt for our vſe. Beſides which fitneſſe for vſe, there is alſo in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquitie, deformitie. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not onely delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration the Grecians moſt diuinely haue giuen to the actiue perfection of men, a name expreſſing both beauty and goodneſſe, becauſe goodneſſe in ordinary ſpeech is for the moſt part applied onely to that which is beneficiall. But we in the name of goodneſſe, doe beere imploy both. And of diſcerning goodneſſe there are but theſe two wayes; the one the knowledge of the cauſes whereby it is made ſuch; the other the obſeruation of thoſe ſignes and tokens, which being annexed alwaies vnto goodneſſe, argue that where they are found, there alſo goodneſſe is, although we know not the cauſe by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard that all ſhunne it, and had rather walke as men do in the darke by hap hazard, then tread ſo long and intricate mazes for knowledge ſake. As therefore Phyſitians are many times forced to leaue ſuch methods of curing as themſelues know to be the fitteſt, and being ouerruled by their patients impatiency are faine to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto: in like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent age full of tongue and weake of braine, behold we yeeld to the ſtreame thereof; into the cauſes of goodneſſe we will not make any curious or deepe inquiry; to touch them now and then it ſhall be ſufficient, when they are ſo neere at hand that eaſily they may be conceiued without any farre remoued diſcourſe: that way we are contented to proue, which being the worſe in it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecillity the fitter & likelier to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kinds: ſome more certaine, and ſome leſſe. The moſt certaine token of euident goodneſſe is, if the generall perſwaſion of all men do ſo account it. And therefore a common receiued error is neuer vterly ouerthrowne, till ſuch time as we goe from ſignes vnto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt roote or fountaine thereof common vnto all, whereby it may clearely appeare how it hath come to paſſe that ſo many haue bene ouerſeene. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſleight probabilities will not ſerue; becauſe the vniuerſall conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind which comprehendeth onely the ſignes and tokens of goodneſſe. Things caſuall do varie, and that which a man doth but chaunce to thinke well of, cannot ſtill haue the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cauſe, yet thus much we may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoeuer the iudgements of all men generally or for the moſt part run one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of naturall diſcourſe. For of things neceſſarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, [a] *They keepe either alwaies or for the moſt part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the ſentence of God himſelfe.

Τῷ ἰνθεῖ ἢ ἀυτὸ ἢ τὸ καντύλον γιγνώσκομεν. Κρίνει γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. *Ariſt. de an. l. 1.*

Καλοκἀγαθία.

[a] Ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ ἀποβαίνοντα.

selfe. [a] For that which all men haue at all times learned, nature her selfe must needes haue taught; and God being the author of nature, her voyce is but his instrument. By her from him we receiue whatsoeuer in such sort we learne. Infinite duties there are, the goodnes whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although wee had no other warrant besides to approue them. The Apostle S. Paul hauing speech concerning the Heathen saith of them, [b] *They are a law vnto themselues.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of reason, wherewith God illuminateth euery one which commeth into the world, men being inabled to know truth from falshood, and good from euill, do thereby learne in many things what the will of God is; which will himselfe not reuealing by any extraordinary meanes vnto them, but they by naturall discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seeme the makers of those lawes which indeede are his, and they but onely the finders of them out. A law therefore generally taken, is a directiue rule vnto goodnesse of operation. The rule of diuine operations outward, is the definitiue appointment of Gods owne wisedome set downe within himselfe. The rule of naturall agents that worke by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisedome of God, knowne to God himselfe the principall director of them, but not vnto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of naturall agents which worke after a sort of their owne accord, as the beasts do, is the iudgement of common sense or phancie concerning the sensible goodnes of those obiects wherewith they are moued. The rule of ghostly or immateriall natures, as spirits and Angels, is their intuitiue intellectuall iudgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodnes of that obiect, which with vnspeakeable ioy and delight doth set them on worke. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the sentence that reason giueth concerning the goodnes of those things which they are to do. And the sentences which reason giueth, are some more, some lesse generall, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The maine principles of reason are in themselues apparent. For to make nothing euident of it selfe vnto mans vnderstanding, were to take away all possibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophrastus* is true, *They that seeke a reason of all things do vtterly ouerthrow reason.* In euery kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed, the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibilitie of error, cleare and manifest without proofe. In which kind, axiomes or principles more generall are such as this, *That the greater good is to be chosen before the lesse.* If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harme, and couet whatsoeuer is pleasant and sweete, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sinne gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith vertuous actions are compast, yet still to reioyce and delight in them; surely this could neuer stand with reason: but that wisedome thus prescribing, groundeth her lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue; and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they drawe after them is vnspeakeable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the wisedome of the Apostle buildeth a law, inioyning patience vnto himselfe; *The present lightnes of our affliction worketh vnto vs euen with aboundance vpon aboundance an eternall waight*

[a] *Non potest error contingere, vbi omnes idem opinantur. Montiuat. in 1. Polit. Quicquid in omnibus individuis vnius speciei communiter inest, id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species & natura. Idem. Quod à tota aliqua specie fit, vniuersalis particularisque naturæ fit instinctu. Ficin. de Christ. relig. Si proficere cupis, primo firmè id verum puta quod sanamens omnium hominum attestatur. Cusa. in compend. cap. 1. Non licet naturale vniuersalé-que hominum iudicium falsum vanumque existimare. Telef.* Ὃ δὲ πᾶσι δοκεῖ· τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. ὃ δ' ἀναιρῶν ταῦτα τὴν πίστιν, ἐν φέρει πισ-τήρια ἐρεῖ. *Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 2.*

[b] *Rom. 2. 14.*

Ἀ πάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. *Theoph. in Metaph.*

2. Cor. 4. 17.

waight of glory, while wee looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene. For the things which are ſeene are temporall, but the things which are not ſeene eternall. Therefore Chriſtianity to be embraced, whatſoeuer calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withall. Vpon the ſame ground our Sauiour proueth the law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes which men for gaines ſake fall into. For a man to win the world, if it be with the loſſe of his ſoule, what benefit or good is it? Axiomes leſſe generall, yet ſo manifeſt that they neede no further proofe, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped, Parents to be honored, Others to be vſed by vs as we our ſelues would by them.* Such things, as ſoone as they are alleaged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proofe or further diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodnes. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawne from out of the very bowels of heauen and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to vs diſcernable, not onely ſo farre forth as ſerueth for our vitall preſeruation, but further alſo in a twofold higher reſpect. For firſt if all other vſes were vtterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature ſpeculatiue and delighted with contemplation in it ſelfe, they were to be knowne euen for meere knowledge and vnderſtandings ſake. Yea further beſides this, the knowledge of euery the leaſt thing in the world, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit vnto vs, in as much as it ſerueth to miniſter rules, Canons, and lawes for men to direct thoſe actions by, which we properly terme humane. This did the very Heathens themſelues obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right, to be the daughter of heauen and earth. Wee knowe things either as they are in themſelues, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference vnto himſelfe, and other things in relation vnto man, I may iuſtly terme the mother of all thoſe principles, which are as it were edicts, ſtatutes, and decrees in that law of nature, whereby humane actions are framed. Firſt therefore hauing obſerued that the beſt things, where they are not hindered, do ſtill produce the beſt operations; (for which cauſe where many things are to concurre vnto one effect, the beſt is in all congruity of reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it preuailing moſt, the worke principally done by it may haue greateſt perfection:) when hereupon we come to obſerue in our ſelues, of what excellencie our ſoules are in compariſon of our bodies, and the diuiner part in relation vnto the baſer of our ſoules; ſeeing that all theſe concurre in producing humane actions, it cannot be well vnleſſe the chiefeſt do commaund and direct the reſt. The ſoule then ought to conduct the bodie, and the ſpirit of our minds the ſoule. This is therfore the firſt lawe, whereby the higheſt power of the minde requireth generall obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it vnto action. Touching the ſeuerall graund mandates, which being impoſed by the vnderſtanding faculty of the minde, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our dutie towards God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not heere ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the mindes euen of meere naturall men, haue attained to knowe, not onely that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſedome, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that knowne

Matth.16.26.

Ariſt. Polit. 1. cap. 5.

relation

relation which God hath vnto vs [a] as vnto children, and vnto all good things as vnto effects, whereof himselfe is the [b] principall cause, these axiomes and lawes naturall concerning our dutie haue arisen; [c] *That in all things we goe about, his ayd is by prayer to be craued*; [d] *That he cannot haue sufficient honor done vnto him, but the vttermost of that we can do to honour him we must*; which is in effect the same that we reade, [e] *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind.* Which law our Sauiour doth terme the [f] *First and the great Commaundement.* Touching the next, which as our Sauiour addeth, is like vnto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largenesse, in as much as it is the roote out of which all laws of dutie to men-ward haue growne, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to know, that it is their duty no lesse to loue others then themselues. For seeing those things which are equall, must needes all haue one measure: if I cannot but wish to receiue all good, euen as much at euery mans hand as any man can wish vnto his owne soule; how should I looke to haue any part of my desire herein satisfied, vnlesse my selfe be carefull to satisfie the like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To haue any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieue them as much as mee: so that if I doe harme, I must looke to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of loue to me, then they haue by me shewed vnto them. My desire therefore to be loued of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth vpon me a naturall dutie of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equalitie betweene our selues and them that are as our selues, what seuerall rules and Canons naturall reason hath drawne for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely, [g] *That because we would take no harme, we must therefore do none*; *That sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must our selues auoid all extremitie in our dealings*; *That from all violence and wrong we are vtterly to abstaine*, with such like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two generall heads alreadie mentioned, all other specialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall measure whereby to iudge our doings, is the sentence of reason, determining and setting downe what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissiue, declaring onely what may be done; or thirdly admonitorie, opening what is the most conuenient for vs to doe. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether betweene doing and not doing of one thing which in it selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had bene for *Ioseph* to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd mistresse, the one euill, the other good simply. The second is, when of diuerse things euill, all being not euitable, we are permitted to take one; which one sauing only in case of so great vrgency were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of diuorce amongst the Iewes. The last, when of diuers things good, one is principall and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feete, which possessions they might haue retained vnto themselues without sinne; againe in the Apostle S. Paules owne choyce to maintaine himselfe by his owne labour, whereas in liuing

[a] Οὐδεὶς θεὸς φίλος ἀνθρώποις. *Plat. in Theæt.*

[b] Ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πάσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. *Arist. Metap. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

[c] Ἀλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὸν σωφροσύνης μετέχουσι, ὑπὲρ πάσαν ὁρμῶσι καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων πράγματος θεὸν αἰεί τι καλοῦσι. *Plat. in Tim.*

[d] *Arist. Ethic. lib. 8. ca. vlt.*

[e] *Deut. 6. 5.*

[f] *Math. 22. 28.*

[g] *Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. l. in arenam C. de inof. test. Quod quisque iuris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem vti debere l. quod quisque. Ab omni penitus iniuria atque vi abstinendum. l. 1. §. 1. quod vi, aut clam. Matth. 22. 40. On these two commandements hangeth the whole law. Gen. 39. 9. Mar. 10. 4. Act. 4. 37. Act. 5. 4.*

2. *Thes. 3. 8.*

liuing by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had bene no offence committed. In goodnes therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it commeth to paſſe that euen of good actions ſome are better then other ſome; whereas otherwiſe one man could not excell another, but all ſhould be either abſolutely good, as hitting iumpe that indiuiſible point or center wherein goodneſſe conſiſteth; or elſe miſſing it they ſhould be excluded out of the number of weldoers. Degrees of wel-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the ſeldomneſſe and oftenneſſe of doing well. But the nature of goodneſſe being thus ample, a lawe is properly that which reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to be good that it muſt be done. And the law of reaſon or humane nature is that, which men by diſcourſe of naturall reaſon haue rightly found out themſelues to be all for euer bound vnto in their actions. Lawes of reaſon haue theſe marks to be knowne by. Such as keepe them, reſemble moſt liuely in their voluntarie actions, that very manner of working which nature her ſelfe doth neceſſarily obſerue in the courſe of the whole world. The works of nature are all behoouefull, beautifull, without ſuperfluitie or defect: euen ſo theirs, if they be framed according to that which the law of reaſon teacheth. Secondly thoſe lawes are inueſtigable by reaſon, without the helpe of reuelation ſupernaturall and diuine. Finally in ſuch ſort they are inueſtigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the world hath alwayes bene acquainted with them; according to that which one in *Sophocles* obſerueth concerning a branch of this law, *It is no child of two dayes or yeſterdayes birth, but hath bene no man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed vpon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not ſo vnderſtand, as if euery particular man in the whole world did know and confeſſe whatſoeuer the law of reaſon doth conteine; but this law is ſuch that being propoſed no man can reiect it as vnreaſonable and vniuſt. Againe there is nothing in it, but any man (hauing naturall perfection of wit, and ripeneſſe of iudgement) may by labour and trauaile find out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſie to find men ignorant of them. Law rationall therefore, which men commonly vſe to call the law of nature, meaning thereby the law which humane nature knoweth it ſelfe in reaſon vniuerſally bound vnto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed moſt fitly the lawe of reaſon: this law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe things which men by the light of their naturall vnderſtanding euidently know, or at leaſtwiſe may know, to be beſeeming or vnbeſeeming, vertuous or vitious, good or euill for them to do. Now although it be true, which ſome haue ſaid, that whatſoeuer is done amiſſe, the law of nature and reaſon thereby is tranſgreſt; becauſe euen thoſe offences which are by their ſpeciall qualities breaches of ſupernaturall lawes, do alſo, for that they are generally euill violate in generall that principle of reaſon, which willeth vniuerſally to flie from euill: yet do we not therefore ſo far extend the law of reaſon, as to conteine in it all maner lawes whereunto reaſonable creatures are bound; but (as hath bene ſhewed) we reſtraine it to thoſe onely duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either do or might vnderſtand to be ſuch duties as concerne all men. *Certaine halfwaking men there are,* (as Saint *Auguſtine* noteth) *who neither altogether aſleepe in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the light of true vnderſtanding, haue thought that there is not at all any thing iuſt and righteous*

οὐχ ὅδ' ἐτῶν τὰ κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
τοῦτο κοὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.
Soph. Anti.

Th. 1.2.q.94. art.3. Omnia peccata ſunt in vniuerſum contra rationem & naturæ legem. Aug. de ciu. dei. lib.12.cap.1. Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt. De doctr. Chriſt. lib.3.cap.14.

righteous in it selfe: but looke wherewith nations are inured, the same they take to be right and iust. Whereupon their conclusion is, that seeing each sort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of it owne nature must be euery where one and the same, therefore in it selfe there is nothing right. These good folke (saith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with rehearsall of too many things*) *haue not looked so far into the world as to perceiue, that* Do as thou wouldest be done vnto, *is a sentence which all nations vnder heauen are agreed vpon. Refer this sentence to the loue of God, and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes: referre it to the loue of thy neighbor, and all grieuous wrongs it banisheth out of the world.* Wherefore as touching the law of reason, this was (it seemeth) Saint *Augustines* iudgement, namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles vniuersally agreed vpon: and that out of those principles, which are in themselues euident, the greatest morall duties we owe towards God or man, may without any great difficultie be concluded. If then it be heere demaunded, by what meanes it should come to passe (the greatest part of the law morall being so easie for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding haue bene ignorant euen of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sinne: I deny not but lewd and wicked custome, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force euen in plaine things to smother the light of naturall vnderstanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they haue bene accustomed, be good or euill. For examples sake, that grosser kind of heathenish idolatrie, whereby they worshipped the very works of their owne hands, was an absurdity to reason so palpable, that the Prophet *Dauid* comparing idols and idolaters together, maketh almost no ods betweene them, but the one in a maner as much without wit and sense as the other, *They that make them are like vnto them, and so are all that trust in them.* That wherein an idolater doth seeme so absurd and foolish, is by the Wiseman thus expresst, *He is not ashamed to speake vnto that which hath no life, he calleth on him that is weake for health, he prayeth for life vnto him which is dead, of him which hath no experience he requireth help, for his iourney he sueth to him which is not able to go, for gaine and worke and successe in his affaires he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no maner of power.* The cause of which senseless stupidity is afterwards imputed to custome. *When a father mourned grieuously for his sonne that was taken away suddenly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worshipped as a God, ordeining to his seruants ceremonies and sacrifices. Thus by processe of time this wicked custome preuailed, and was kept as a law*; the authority of Rulers, the ambition of craftsmen, and such like meanes thrusting forward the ignorant, and increasing their superstition. Vnto this which the Wiseman hath spoken, somewhat besides may be added. For whatsoeuer we haue hitherto taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of mans naturall vnderstanding, this we alwayes desire withall to be vnderstood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly performe the functions alotted to it, without perpetuall aid and concurrence of that supreme cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his iustice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow then that which the Apostle noteth, euen men indued

Psal.115.18.

Sapi.13.17.

Sapi.14.12.

with

with the light of reaſon to walke notwithſtanding *in the vanity of their mind, hauing their cogitations darkened, and being ſtrangers from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſſe of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet *Eſay*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt lawe of reaſon condemneth their groſſe iniquity and ſinne. They haue not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to thinke, *ſhall I bow to the ſtocke of a tree? All knowledge and vnderſtanding is taken from them. For God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this caſe of idolatry, ſerueth for all other things, wherein the like kind of generall blindneſſe hath preuailed againſt the manifeſt lawes of reaſon. Within the compaſſe of which lawes we do not onely comprehend whatſoeuer may be eaſily knowne to belong to the duty of all men; but euen whatſoeuer may poſſibly be knowne to be of that quality, ſo that the ſame be by *neceſſary* conſequence deduced out of cleere and manifeſt principles. For if once we deſcend vnto probable collections what is conuenient for men, we are then in the territory where free and arbitrarie determinations, the territory where humane lawes take place, which lawes are after to be conſidered.

Eph 4.17.

Eſay 44.18.19

9 Now the due obſeruation of this law which reaſon teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good that obſerue the ſame. For wee ſee the whole world and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth onely that worke which is naturall vnto it, it thereby preſerueth both other things, and alſo it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe let any principall thing, as the Sunne, the Moone, any one of the heauens or elements, but once ceaſe or faile, or ſwarue; and who doth not eaſily conceiue, that the ſequele thereof would be ruine both to it ſelfe, and whatſoeuer dependeth on it? And is it poſſible that man, being not only the nobleſt creature in the world, but euen a very world in himſelfe, his tranſgreſſing the law of his nature ſhould draw no maner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulation and anguiſh vnto euerie ſoule that doth euill.* Good doth follow vnto all things by obſeruing the courſe of their nature, and on the contrarie ſide euill by not obſeruing it: but not vnto naturall agents that good which wee call *Reward*, not that euill which wee properly tearme *Puniſhment*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt creatures in this world, onely mans obſeruation of the lawe of his nature is *Righteouſneſſe*, onely mans tranſgreſſion *Sinne*. And the reaſon of this is the difference in his maner of obſeruing or tranſgreſſing the lawe of his nature. Hee doth not otherwiſe then voluntarily the one or the other. What we doe againſt our wils, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to doe it; becauſe the motiue cauſe of doing it is not in our ſelues, but carrieth vs, as if the winde ſhould driue a feather in the aire, wee no whit furthering that whereby we are driuen. In ſuch caſes therefore the euill which is done, moueth compaſſion; men are pittied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect then culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wils; as in alienation of mind, or any the like ineuitable vtter abſence of wit and iudgement. For which cauſe, no man did euer thinke the hurtfull actions of furious men and innocents to be puniſhable. Againe ſome things wee doe neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerely with

The benefit of keeping that law which reaſon teacheth.

with our wils; but with our wils in ſuch ſort moued, that albeit there be no impoſſibilitie but that wee might, neuertheleſſe wee are not ſo eaſily able to doe otherwiſe. In this conſideration one euill deede is made more pardonable then an other. Finally, that which we doe being euill, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the difficultie of doing otherwiſe is greater; vnleſſe this neceſſitie or difficultie haue originally riſen from our ſelues. It is no excuſe therefore vnto him, who being drunke committeth inceſt, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne; in as much as himſelfe might haue choſen whether his wits ſhould by that meane haue bene taken from him. Now rewards and puniſhments doe alwaies preſuppoſe ſome thing willingly done well or ill; without which reſpect though we may ſometimes receiue good or harme, yet then the one is onely a benefite, and not a reward; the other ſimply an hurt, not a puniſhment. From the ſundry diſpoſitions of mans will, which is the roote of all his actions, there groweth varietie in the ſequele of rewards and puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: *Take away the will, and all actes are equall: That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like rules mens actions are determined of and iudged, whether they be in their owne nature rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and puniſhments are not receiued, but at the hands of ſuch as being aboue vs, haue power to examine and iudge our deedes. How men come to haue this authoritie one ouer an other in externall actions, wee ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this preſent, ſo much all doe acknowledge, that ſith euery mans heart and conſcience doth in good or euill, euen ſecretly committed and knowne to none but it ſelfe, either like or diſallow it ſelfe, and accordingly either reioyce, very nature exulting as it were in certaine hope of reward, or elſe grieue as it were in a ſenſe of future puniſhment; neither of which can in this caſe be looked for from any other, ſauing onely from him, who diſcerneth and iudgeth the very ſecrets of all hearts: therefore he is the onely rewarder and reuenger of all ſuch actions, although not of ſuch actions onely, but of all whereby the law of nature is broken, whereof himſelfe is author. For which cauſe, the Romane lawes called the lawes of the twelue tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach vnto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but diuine puniſhment.

Voluntate ſublatâ omnem actum parem eſſe l. fixiſſimam C. de adult.

Bonam voluntatem pleruque pro facto reputari. l. ſi quis in teſtamen.

Diuos cælè adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit.

How reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes, whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about lawes, whereby the fellowſhip or communion of independent ſocietie ſtãdeth.

Εἰ δὲ μαρτυροῦσί τι παῤ ἕλλησι φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον κἂν μὴ ξυμβαίνει κοινωνεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ μὴ πρὸς συνθήκην. *Ariſt. Rhet. 1.*

10 That which hitherto wee haue ſet downe, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhew their brutiſhnes, which imagine that religion and vertue are only as men wil accompt of them; that we might make as much accompt, if we would, of the contrarie, without any harme vnto our ſelues, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. Wee ſee then how nature it ſelfe teacheth lawes and ſtatutes to liue by. The lawes which haue bene hitherto mentioned, doe bind men abſolutely, euen as they are men, although they haue neuer any ſetled fellowſhip, neuer any ſolemne agreement amongſt themſelues what to do or not to do. But for as much as we are not by our ſelues ſufficient to furniſh our ſelues with competent ſtore of things needfull for ſuch a life as our nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignitie of man: therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections which are in vs liuing ſingle and ſolely by our ſelues, wee are naturally induced

to

to ſeeke communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of mens vniting themſelues at the firſt in politique ſocieties; which ſocieties could not be without gouernment, nor gouernment without a diſtinct kind of law from that which hath beene already declared. Two foundations there are which beare vp publique ſocieties; the one, a naturall inclination, wherby all men deſire ſociable life and fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed vpon, touching the manner of their vnion in liuing together. The later is that which we call the law of a common weale, the very ſoule of a politique body, the parts wherof are by law animated, held together, and ſet on worke in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Lawes politique, ordained for externall order and regiment amongſt men, are neuer framed as they ſhould be, vnleſſe preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, and auerſe from all obedience vnto the ſacred lawes of his nature; in a word, vnleſſe preſuming man to be in regard of his depraued minde, little better then a wild beaſt, they doe accordingly prouide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance vnto the common good for which ſocieties are inſtituted: vnleſſe they do this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therefore that we conſider how nature findeth out ſuch laws of gouernment, as ſerue to direct euen nature depraued to a right end. All men deſire to leade in this world an happy life. The life is led moſt happily, wherin all vertue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to contentment, although they haue in this world no more then very bare food and raiment, giueth vs thereby to vnderſtand, that thoſe are euen the loweſt of things neceſſary, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as till it be remoued, ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe firſt God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of life, & then appointed him a law to obſerue. For this cauſe after men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we reade they gaue themſelues vnto, was the tilling of the earth, and the feeding of cattle. Hauing by this meane whereon to liue, the principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their religion. True it is that the Kingdome of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But in as much as righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to liue vertuouſly it is impoſſible except we liue; therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeuour to remoue, is penury and want of things without which we cannot liue. Vnto life many implements are neceſſary; moe, if we ſeeke (as all men naturally doe) ſuch a life as hath in it ioy, comfort, delight & pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry artes Mechanicall were found out in the very prime of the world. As things of greateſt neceſſity are alwayes firſt prouided for, ſo things of greateſt dignitie are moſt accounted of by all ſuch as iudge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which euery man wiſheth; yet no man of iudgement can eſteeme it better to be rich, then wiſe, vertuous and religious. If wee bee both or eyther of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo borne. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in minde as we are in body. Both which neceſsities of man had at the firſt no other helpes and ſupplies, then onely domeſticall; ſuch as that which the Prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a mother forget her childe?* Such as that

1. Tim. 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29.
Gen. 2. 17.
Gen. 4. 2.
Gen. 4. 26.

Mat. 6. 33.

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22

Eſay. 49. 15.

1.Tim.5.8. Gen.18.19. which the Apoſtle mentioneth, ſaying, *He that careth not for his owne is worſe then an Infidell*; ſuch as that concerning *Abraham*, *Abraham will commaund his ſonnes and his houſhold after him, that they keepe the way of the Lord.* But neyther that which we learne of our ſelues, nor that which others teach vs can preuaile, where wickednesſe and malice haue taken deepe roote. If therefore when there was but as yet one onely family in the world, no meanes of inſtruction humane or diuine, could preuent effuſion of bloud: how could it be choſen but that when families were multiplied and increaſed vpon earth, after ſeparation, each prouiding for it ſelfe, enuy, ſtrife, contention and violence muſt grow amongſt them? For hath not nature furniſht man with wit and valour, and as it were with armour, which may be vſed as well vnto extreame euill as good? yea, were they not vſed by the reſt of the world vnto euill; vnto the contrary onely by *Seth*, *Enoch*, and thoſe few the reſt in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquitie of our times: not vniuſtly; for the dayes are euill. But compare them with thoſe times, wherein there were no ciuill ſocieties, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of publique regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe times wherein there were not aboue eight righteous perſons liuing vpon the face of the earth: and wee haue ſurely good cauſe to thinke that God hath bleſſed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs beholde moſt happy daies. To take away all ſuch mutuall greeuances, iniuries and wrongs, there was no way but onely by growing vnto compoſition and agreement amongſt themſelues, by ordayning ſome kinde of gouernement publique, and by yeelding themſelues ſubiect thereunto; that vnto whom they graunted authority to rule and gouerne, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy eſtate of the reſt might be procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and iniury was offered, they might be defendours of themſelues; they knew that howſoeuer men may ſeeke their owne commoditie, yet if this were done with iniury vnto others, it was not to be ſuffered, but by all men and by all good meanes to be withſtood; finally, they knew that no man might in reaſon take vpon him to determine his owne right, and according to his owne determination proceede in maintenance thereof, in as much as euery man is towards himſelfe, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partiall; and therefore that ſtrifes and troubles would be endleſſe, except they gaue their common conſent all to be ordered by ſome whom they ſhould agree vpon: without which conſent, there were no reaſon that one man ſhould take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another; becauſe although there be according to the opinion of ſome very great and iudicious men, a kinde of naturall right in the noble, wiſe, and vertuous, to gouerne them which are of ſeruile diſpoſition; neuertheleſſe for manifeſtation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both ſides, the aſſent of them who are to be gouerned, ſeemeth neceſſary. To fathers within their priuate families nature hath giuen a ſupreme power; for which cauſe we ſee throughout the world, euen from the firſt foundation therof, all men haue euer bin taken as Lords and lawfull Kings in their owne houſes. Howbeit ouer a whole grand multitude, hauing no ſuch dependency vpon any one, and conſiſting of ſo many families as euery politique ſociety in the world doth, impoſſible it is that any ſhould haue complete lawfull power, but by conſent of men, or immediate appoint-

Gen.4.8.

Gen.6.5. Gen.5.

2.Pet.2.5.

Ariſt.Pol.l.3.c.4.

ment

ment of God; becauſe not hauing the naturall ſuperiority of fathers, their power muſt needs be eyther vſurped, and then vnlawfull; or if lawfull, then eyther granted or conſented vnto by them ouer whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe giuen extraordinarily from God, vnto whom all the world is ſubiect. It is no improbable opinion therfore which the Arch-Philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in euery houſhold was alwayes as it were a King; ſo when numbers of houſholds ioyned themſelues in ciuill ſocieties together, Kings were the firſt kind of gouernors amongſt them. Which is alſo as it ſeemeth the reaſon, why the name of *Father* continued ſtill in them, who of fathers were made rulers: as alſo the ancient cuſtome of gouernours to do as *Melchiſedec*, and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit not this the onely kinde of regiment that hath beene receiued in the world. The inconueniences of one kinde haue cauſed ſundry other to be deuiſed. So that in a word all publike regiment, of what kind ſoeuer, ſeemeth euidently to haue riſen from deliberate aduice, conſultation and compoſition betweene men, iudging it conuenient and behouefull; there being no impoſſibility in nature conſidered by it ſelfe, but that men might haue liued without any publique regiment. Howbeit the corruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not denie but that the law of nature doth now require of neceſſity ſome kinde of regiment; ſo that to bring things vnto the firſt courſe they were in, and vtterly to take away all kinde of publique gouernment in the world, were apparantly to ouerturne the whole world. The caſe of mans nature ſtanding therefore as it doth, ſome kind of regiment the law of nature doth require, yet the kindes therof being many, nature tyeth not to any one, but leaueth the choyce as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt when ſome certaine kind of regiment was once approued, it may be that nothing was then further thought vpon for the manner of gouerning, but all permitted vnto their wiſedome and diſcretion which were to rule; [a] till by experience they found this for all parts very inconuenient; ſo as the thing which they had deuiſed for a remedy, did indeed but increaſe the ſore which it ſhould haue cured. They ſaw that to liue by one mans will, became the cauſe of all mens miſerie. This conſtrained them to come vnto lawes, wherein all men might ſee their dueties before hand, and know the penalties of trangreſsing them. [b] If things be ſimdly good or euill, and withall vniuerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kinde therefore of things appointed by lawes humane, containeth whatſoeuer being in it ſelfe naturally good or euill, is notwithſtanding more ſecret then that it can be diſcerned by euery mans preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and iudgement. In which diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficulty and poſſibility many wayes to erre, vnleſſe ſuch things were ſet downe by lawes, many would be ignorant of their dueties which now are not; and many that know what they ſhould do, would neuertheleſſe diſſemble it, and to excuſe themſelues pretend ignorance and ſimplicity, which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of men are ſuch as preferre their owne priuate good before all things, euen that good vvhich is ſenſuall, before vvhatſoeuer is moſt diuine; and for that the laboure of doing good, together vvith the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make men for the moſt part ſlovver to the one, and proner to the other,

Ariſt. polit. lib. 1. cap. 1. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

a *Cùm premeretur ſitio multitudo ab iis qui maiores opes habebant, ad vnum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem; qui cum prohiberet iniuriâ tenuiores, æquitate conſtituendâ ſummos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges ſunt inuentæ. Cic. off lib. 2.*

τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐναγέσιν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προσέτταυσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦσι καὶ κατὰ νόμον νομίζεται *Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex.*

Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, vt & ignorantiam protelet in occaſionem, & conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationem. Tertul. lib. de Spectacul.

other, then that duty prescribed them by law can preuaile sufficiently with them: therefore vnto lawes that men doe make for the benefite of men, it hath seemed alwayes needefull to adde rewards which may more allure vnto good then any hardnesse deterreth from it, and punishments which may more deterre from euill then any sweetnesse thereto allureth. Wherein as the generalitie is naturall, *Vertue rewardable, and vice punishable*: so the particular determination of the reward or punishment, belongeth vnto them by whom lawes are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kinde of punishment is positiue, and such lawfull as men shall thinke with discretion conuenient by law to appoint. In lawes that which is naturall bindeth vniuersally, that which is positiue not so. To let goe those kinde of positiue lawes, which men impose vpon themselues, as by vow vnto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make vnto our purpose, a little more fully to consider, what things are incident into the making of the positiue lawes for the gouernment of them that liue vnited in publique society. Lawes doe not onely teach what is good, but they inioyne it, they haue in them a certaine constrayning force. And to constraine men vnto any thing inconuenient doth seeme vnreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to deuise lawes which all men shall be forced to obey, none but wise men be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall consequence; men of common capacity, and but ordinary iudgement are not able (for how should they?) to discerne what things are fittest for each kinde and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience vnto lawes dependeth vpon this point. Let a man though neuer so iustly, oppose himselfe vnto them that are disordered in their wayes, and what one amongst them commonly doth not stomacke at such contradiction, storme at reproofe, and hate such as would reforme them? Notwithstanding euen they which brooke it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are tolde the same by a law, thinke very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speake with all indifferencie, that the law hath no side respect to their persons, that the law is as it were an Oracle proceeded from wisedome and vnderstanding. Howbeit lawes doe not take their constraining force from the quality of such as deuise them, but from that power which doth giue them the strength of lawes. That which we spake before concerning the power of gouernement, must here bee applied vnto the power of making lawes whereby to gouerne; which power God hath ouer all; and by the naturall law whereunto he hath made all subiect, the lawfull power of making lawes to commaund whole politique societies of men, belongeth so properly vnto the same intire societies, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kinde soeuer vpon earth to exercise the same of himselfe, and not eyther by expresse Commission immediatly and personally receiued from God, or else by authority deriued at the first from their consent vpon whose persons they impose lawes, it is no better then meere tyrannie. Lawes they are not therefore which publique approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they giue who personally declare their assent by voyce, signe or acte, but also when others doe it in their names by right originally at the least deriued from them. As in Parliaments, Councels, and the like Assemblies, although we be not personally our selues present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of others agents there

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in our behalfe. And what we doe by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no lesse effectually to bind vs then if our selues had done it in person. In many things assent is giuen, they that giue it not imagining they doe so, because the maner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute Monarke commandeth his subiects that which seemeth good in his owne discretion, hath not his edict the force of a law, whether they approue or dislike it? Againe that which hath beene receiued long sithence, and is by custome now established, we keepe as a law which we may not transgresse; yet what consent was euer thereunto sought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally haue no full and perfect power to commaund whole politique multitudes of men; therefore vtterly without our consent we could in such sort be at no mans commandement liuing. And to be commaunded we doe consent, when that society whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without reuoking the same after by the like vniuersal agreement. Wherefore as any mans deed past is good as long as himselfe continueth; so the act of a publique society of men done fiue hundred yeares sithence, standeth as theirs, who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortall: we were then aliue in our Predecessors, and they in their Successors do liue still. Lawes therefore humane, of what kinde soeuer are auaileable by consent. If here it be demaunded how it commeth to passe, that this being common vnto all lawes which are made, there should be found euen in good lawes so great variety as there is: we must note the reason hereof to be, the sundry particular endes, whereunto the different disposition of that subiect or matter for which lawes are prouided, causeth them to haue especiall respect in making lawes. A law there is mentioned amongst the Græcians, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to haue beene Authour: and by that lawe it was agreed, that he which being ouercome with drinke did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober. No man could euer haue thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby onely to punish the iniury committed, according to the gravity of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harme aduisedly done is naturally lesse pardonable, and therefore worthy of sharper punishment? But for as much as none did so vsually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, euen because they would be so much the more freely outragious: it was for their publique good where such disorder was growne, to frame a positiue law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertaine those knowne lawes of making lawes; as that law-makers must haue an eye to the place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of lawes cannot serue for all kindes of regiment: that where the multitude beareth sway, lawes that shall tend vnto the preseruation of that state, must make common smaller offices to goe by lot, for feare of strife and diuision likely to arise, by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, & not missed without grudge and discontentment, whereas at an vncertaine lot none can finde themselues grieued on whomsoeuer it lighteth; contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to passe by popular election, that neyther the people may enuy such as haue those honours, in as much as themselues bestow them, and

Arist. polit. lib. 2. c. vlt.

that the chiefest may bee kindled with desire to exercise all partes of rare and beneficiall vertue; knowing they shall not loose their labour by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people: if the helme of chiefe gouernement bee in the handes of a few of the wealthiest, that then lawes prouiding for continuance thereof must make the punishment of contumely and wrong offered vnto any of the common sort, sharpe and grieuous, that so the euill may bee preuented, whereby the rich are most likely to bring themselues into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take so great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their persons are contumeliously troden vpon. In other kindes of regiment the like is obserued concerning the difference of positiue lawes, which to bee euery where the same is impossible and against their nature. Now as the learned in the lawes of this land obserue, that our statutes sometimes are onely the affirmation or ratification of that which by common law was held before: so heere it is not to be omitted, that generally all lawes humane which are made for the ordering of politique societies, bee eyther such as establish some duety whereunto all men by the law of reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that a duety now which before was none. The one sort wee may for distinctions sake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerely* humane. That which plaine or necessary reason bindeth men vnto, may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by humane law: For example, if confusion of blood in marriage, the liberty of hauing many wiues at once, or any other the like corrupt and vnreasonable custome doth happen to haue preuailed farre, and to haue gotten the vpper hand of right reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left to rectifie such foule disorder, without prescribing by law the same things which reason necessarily *doth* enforce, but is not perceiued that so it doth; of if many be growne vnto that which the Apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he writeth, saying, that *Euen what things they naturally know, in those very things as beasts voyde of reason, they corrupted themselues*; or if there be no such speciall accident, yet for as much as the common sort are led by the sway of their sensuall desires, and therefore doe more shun sinne for the sensible euils which follow it amongst men, then for any kinde of sentence which reason doth pronounce against it: this very thing is cause sufficient why duties belonging vnto each kinde of vertue, albeit the law of reason teach them, should notwithstanding be prescribed euen by humane law. Which law in this case we terme *mixt*, because the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the same which reason necessarily doth require at our handes, and from the law of reason it differeth in the manner of binding onely. For whereas men before stood bound in conscience to doe as the law of reason teacheth; they are now by vertue of humane law become constrainable, and if they outwardly transgresse, punishable. As for lawes which are *meerely* humane, the matter of them is any thing which reason doth but probably teach to be fit and conuenient; so that till such time as law hath passed amongst men about it, of it selfe it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this: Landes are by humane law in some places after the owners decease, diuided vnto all his children; in some all descendeth to the eldest sonne. If the law of reason did necessarily require

Staundf. pref. to the pleas of the Crowne.

Epist. Iud. v. 10. Ἃ μὲν οὐκ οἴδασιν βλασφημοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ἐπίστανται ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.

Arist. Ethi. lib. 10. cap. 10.

but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by law haue receiued the other, ſhould be ſubiect to that heauy ſentence, which denounceth againſt all that decree wicked, vniuſt, and vnreaſonable things, *woe*. Whereas now which ſoeuer be receiued, there is no law of reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for eyther of them more then probable reaſon there is not to be found. Laws whether mixtly or meerely humane are made by politique ſocieties: ſome, onely as thoſe ſocieties are ciuilly vnited; ſome, as they are ſpiritually ioyned and make ſuch a body as vve call the Church. Of lawes humane in this later kinde wee are to ſpeake in the third booke following. Let it therefore ſuffice thus farre to haue touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciouſly endued our nature, and thereby inabled the ſame to find out both thoſe lawes vvhich all men generally are for euer bound to obſerue, and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behooſe vvho leade their liues in any ordered ſtate of gouernement. Now beſides that law vvhich ſimply concerneth men as men, and that vvhich belongeth vnto them as they are men linked with others in ſome forme of politique ſociety; there is a third kinde of law which toucheth all ſuch ſeuerall bodies politique, ſo farre forth as one of them hath publique commerce with another. And this third is the *Law of nations*. Betweene men and beaſts there is no poſſibility of ſociable communion; becauſe the wel-ſpring of that communion is a naturall delight vvhich man hath to transfuſe from himſelfe into others, and to receiue from others into himſelfe, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of this kinde doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt inſtrument of humane communion therefore is ſpeech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reaſonable vnderſtanding. And for that cauſe ſeeing beaſtes are not hereof capable, for as much as with them vve can vſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree although aboue other creatures on earth to whom nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower then to bee ſociable companions of man to whom nature hath giuen reaſon; it is of *Adam* ſaid that amongſt the beaſts *He found not for himſelfe any meete companion*. Ciuill ſociety doth more content the nature of man, then any priuate kinde of ſolitary liuing; becauſe in ſociety this good of mutuall participation is ſo much larger then otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we couet (if it might be) to haue a kinde of ſociety and fellowſhip euen vvith all mankinde: Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelfe a Citizen, not of this or that Commonwealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very naturall deſire in vs, (a manifeſt token that wee wiſh after a ſort an vniuerſall fellowſhip with all men) appeareth by the wonderfull delight men haue, ſome to viſite forreigne Countries, ſome to diſcouer nations not heard of in former ages; vve all to know the affaires and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity vvith them: and this not only for traffiques ſake, or to the end that vvhen many are confederated each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo as moued the Queene of Saba to viſite *Salomon*; and in a word becauſe nature doth preſume that how many men there are in the vvorld, ſo many Gods as it vvere there are, or at leaſt vviſe ſuch they ſhould be tovvards men. Touching lavves vvhich are to ſerue men in this behalfe; euen as thoſe lavvs of reaſon, vvhich (man retaining his originall

Eſa. 10. 1.

Ariſt. pol. 1. c. 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. Tuſc. 5. & 1. *de legib.*

1. *Reg.* 10. 1. 2 *Chr.* 9. 1. *Matth.* 12. 42. *Luc.* 11. 31.

original integrity) had bin ſufficient to direct each particular perſon in all his affaires and duties, are not ſufficient but require the acceſſe of other laws, now that man and his of-ſpring are growne thus corrupt and ſinfull, againe as thoſe lawes of Polity and regiment, which would haue ſerued men liuing in publique ſociety together with that harmeles diſpoſition which then they ſhould haue had, are not able now to ſerue when mens iniquity is ſo hardly reſtrained within any tollerable bounds: in like maner the national lawes of natural commerce betweene ſocieties of that former and better quality might haue bin other then now, when nations are ſo prone to offer violence, iniury and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in euery of theſe three kinds, that diſtinction betweene *Primary* and *Secundary* lawes; the one grounded vpon ſincere, the other built vpon depraued nature. Primary lawes of nations are ſuch as concerne embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of forreiners and ſtrangers, ſuch as ſerue for commodious trafficke, and the like. Secundary lawes in the ſame kind, are ſuch as this preſent vnquiet world is moſt familiarly acquainted with, I meane lawes of armes; which yet are much better known then kept. But what matter the law of nations doth contain I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength and vertue of that law is ſuch, that no particular nation can lawfully preiudice the ſame by any their ſeuerall lawes and ordinances, more then a man by his priuate reſolutions the law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherein he liueth. For as ciuil law being the acte of a whole body politique, doth therefore ouer-rule each ſeuerall part of the ſame body: ſo there is no reaſon that any one Common-wealth of it ſelfe, ſhould to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cauſe the Lacedemonians forbidding al acceſſe of ſtrangers into their coaſts, are in that reſpect both by *Ioſephus* and *Theodoret* deſeruedly blamed, as being enemies to that hoſpitality which for common humanities ſake all the nations on earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of communion, and conſequently of lawes for the maintenance of communion amongſt nations: ſo amongſt nations Chriſtian the like in regard euen of Chriſtianity hath beene alwaies iudged needfull. And in this kinde of correſpondence amongſt nations, the force of general Councels doth ſtand. For as one and the ſame law diuine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeake, is vnto all Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things, by meanes whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as hauing all but *one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptiſme*: ſo the vrgent neceſſity of mutuall communion for preſeruation of our vnity in theſe things, as alſo for order in ſome other things conuenient to be euery where vniformly kept, maketh it requiſit that the Church of God here on earth haue her lawes of ſpirituall commerce betweene Chriſtian nations, lawes by vertue whereof all Churches may enioy freely the vſe of thoſe reuerend religious and ſacred conſultations, which are termed Councels generall. A thing wherof Gods owne bleſſed ſpirit was the Authour; a thing practiſed by the holy Apoſtles themſelues; a thing alwaies afterwards kept and obſerued throughout the world; a thing neuer otherwiſe then moſt highly eſteemed of, till pride, ambition and tyranny began by factious and vile endeuors, to abuſe that diuine inuention vnto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the iuſt authority of ciuill Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be aboliſhed, becauſe ſometime there is cunning vſed to frame them ac-

Ioſe. lib. 2. contra Appion.
Theod. lib. 9. de Sanand. Græc. affect.

Eph. 4. 5.

Act. 15. 28.

cording

cording to the priuate intents of men ouer-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grieuous abuſe which hath beene of Councels, ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudie how ſo gracious a thing may againe be reduced to that firſt perfection, then in regard of ſtaines and blemiſhes ſithence growing be held for euer in extreme diſgrace. To ſpeake of this matter as the cauſe requireth, would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay is this. Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto diuine law bindeth vs, but yet in ſuch ſort, that men are not thereof on all ſides reſolued; or for the ſetting downe of ſome vniforme iudgement to ſtand touching ſuch things, as being neyther way matters of neceſſity, are notwithſtanding offenſiue and ſcandalous when there is open oppoſition about them; be it for the ending of ſtriſes touching matters of Chriſtian beleefe, wherein the one part may ſeeme to haue probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of Politie, order and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelues to thoſe heauenly precepts, which our Lord and Saui-
our with ſo great inſtancie gaue vs concerning peace and vnity, if we did all con- *Ioh.14.27.*
curre in deſire to haue the vſe of auncient Councels againe renued, rather then theſe proceedings continued, which eyther make all contentions endleſſe, or bring them to one onely determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is by ſword. It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adioyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to be ſpoken of, namely, wherefore God hath himſelfe by Scripture made knowne ſuch lawes as ſerue for direction of men.

11 All things (God onely excepted) beſides the nature which they haue in themſelues, receiue externally ſome perfection from other things, as hath beene ſhewed. In ſo much as there is in the whole vvorld no one thing great or ſmall, but eyther in reſpect of knovvledg or of vſe it may vnto our perfection add ſomvvhat. And vvhatſoeuer ſuch perfection there is vvch our nature may acquire, the ſame vve properly terme our good, our ſoueraigne *good* or *bleſſednes*, that vvherin the higheſt degree of all our perfection conſiſteth, that vvhich being once attained vnto, there can reſt nothing further to be deſired, and therefore vvith it our ſoules are fully content & ſatisfied, in that they haue they reioice & thirſt for no more: vvherfore of good things deſired, ſome are ſuch that for themſelues vve couet them not, but only becauſe they ſerue as inſtruments vnto that for vvhich vve are to ſeeke; of this ſort are riches: another kind there is vvhich although vve deſire for it ſelfe, as health, & vertue, & knovvledge, neuertheles they are not the laſt marke vvherat vve aime, but haue their further end vvherunto they are referred; ſo as in them vve are not ſatisfied as hauing attained the vtmoſt vve may, but our deſires doe ſtill proceede. Theſe things are linked, and as it vvere chained one to another, vve labour to eate, and vve eate to liue, and vve liue to doe good, and the good vvhich vve do is as ſeed ſovvne vvith reference vnto a future harueſt. But vve muſt come at the length to ſome pauſe. For if euery thing vvere to be deſired for ſome other vvithout any ſtint, there could be no certaine end propoſed vnto our actions, vve ſhould go on vve knovv not vvhither, yea vvhatſoeuer vve doe vvere in vaine, or rather nothing at all vvere poſſible to be done. For as to take away the firſt efficient of our being, were to annihilate vtterly our perſons;

Wherfore God hath by Scripture further made knowne ſuch ſupernaturall lawes as do ſerue for mens direction.

a *Gal.6.8.* He that ſoweth to the ſpirit, ſhall of the ſpirit reape life euerlaſting.

perfons; ſo we cannot remoue the laſt finall cauſe of our working, but we ſhal cauſe whatſoeuer we worke to ceaſe. Therfore ſome thing there muſt be deſired for it ſelfe ſimply and for no other. That is ſimply for it ſelfe deſireable, vnto the nature whereof it is oppoſite and repugnant to be deſired with relation vnto any other. The Oxe & the Aſſe deſire their food, neither propoſe they vnto themſelues any end wherfore; ſo that of them this is deſired for it ſelfe; but why? By reaſon of their imperfection, which cannot otherwiſe deſire it: whereas that which is deſired ſimply for it ſelfe, the excellency thereof is ſuch as permitteth it not in any ſort to be referred vnto a further end. Now that which man doth deſire with reference to a further end, the ſame he deſireth in ſuch meaſure as is vnto that end conuenient: but what he coueteth as good in it ſelfe, towards that his deſire is euer infinite. So that vnleſſe the laſt good of all which is deſired altogether for it ſelfe, be alſo infinite; we doe euill in making it our end: euen as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleaſure, or any thing here attained; becauſe in deſiring any thing as our finall perfection, which is not ſo, we do amiſſe. Nothing may be infinitly deſired, but that good which indeede is infinite. For the better, the more deſirable; that therfore moſt deſireable, wherin there is infinity of goodnes; ſo that if any thing deſirable may be infinit, that muſt needes be the higheſt of all things that are deſired. No good is infinit but onely God: therefore he our felicity and bliſſe. Moreouer deſire tendeth vnto vnion with that it deſireth. If then in him we be bleſſed, it is by force of participation and coniunction with him. Againe, it is not the poſſeſſion of any good thing can make them happy which haue it, vnleſſe they inioy the thing wherwith they are poſſeſſed. Then are we happy therfore, when fully we enioy God, as an obiect wherein the powers of our ſoules are ſatisfied euen with euerlaſting delight: ſo that although we be men, yet by being vnto God vnited, we liue as it were the life of God. Happines therfore is that eſtate wherby we attaine, ſo far as poſſibly may be attained, the ful poſſeſſion of that which ſimply for it ſelfe is to be deſired, and containeth in it after an eminent ſort the contentation of our deſires, the higheſt degree of all our perfection. Of ſuch perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world we are ſubiect vnto ſundry [a] imperfections, griefe of body, defects of minde; yea the beſt things we doe are painfull, and the exerciſe of them grieuous, being continued without intermiſsion; ſo as in thoſe very actions whereby we are eſpecially perfected in this life, we are not able to perſiſt forced we are with very wearineſſe, and that often, to interupt them; which tediouſneſſe cannot fall into thoſe operations that are in the ſtate of bliſſe, when our vnion with God is complete. Complete vnion with him muſt be according vnto euery power and facultie of our mindes, apt to receiue ſo glorious an obiect. Capable we are of God both by vnderſtanding and will; by vnderſtanding as hee is that Soueraigne truth, which comprehendeth the rich treaſures of all wiſedome: by will, as he is that Sea of goodneſſe, whereof who ſo taſteth ſhal thirſt no more. As the vvill doth nowv worke vpon that obiect by deſire, vvhich is as it vvere a motion tovvards the end as yet vnobtained; ſo likevviſe vpon the ſame hereafter receiued it ſhall vvorke alſo by loue. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, ſaith S^t. Auguſtine, *The longing diſpoſition of them that thirſt, is changed into the ſweet affection of them that taſt & are repleniſhed.*

Where-

Vide Ariſt. Eth. 10. cap. 10. & Metaph. 12. ca. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

[a] Μόνον ὧ ἀσυλλόγιστε τὸ ὄνομα τῦ ἀγαθῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἐυδαιμονίαν, τὸ μᾶλλον κακόν, ἐυδαίμονα τὸ ἄθλιον λέγει. Τὸ δὲ ἐυδαίμονα ἀγαθὸν, μᾶλλον τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. Ἀδύνατον ἦν τὸ ἄθλιον ἐυθὺς καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, Καγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νῦν μοι βαλόντι περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστιν ἀυτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὃ γὰρ κόσμος πληρωμάτως τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς, μόνον ἀγαθὸν θεῦ. *Mercur. Triſmeg. Aug. de trin. lib. 9. cap. vlt.*

Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good eſpecially in reſpect of benefit vnto vs; we ſhall then loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodnes of beauty in it ſelfe. The ſoule being in this ſort as it is actiue, perfected by loue of that infinite good; ſhall as it is receptiue, be alſo perfected with thoſe ſupernaturall paſſions of ioy, peace, and delight. All this endleſſe and euerlaſting. Which perpetuitie, in regard whereof our bleſſednes is termed *a crowne which withereth not*, doth neither depend vpon the nature of the thing it ſelfe, nor proceede from any naturall neceſſitie that our ſoules ſhould ſo exerciſe themſelues for euer in beholding and louing God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree, and continue it ſo perfected. Vnder man no creature in the world is capable of felicitie and bliſſe; firſt, becauſe their chiefeſt perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for them, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth; ſecondly, becauſe whatſoeuer externall perfection they tende vnto, it is not better then themſelues, as ours is. How iuſt occaſion haue wee therefore euen in this reſpect with the Prophet to admire the goodneſſe of God; Lord what is man that thou ſhouldeſt exalt him aboue the workes of thy handes, ſo farre as to make thy ſelfe the inheritance of his reſt, and the ſubſtance of his felicity? Now if men had not naturally this deſire to be happy, how were it poſsible that all men ſhould haue it? All men haue. Therefore this deſire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to doe the ſame: how ſhould it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remiſſely? So that our deſire being naturall, is alſo in that degree of earneſtneſſe whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the hearts of all men ſo deſirous of that which no man may obtaine? It is an axiome of nature, that naturall deſire cannot vtterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfie the ſame were a thing impoſſible for man to aſpire vnto. Man doth ſeeke a triple perfection, firſt a ſenſuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which very life it ſelfe requireth, eyther as neceſſary ſupplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which none vnderneath man is eyther capable of, or acquainted with; laſtly a ſpirituall and diuine, conſiſting in thoſe things wherunto we tend by ſupernaturall meanes here, but cannot here attaine vnto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the ſcope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to haue no God, but onely their belly, to be earthly minded men. Vnto the ſecond they bend themſelues, who ſeeke eſpecially to excell in all ſuch knowledge and vertue as doth moſt commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of morall and ciuill perfection. That there is ſomewhat higher then eyther of theſe two, no other proofe doth need, then the very proceſſe of mans deſire, which being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if there were not ſome farther thing wherein it might reſt at the length contented, which in the former it cannot doe. For man doth not ſeeme to reſt ſatisfied either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preſerued, or with performance of ſuch actions as aduance him moſt deſeruedly in eſtimation; but doth further couet, yea oftentimes manifeſtly purſue with great ſedulity and earneſtnes, that vvhich cannot ſtand him in any ſtead for vitall vſe; that vvhich exeedeth the reach of ſenſe; yea ſomevvhat aboue capacity of reaſon, ſomevvhat diuine and heauenly, vvhich vvith hidden exul-

Mat.25. The iuſt ſhall go into life euerlaſting.
Mat.22. They ſhall be as the Angels of God
2.Tim.4.8.
1.Pet.1.4.

Pſalm.8.

Comment in proem. 2. Met. taph.

Phil.3.19.

exultation it rather ſurmiſeth then conceiueth; ſomwhat it ſeeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not, yet very intentiue deſire thereof doth ſo incite it, that all other knowne delights and pleaſures are laide aſide, they giue place to the ſearch of this but onely ſuſpected deſire. If the ſoule of man did ſerue onely to giue him being in this life, then things appertayning vnto this life would content him, as we ſee they doe other creatures: which creatures inioying what they liue by, ſeeke no further, but in this contentation doe ſhew a kinde of acknowledgement, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong vnto them. VVith vs it is otherwiſe. For although the beauties, riches, honours, ſciences, vertues, and perfections of all men liuing, were in the preſent poſſeſsion of one: yet ſomewhat beyond and aboue all this there would ſtill be ſought and earneſtly thirſted for. So that nature euen in this life doth plainly claime and call for a more diuine perfection, then eyther of theſe two that haue bin mentioned. This laſt, and higheſt eſtate of perfection whereof we ſpeake, is receiued of men in the nature of a [a] reward. Rewards do alwaies preſuppoſe ſuch dueties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall meanes therefore vnto bleſſedneſſe are our workes: nor is it poſsible that nature ſhould euer find any other way to ſaluation then onely this. But examine the workes which we doe, and ſince the firſt foundation of the world what one can ſay, My wayes are pure? Seeing then all fleſh, is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to puniſh, what poſſibility is there this way to be ſaued? There reſteth therefore eyther no way vnto ſaluation, or if any, then ſurely a way which is ſupernaturall, a way which could neuer haue entred into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God himſelfe had not reuealed it extraordinarily. For which cauſe we terme it the myſterie or ſecret way of ſaluation. And therefore S. *Ambroſe* in this matter appealeth iuſtly from man to God, [b] *Cæli myſterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui ſeipſum ignorauit, Let God himſelfe that made me, let not man that knowes not himſelfe, be my inſtructour concerning the myſticall way to heauen.*

a *Mat.*5.12. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. *Aug. de doct. Chriſt. cap.* 6. *Summa merces eſt vt ipſo perfruamur.*

b *Ambroſ. contra Sym.*

c *Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum ſe doctrinæ penitus dedidiſſent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & priuatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis ſtudium contulerunt, exiſtimantes multo eſſe præclarius humanarum diuinarumq; rerum inueſtigare ac ſcire rationem, quàm ſtruendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neq; adepti ſunt id quod volebant, & operam ſimul atq; induſtriam perdiderunt; quia veritas, id eſt, arcanum ſummi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac proprijs ſenſibus non poteſt comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominemq; diſtaret, ſi conſilia & diſpoſitiones illius maieſtatis æternæ cogitatio aſſequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit vt homini per ſeipſum ratio diuina noteſceret, non eſt paſſus hominem Deus lumen ſapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac ſine vllo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos eius aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus ſuum fecit, vt & humanam ſapientiam nullam eſſe monſtraret, & erranti ac vago viam conſequendæ immortalitatis oſtenderet. Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

[c] *When men of excellent wit* (ſaith Lactantius) *had wholly betaken themſelues vnto ſtudy, after farewell bidden vnto all kinde as well of priuate as publique action, they ſpared no labour that might be ſpent in the ſearch of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to ſeeke and to finde out the reaſon of all affaires, as well diuine as humane, then to ſticke faſt in the toile of piling vp riches, and gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit they both did faile of their purpoſe, & got not as much as to quit their charges; becauſe truth which is the ſecret of the moſt high God, whoſe proper handiworke all things are, cannot be compaſſed with that wit and thoſe ſenſes which are our owne. For God and man ſhould be very neere neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a ſuruey of the counſels and appointments of that Maieſty euer laſting. Which being vtterly impoſsible, that the eye of man by it ſelfe ſhould looke into the boſome of diuine reaſon; God did not ſuffer him being deſirous of the light of wiſedome, to ſtray any longer vp and downe, and with bootleſſe expenſe of trauell, to wander in darkeneſſe that had no paſſage to get*

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out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and beſtow vpon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donatiue; to the end that man might both be clearely conuicted of folly, and being through error out of the way, haue the path that leadeth vnto immortalitie layd plaine before him. Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus*; to ſhew that God himſelfe is the teacher of the truth, whereby is made knowne the ſupernaturall way of ſaluation and law for them to liue in that ſhall be ſaued. In the naturall path of euerlaſting life, the firſt beginning is that habilitie of doing good, which God in the day of mans creation indued him with; from hence obedience vnto the will of his creator, abſolute righteouſneſſe and integrity in all his actions; and laſt of all the iuſtice of God rewarding the worthineſſe of his deſerts with the crowne of eternall glory. Had *Adam* continued in his firſt eſtate, this had bene the way of life vnto him and all his poſteritie. Wherein I confeſſe notwithſtanding with the [a] wittieſt of the Schoole diuines, that if we ſpeake of ſtrict iuſtice, God could no way haue bene bound to requite mans labours in ſo large and ample maner as humaine felicitie doth import: in as much as the dignitie of this exceedeth ſo far the others value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined in lieu of mans endeuors to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that iuſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namely the iuſtice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with preſſed and heaped and euen ouer-inlarged meaſure: yet could it neuer hereupon neceſſarily be gathered, that ſuch iuſtice ſhould adde to the nature of that reward the property of euerlaſting continuance; ſith poſſeſſion of bliſſe, though it ſhould be but for a moment, were an aboundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this conſideration, how gracious and bountifull our good God might ſtill appeare in ſo rewarding the ſonnes of men, albeit they ſhould exactly performe whatſoeuer duty their nature bindeth them vnto. Howſoeuer God did propoſe this reward, we that were to be rewarded muſt haue done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impoſſibility that the other ſhould be looked for. The light of nature is neuer able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliſſe, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteouſneſſe. From ſaluation therefore and life all fleſh being excluded this way, behold how the wiſedome of God hath reuealed a way myſticall and ſupernaturall, a way directing vnto the ſame end of life by a courſe which groundeth it ſelfe vpon the guiltineſſe of ſinne, and through ſinne deſert of condemnation and death. For in this way the firſt thing is the tender compaſſion of God reſpecting vs drowned and ſwallowed vp in miſerie; the next is redemption out of the ſame by the pretious death and merite of a mighty Sauiour, which hath witneſſed of himſelfe ſaying [b] *I am the way*, the way that leadeth vs from miſerie into bliſſe. This ſupernaturall way had God in himſelfe prepared before all worlds. The way of ſupernaturall dutie which to vs he hath preſcribed, our Sauiour in the Goſpell of Saint Iohn doth note, terming it by an excellencie the worke of God: [c] *This is the worke of God, that yee beleeue in him whom he hath ſent.* Not that God doth require nothing vnto happineſſe at the hands of men ſauing onely a naked beliefe, (for hope and Charity we may not exclude:) but that without beliefe all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of thoſe other diuine vertues. Concerning faith, the principall obiect whereof is that eternall veritie which

[a] *Scot. lib. 4. Sent. diſt. 49. 6. Loquendo de ſtrictâ iuſtitiâ, Deus nulli noſtrum propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immodoratum exceſſum illius perfectionis vltra illa merita. Sed eſto quod ex liberalitate ſuâ determinaſſet maiùs conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem iuſtitiâ qualis decet eum, ſcilicet ſupererogantis in præmijs: tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſariò quòd per illam iuſtitiam ſit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquàm præmium; imò abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine vnius momenti.*

[b] *Iohn 14. 6.*

[c] *Iohn 6. 29.*

hath diſcouered the treaſures of hidden wiſedome in Chriſt; concerning hope, the higheſt obiect whereof is that euerlaſting goodneſſe which in Chriſt doth quicken the dead; concerning charity, the finall obiect whereof is that incomprehenſible beauty which ſhineth in the countenance of Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God; concerning theſe vertues, the firſt of which beginning heere with a weake apprehenſion of things not ſeene, endeth with the intuitiue viſion of God in the world to come; the ſecond beginning heere with a trembling expectation of things far remoued, and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expreſſe; the third beginning heere with a weake inclination of heart towards him vnto whom wee are not able to approch, endeth with endleſſe vnion, the miſtery whereof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that faith, hope and charity, without which there can be no ſaluation; was there euer any mention made ſauing only in that law which God himſelfe hath from heauen reuealed? There is not in the world a ſyllable muttered with certaine truth concerning any of theſe three, more then hath bene ſupernaturally receiued from the mouth of the eternall God. Lawes therefore concerning theſe things are ſupernaturall, both in reſpect of the maner of deliuering them which is diuine, and alſo in regard of the things deliuered, which are ſuch as haue not in nature any cauſe from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordeined beſides the courſe of nature, to rectifie natures obliquity withall.

[a] The cauſe why ſo many naturall or rational laws are ſet downe in holy Scripture.

[b] *Ius naturale eſt quod in lege & Euangelio continetur. p. 1. d. 1.*

12 [a] When ſupernaturall duties are neceſſarily exacted, naturall are not reiected as needleſſe. The law of God therefore is though principally deliuered for inſtruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other alſo. The Scripture is fraught euen with lawes of nature. In ſo much that [b] Gratian defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth thoſe generall duties, that concerne men naturally euen as they are men) termeth naturall right that which the bookes of the Lawe and the Goſpell doe containe. Neither is it vaine that the Scripture aboundeth with ſo great ſtore of lawes in this kind. For they are either ſuch as we of our ſelues could not eaſily haue found out, and then the benefit is not ſmall to haue them readily ſet downe to our hands; or if they be ſo cleere and manifeſt that no man indued with reaſon can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the ſpirit as it were borrowing them from the ſchoole of nature as ſeruing to proue things leſſe manifeſt, and to induce a perſwaſion of ſomewhat which were in it ſelfe more hard and darke, vnleſſe it ſhould in ſuch ſort be cleared, the very applying of them vnto caſes particular is not without moſt ſingular vſe and profite many wayes for mens inſtruction. Beſides, be they plaine of themſelues or obſcure, the euidence of Gods owne teſtimonie added vnto the naturall aſſent of reaſon concerning the certaintie of them, doth not a little comfort and confirme the ſame. Wherefore in as much as our actions are conuerſant about things beſet with many circumſtances, which cauſe men of ſundry wits to be alſo of ſundry iudgements concerning that which ought to be done: requiſite it cannot but ſeeme the rule of diuine law ſhould herein helpe our imbecillitie, that we might the more infallibly vnderſtand what is good and what euill. The firſt principles of the law of nature are eaſie, hard it were to finde men ignorant of them: but concerning

cerning the duty which natures law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, ſo [a] farre hath the naturall vnderſtanding euen of ſundry whole nations bene darkned, that they haue not diſcerned no not groſſe iniquity to be ſinne. Againe, being ſo prone as we are to fawne vpon our ſelues, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our owne deformities, without the feeling ſenſe whereof we are moſt wretched, euen ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing them we cannot as much as deſire to haue them taken away: how ſhould our feſtred ſores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a law as ſharpe as the two edged ſword, pearcing the very cloſeſt and moſt vnſearchable corners of the heart, which the law of nature can hardly, humane lawes by no meanes poſſible reach vnto? Hereby we know euen ſecret concupiſcence to be ſinne, and are made fearefull to offend though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally of thoſe things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needfull, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the light of nature it ſelfe, are there not many which few mens naturall capacitie, and ſome which no mans hath bene able to find out? They are, ſayth Saint Auguſtine, but a few, and they indued with great ripeneſſe of wit and iudgement, free from all ſuch affaires as might trouble their meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and the ſubtleſt points of learning, who haue, and that very hardly, bene able to find out but onely the immortality of the ſoule. The reſurrection of the fleſh what man did euer at any time dreame of, hauing not heard it otherwiſe then from the ſchoole of nature? Whereby it appeareth how much we are bound to yeeld vnto our creator the Father of all mercy eternall thanks, for that he hath deliuered his law vnto the world, a law wherein ſo many things are laid open cleere and manifeſt; as a light which otherwiſe would haue bene buried in darkeneſſe, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certaine loſſe of infinite thouſands of ſoules moſt vndoubtedly now ſaued. Wee ſee therefore that our ſoueraigne good is deſired naturally; that God the author of that naturall deſire had appointed naturall meanes whereby to fulfill it; that man hauing vtterly diſabled his nature vnto thoſe meanes, hath had other reuealed from God, and hath receaued from heauen a law to teach him how that which is deſired naturally muſt now ſupernaturally be attained; finally wee ſee that becauſe thoſe later exclude not the former quite and cleane as vnneceſſary, therefore together with ſuch ſupernaturall duties as could not poſſibly haue beene otherwiſe knowne to the world, the ſame lawe that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch naturall duties as could not by light of nature eaſily haue bene knowne.

13. *In the firſt age of the world God gaue lawes vnto our fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their daies, their memories ſerued in ſteed of bookes; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being knowne to God, he mercifully relieued the ſame by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoued them to be ſpecially mindfull. In which reſpect wee ſee how many times one thing hath bene iterated vnto ſundry euen of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the liues of men were ſhortned, meanes more durable to preſerue the lawes of God from oblition and corruption grew in vſe, not without pre-

[a] *Ioſephus lib. ſecundo contra Appio. Laccedemony quomodo non ſunt ob inhoſpitalitatem reprehendendi, ſic diuinæ negligentiam nuptiarum? Elienſes verò & Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis planè impudentem & cõtra naturam; quem rectè & vtiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarent, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere. vide. Th. 22. q. 94. ſ. 6. Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, vt latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. Auguſt. aut quiſquis author eſt lib. de quæſt. nou. & vet. teſt. quit neſciat quid bonæ vitæ conueniat, aut ignoret, quia quod ſibi fieri non vult alijs minime debeat facere? At verò vbi naturalis lex euanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifeſtiùs ſcriptis, vt dei iudicium omnes audirent: non quod penitus obliterata eſſ, ſed quia maximâ eius authoritate carebat, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi quidq erat con-*

cupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt, vt quæ ſciebantur authoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cœperant manifeſtarentur. * The benefit of hauing diuine lawes written.

cise direction from God himselfe. First therefore of Moyses it is sayd, that hee *wrote all the words of God*; not by his owne priuate motion and deuice: for God taketh this act to himselfe, *I haue written*. Furthermore were not the Prophets following commanded also to doe the like? Vnto the holie Euangelist S. Iohn how often expresse charge is giuen, *Scribe, write these things?* Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples the words of Saint Augustine are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperauit.* Now although we do not deny it to be a matter meerely accidentall vnto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto: finally though his lawes do require at our hands the same obedience howsoeuer they be deliuered; his prouidence notwithstanding which hath made principall choice of this way to deliuer them, who seeth not what cause we haue to admire and magnifie? The singular benefit that hath growne vnto the world by receiuing the lawes of God, euen by his owne appointment committed vnto writing, we are not able to esteeme as the value thereof deserueth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seeke for any reuealed law of God otherwhere then onely in the sacred Scripture, whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yeeld to traditions vrged by the Church of *Rome* the same obedience and reuerence we do to his written lawe, honouring equally, and adoring both as diuine: our answer is, no. They that so earnestly pleade for the authoritity of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conueyed then that which spreadeth it selfe by report, and descendeth by relation of former generations vnto the ages that succeede, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselues; howsoeuer if the simple were so perswaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enioy the benefit, as they accompt it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maymed and deformed it becommeth; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind, consider but onely that little of things Diuine, which the [a] Heathen haue in such sort receiued. How miserable had the state of the Church of God beene long ere this, if wanting the sacred Scripture, we had no record of his lawes but onely the memory of man, receiuing the same by report and relation from his predecessors? By Scripture it hath in the wisedome of God seemed meete to deliuer vnto the world much but personally expedient to be practised of certaine men; many deepe and profound points of doctrine, as being the maine originall ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies the cleere performance whereof might confirme the world in beliefe of things vnseene; many histories to serue as looking glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousnesse of God towards all that faithfully serue, obey and honor him; yea many intire meditations of pietie, to be as patternes and presidents in cases of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application vnto particular occasions, such as the prouidence of God from time to time hath taken to haue the seuerall bookes of his holy ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principall necessary lawes of God, there are sundry other things written, whereof wee might happily be ignorant, and yet be saued:

What?

Exod. 24. 4. *Ose.* 8. 12.

Apoc. 1. 11. & 14. 13. *Aug. lib.* 1. *de cons. Euang. cap. vlt.*

[a] I meane those historicall matters concerning the ancient state of the first world, the deluge, the sonnes of Noah, the children of Israels deliuerance out of AEgypt, the life and doings of Moses their Captaine, with such like: the certaine truth whereof deliuered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them onely by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to bee seene, is the shew of darke and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

What? ſhall we hereupon thinke them needleſſe? ſhall we eſteeme them as riotous branches wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant vines ouergrowne? Surely no more then we iudge our hands, or our eies ſuperfluous, or what part ſoeuer, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithſtanding any ſuch defect reteine ſtill the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome parts whereof though the want could not depriue him of his eſſence, yet to haue them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpeciall vſes for which they ſerue: in like ſort all thoſe writings which conteine in them the law of God, all thoſe venerable bookes of Scripture, all thoſe ſacred tomes and volumes of holy writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lacke whereof might depriue vs of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needleſſe, we ſhould thinke it no loſſe or danger at all if we did want it.

14 Although the ſcripture of God therefore be ſtored with infinite varietie of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of lawes, yet the principall intent of ſcripture is to deliuer the lawes of duties ſupernaturall. Oftentimes it hath bene in very ſolemne maner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation be neceſſarily ſet downe in the holy Scriptures or no. If we define that neceſſary vnto ſaluation, whereby the way to ſaluation is in any ſort made more plaine, apparent, and eaſie to be knowne; then is there no part of true Philoſophie, no art of account, no kind of ſcience rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt conteine it. If onely thoſe things be neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practiſe whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinary graunt of ſaluation; it may be notwithſtanding, and oftentimes hath bene demanded, how the bookes of holy Scripture conteine in them all neceſſary things, when of things neceſſary the very chiefeſt is to knowe what bookes wee are bound to eſteeme holie; which point is conſeſt impoſſible for the Scripture it ſelfe to teach. Whereunto wee may aunſwere with truth, that there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which propoſing vnto it ſelfe an end (as euery one doth ſome end or other) hath bene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered ſimply whatſoeuer is needfull to the ſame end: but all kinds of knowledge haue their certaine bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other ſciences and knowne before hand. He that ſhould take vpon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needes deliuer vnto them whatſoeuer precepts are requiſite vnto that end, otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh vpon him. Seeing then no man can pleade eloquently, vnleſſe he be able firſt to ſpeake, it followeth that habilitie of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous, that he which vndertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliuer all the precepts of Grammar; becauſe his profeſſion is to deliuer precepts neceſſarie vnto eloquent ſpeech, yet ſo, that they which are to receiue them be taught before hand, ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſarie as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture do profeſſe to conteine in it all things which are neceſſarie vnto ſaluation; yet

The ſufficiency of Scripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted. *Vtrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori, ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacrâ ſcripturâ.* This queſtion propoſed by Scotus, is affirmatiuely concluded.

the meaning cannot be ſimply of all things which are neceſſarie, but all things that are neceſſarie in ſome certaine kind or forme; as all things that are neceſſarie, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily be knowne by the light of naturall diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſarie to be knowne that wee may be ſaued, but knowne with preſuppoſall of knowledge concerning certaine principles, whereof it receaueth vs already perſwaded, and then inſtructeth vs in all the reſidue that are neceſſary. In the number of theſe principles one is the ſacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other meanes that theſe Scriptures are the oracles of God, themſelues do then teach vs the reſt, and lay before vs all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſary vnto ſaluation. Further, there hath bene ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *conteining in ſcripture* do import expreſſe ſetting downe in plaine tearmes, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort that by reaſon we may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundrie wayes bene giuen. For our beliefe in the Trinity, the Coeternity of the Sonne of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, the duty of baptizing infants, theſe with ſuch other principall points, the neceſſity whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in Scripture no where to be found by expreſſe literall mention, onely deduced they are out of ſcripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in ſcripture being therefore receiued, ſtill there is no doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſary be made vp. For let vs not thinke that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man ſhall be able to ſound the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the ſcripture; eſpecially if things conteined by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoeuer may be at any time out of ſcripture but probably and coniecturally ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſitie vrged vpon this Church vnder the name of reformed Church diſcipline, there is any one which their bookes hitherto haue made manifeſt to be conteined in the Scripture. Let them if they can alleage but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and vs, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of ſcripture to be neceſſarie. It hath beene alreadie ſhewed, how all things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation in ſuch ſort as before we haue maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſarie, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all fleſh is excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation, which to thinke were moſt barbarous; or elſe that God hath by ſupernaturall meanes reuealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe God hath ſo many times and waies ſpoken to the ſonnes of men. Neither hath he by ſpeech onely, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath bene to the end that things by him reuealed vnto the world, might haue the longer continuance, and the greater certaintie of aſſurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on record, hath in both thoſe reſpects preeminence aboue that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no pennes but the tongues, no booke but the eares

of

of men to record it. The ſeuerall Bookes of Scripture hauing had each ſome ſeuerall occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to bee written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpeciall end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that euery Booke of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, [a] naturall, [b] hiſtoricall, [c] forreine, [d] ſupernaturall, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there hath beene reaſons alleaged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation muſt bee made knowne, and that God himſelfe hath therefore reuealed his will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not haue knowne ſo much as is neceſſarie; his ſurceaſing to ſpeake to the world ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and the deliuerie of the ſame in writing, is vnto vs a manifeſt token that the way of ſaluation is now ſufficiently opened, and that wee neede no other meanes for our full inſtruction, then God hath alreadie furniſhed vs withall. The maine drift of the whole newe Teſtament, is that which Saint *Iohn* ſetteth downe as the purpoſe of his owne Hiſtorie, *Theſe things are written, that yee might beleeue that Ieſus is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and that in beleeuing yee might haue life through his name.* The drift of the olde, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to *Timothie*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe vnto ſaluation.* So that the generall ende both of olde and newe is one; the difference betweene them conſiſting in this, that the olde did make wiſe by teaching ſaluation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the newe by teaching that Chriſt the Sauiour is come, and that Ieſus whom the Iewes did crucifie, and whom God did raiſe againe from the dead, is hee. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth vnto *Timothie*, that the olde was able to make him wiſe to ſaluation, it was not his meaning that the olde alone can doe this vnto vs which liue ſithence the publication of the newe. For hee ſpeaketh with preſuppoſall of the doctrine of Chriſt knowne alſo vnto *Timothie*; and therefore firſt it is ſayd, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt beene taught them.* Againe, thoſe Scriptures hee graunteth were able to make him wiſe to ſaluation; but hee addeth, *through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the newe Teſtament teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the redemption of the world, which redemption the olde did foreſhew he ſhould worke; it is not the former alone which can on our behalfe performe ſo much as the Apoſtle doth auouch, who preſuppoſeth this when hee magnifieth that ſo highlie. And as his words concerning the bookes of auncient Scripture, doe not take place but with preſuppoſall of the Goſpell of Chriſt embraced: ſo our owne words alſo when wee extoll the complete ſufficiencie of the whole intire body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be vnderſtood with this caution, that the benefite of natures light be not thought excluded as vnneceſſarie, becauſe the neceſſitie of a diuiner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man what place or calling ſoeuer he hold in the Church of God, may haue thereby the light of his naturall vnderſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieued by the other, there can want no part of needfull inſtruction vnto any good worke which God himſelfe requireth, bee it naturall or ſupernaturall, belonging ſimply vn-

[a] *Eph.5.29.*
[b] *2.Tim.3.8.*
[c] *Tit.1.12.*
[d] *2.Pet.2.4.*

Iohn 23.31.

2.Tim.3.15.

2.Tim.3.14.

Verſe 15.

to

to men as men, or vnto men as they are vnited in whatſoeuer kind of ſocietie. It ſufficeth therefore that nature and Scripture doe ſerue in ſuch full ſort; that they both ioyntly, and not ſeuerally either of them, be ſo complete, that vnto euerlaſting felicitie we neede not the knowledge of any thing more then theſe two may eaſily furniſh our minds with on all ſides: and therefore they which adde traditions as a part of ſupernaturall neceſſarie truth, haue not the truth, but are in errour. For they onely pleade, that whatſoeuer God reuealeth as neceſſary for all Chriſtian men to doe or beleeue, the ſame wee ought to embrace, whether wee haue receiued it by writing or otherwiſe; which no man denieth: when that which they ſhould confirme who claime ſo great reuerence vnto traditions is, that the ſame traditions are neceſſarily to be acknowledged diuine and holie. For wee doe not reiect them onely becauſe they are not in the Scripture, but becauſe they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwiſe ſufficiently by any reaſon be proued to be of God. That which is of God, and may be euidently proued to be ſo, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although vnwritten, yet the ſelfe ſame force and authoritie with the written lawes of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *that the Apoſtles did in euery Church inſtitute and ordeine ſome rites and cuſtomes ſeruing for the ſeemelineſſe of Church regiment, which rites and cuſtomes they haue not committed vnto writing.* Thoſe rites and cuſtomes being knowne to be Apoſtolicall, and hauing the nature of things changeable, were no leſſe to be accompted of in the Church then other things of the like degree, that is to ſay, capable in like ſort of alteration, although ſet downe in the Apoſtles writings. For both being knowne to be Apoſtolicall, it is not the manner of deliuering them vnto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth giue them their force and credite.

Whitakerus aduerſus Bellarmin. queſt. 6. cap. 6.

Of lawes poſitiue conteined in ſcripture, the mutability of certaine of them, and the generall vſe of ſcripture.

15 Lawes being impoſed either by each man vpon himſelfe, or by a publique ſocietie vpon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men vpon euery ſeuerall ſocietie, or by the Lord himſelfe vpon any or euerie of theſe; there is not amongſt theſe foure kinds any one, but containeth ſundry both naturall and poſitiue lawes. Impoſſible it is but that they ſhould fall into a number of groſſe errors, who onely take ſuch lawes for poſitiue, as haue bene made or inuented of men, and holding this poſition hold alſo, that all poſitiue and none but poſitiue lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall doe alwayes bind; lawes poſitiue not ſo, but onely after they haue bene expreſly and wittingly impoſed. Lawes poſitiue there are in euery of thoſe kindes before mentioned. As in the firſt kinde the promiſes which we haue paſt vnto men, and the vowes we haue made vnto God; for theſe are lawes which we tye our ſelues vnto, and till we haue ſo tied our ſelues they bind vs not. Lawes poſitiue in the ſecond kind are ſuch as the ciuill conſtitutions peculiar vnto each particular common weale. In the third kind the law of Heraldry in warre is poſitiue: and in the laſt all the iudicials which God gaue vnto the people of *Iſraell* to obſerue. And although no lawes but poſitiue be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be poſitiue. Poſitiue lawes are either permanent or elſe changeable, according as the matter it ſelfe is concerning which they were firſt made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they ſo far forth admit,

as the matter doth exact. Lawes that concerne ſupernaturall duties, are all poſitiue; and either concerne men ſupernaturally as men, or elſe as parts of a ſupernaturall ſociety, which ſociety we call the Church. To concerne men as men ſupernaturally, is to concerne them as duties which belong of neceſſitie to all, and yet could not haue bene knowne by any to belong vnto them, vnleſſe God had opened them himſelfe, in as much as they do not depend vpon any naturall ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to ſupply the defect of thoſe naturall wayes of ſaluation, by which we are not now able to attaine thereunto. The Church being a ſupernaturall ſocietie, doth differ from naturall ſocieties in this; that the perſons vnto whom wee aſſociate our ſelues, in the one are men ſimply conſidered as men; but they to whom wee bee ioyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy men. Againe the Church being both a ſociety, and a ſociety ſupernaturall; although as it is a ſociety, it haue the ſelfe ſame originall grounds which other politique ſocieties haue, namely, the naturall inclination which all men haue vnto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certaine bond of aſſociation, which bond is the law that appointeth what kind of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: yet vnto the Church as it is a ſocietie ſupernaturall this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belong to the Church of God, muſt be a lawe ſupernaturall, which God himſelfe hath reuealed concerning that kind of worſhip which his people ſhall do vnto him. The ſubſtance of the ſeruice of God therefore, ſo farre forth as it hath in it any thing more then the lawe of reaſon doth teach, may not be inuented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens; but muſt be receiued from God himſelfe, as alwaies it hath bene in the Church, ſauing only when the Church hath bene forgetfull of her dutie. Wherefore to end with a generall rule concerning all the lawes which God hath tyed men vnto: thoſe lawes diuine that belong whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they liue in politique ſocietie, or to men as they are of that politique ſocietie which is the Church, without any further reſpect had vnto any ſuch variable accident as the ſtate of men and of ſocieties of men and of the Church it ſelfe in this world is ſubiect vnto; all lawes that ſo belong vnto men, they belong for euer, yea although they be poſitiue lawes, vnleſſe being poſitiue God himſelfe which made them alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubiect or matter of lawes in generall is thus farre forth conſtant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof lawes were inſtituted, and being inſtituted are not changeable without cauſe, neither can they haue cauſe of change, when that which gaue them their firſt inſtitution, remaineth for euer one and the ſame. On the other ſide lawes that were made for men or ſocieties or Churches, in regard of their being ſuch as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhaps be cleane otherwiſe a while after, and ſo may require to be otherwiſe ordered then before: the lawes of God himſelfe which are of this nature, no man indued with common ſenſe will euer denie to be of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancie, and the mutabilitie of the other. And this doth ſeeme to haue beene the very cauſe why S. *Iohn* doth ſo peculiarly terme the doctrine that teacheth ſaluation by Ieſus Chriſt, *Euangelium æternum*, an eternall Goſpell; becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore

Eſa. 29.13. Their feare towards me was taught by the precept of men.

Apoc. 14.6.

wherefore the publishing thereof should bee taken away, and any other in stead of it proclaimed, as long as the world doth continue: whereas the whole lawe of rites and Ceremonies, although deliuered with so great solemnitie, is notwithstanding cleane abrogated, in as much as it had but temporary cause of Gods ordeining it. But that we may at the length conclude this first generall introduction vnto the nature and originall birth, as of all other lawes, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture conteineth, concerning the author whereof, euen infidels haue confessed, that he can neither erre nor deceiue; albeit about things easie and manifest vnto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation, because as a man whose wisedome is in waighty affaires admired, would take it in some disdaine to haue his counsell solemnely asked about a toy, so the meaneneſſe of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them were to derogate from the reuerend authoritie and dignitie of the Scripture, no lesse then they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinarie talke very idly applied vnto vaine and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious, then prophane; to take from thence our direction euen in all things great or small, then to wade through matters of principall waight and moment, without euer caring what the lawe of God hath, either for or against our disseignes. Concerning the custome of the very Paynimes, thus much *Strabo* witnesseth, [a] *Men that are ciuill doe leade their liues after one common lawe appointing them what to doe. For that otherwise a multitude should with harmonie amongst themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing, (for this is ciuilly to liue) or that they should in any sort menage communitie of life, it is not possible. Now lawes or statutes are of two sorts. For they are either receiued from Gods, or else from men. And our auncient predecessors did surely most honor and reuerence that which was from the Gods; for which cause consultation with Oracles was a thing very vsuall and frequent in their times.* Did they make so much account of the voyce of their Gods, which in truth were no Gods: and shall we neglect the pretious benefite of conference with those Oracles of the true and liuing God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plaine, and so easie acceſſe for all men? [b] *By thy Commandements* (this was *Dauids* confession vnto God) *thou hast made me wiser then mine enemies.* Againe, *I haue had more vnderstanding then all my teachers, because thy testimonies are my meditations.* What paines would not they haue bestowed in the studie of these bookes, who trauailed sea and land to gaine the treasure of some fewe dayes talke, with men whose wisedome the world did make any reckoning of? [c] That little which some of the Heathens did chance to heare, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully conteineth, they did in wonderfull sort affect; their speeches as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselues could not vtter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits which did euery where else conquer hardneſſe, were with profoundneſſe heere ouer-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense, to the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life doth neede, and with reason, least that which sense cannot reach vnto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be knowne, should lye obscure; finally with the heauenly

Κομιδῆ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἐν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, οὔτε ἄλλος ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίαν, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημεῖα σοφὰς, οὐδ' ὑπὸς οὐδ' ὀναρ. *Plat. in fine. 2. Polit.*

[a] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προσάγματος κοινῆ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ὄντες τοὺς πολλοὺς ἓν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ ποιεῖν ὑφωσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως οὐ νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὰ δὲ πρόσταγμα διττόν. Ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐτίμων μᾶλλον καὶ διετήρουν καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ἐχρηματίζετο τοτε πολλ. *Stra. Geogr. lib. 16.*

[b] *Psal 119.98.*

[c] *Vide Orphei carmina.*

support

ſupport of [a] prophetical reuelation, which doth open thoſe hidden myſteries that reaſon could neuer haue bene able to find out, or to haue knowne the neceſſitie of them vnto our euerlaſting good: vſe we the pretious gifts of God vnto his glory and honour that gaue them, ſeeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his ſight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

[a] Τὸν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σοφωτάτου, πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀφορῶντα σκοπὸν. *Philo de Moſ.*

16 Thus farre therefore we haue endeuoured in part to open, of what nature and force lawes are, according vnto their ſeuerall kinds; the lawe which God with himſelfe hath eternally ſet downe to follow in his owne works; the law which he hath made for his creatures to keepe, the law of naturall and neceſſarie agents; the law which Angels in heauen obey; the lawe whereunto by the light of reaſon men find themſelues bound in that they are men; the lawe which they make by compoſition for multitudes and politique ſocieties of men to be guided by; the law which belongeth vnto each nation; the lawe that concerneth the fellowſhip of all; and laſtly the lawe which God himſelfe hath ſupernaturally reuealed. It might peraduenture haue beene more popular and more plauſible to vulgar eares, if this firſt diſcourſe had beene ſpent in extolling the force of lawes, in ſhewing the great neceſſity of them when they are good, and in aggrauating their offence by whom publique lawes are iniuriouſly traduced. But for as much as with ſuch kind of matter the paſſions of men are rather ſtirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way ſet forward vnto the triall of that whereof there is doubt made; I haue therefore turned aſide from that beaten path, and choſen though a leſſe eaſie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propoſe. Leaſt therefore any man ſhould maruaile whereunto all theſe things tend, the drift and purpoſe of all is this, euen to ſhew in what manner as euery good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect lawes is deriued from the Father of lights; to teach men a reaſon why iuſt and reaſonable lawes are of ſo great force, of ſo great vſe in the world; and to enforme their minds with ſome methode of reducing the lawes whereof there is preſent controuerſie vnto their firſt originall cauſes, that ſo it may be in euery particular ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable, iuſt and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be throughly vnderſtood, or ſoundly iudged of, till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth bee made manifeſt? If all parts of knowledge haue beene thought by wiſe men to bee then moſt orderly deliuered and proceeded in, when they are drawne to their firſt originall; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the qualitie of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, let it not ſeeme a labour ſuperfluous that in the entrance thereunto all theſe ſeuerall kinds of lawes haue beene conſidered; in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all haue their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifeſt maner. By meanes whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the force which they haue is not obſerued of many. Eaſier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then inſtructed how to iudge as they ſhould do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally vnto all, the other ſuch as none but the wiſer and more iudicious ſort can performe. Yea the wiſeſt are alwayes touching this point the readieſt to acknow-

A concluſion ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

Iam.1.17.

Ariſt. Phyſ. lib.1. cap.1.

Arist. Ethic. 10. *τὸ κρῖναι δὲ δῶς, μέγιστον.* *Intelligit de legum qualitate iudicium.*

acknowledge, that soundly to iudge of a law is the waightiest thing which any man can take vpon him. But if wee will giue iudgement of the lawes vnder which we liue, first let that law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutifull estimation of all lawes, the vse and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that lawes apparantly good, are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high euerlasting lawe, euen as the booke of that lawe hath said concerning it selfe, *By me Kings reigne, and by me Princes decree iustice.* Not as if men did behold that booke, and accordingly frame their lawes; but because it worketh in them, because it discouereth and (as it were) readeth it selfe to the world by them, when the lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore although wee perceiue not the goodnesse of lawes made; neuertheless sith things in themselues may haue that which wee peraduenture discerne not; should not this breed a feare in our hearts, how we speake or iudge in the worse part concerning that, the vnaduised disgrace whereof may be no meane dishonour to him, towards whom we professe all submission and awe? Surely there must be very manifest iniquitie in lawes, against which we shall be able to iustifie our contumelious inuectiues. The chiefest roote whereof, when we vse them without cause, is ignorance how lawes inferiour are deriued from that supreme or highest law. The first that receiue impression from thence are naturall agents. The law of whose operations might be haply thought lesse pertinent, when the question is about lawes for humane actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concerne men, the rules and axiomes of naturall operations haue their force. What can be more immediate to our saluation, then our perswasion concerning the lawe of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of loue towards his Church, then the knowledge of that mysticall vnion whereby the Church is become as neare vnto Christ, as any one part of his flesh is vnto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needs protect it; what proofe more strong, then if a manifest lawe so require, which lawe it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other lawe doth the Apostle for this alleage, but such as is both common vnto Christ with vs, and vnto vs with other things naturall, *No man hateth his owne flesh, but doth loue and cherish it?* The axiomes of that lawe therefore, whereby naturall agents are guided, haue their vse in the morall, yea euen in the spirituall actions of men, and consequently in all lawes belonging vnto men howsoeuer. Neither are the Angels themselues, so farre seuered from vs in their kind and manner of working, but that betweene the lawe of their heauenly operations, and the actions of men in this our state of mortalitie, such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselues fellow seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one one Lord, there must be some kinde of lawe which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a patterne and a spurre? Or would the Apostles speaking of that which belongeth vnto Saintes, as they are linked together in the bond of spirituall societie, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publiquely

Prou. 8. 15.

Eph. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

1. Pet. 1. 12. *Eph. 3. 10.* *1. Tim. 5. 21.*

publiquely done by the Church wee are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of heauen doe? Yea ſo farre hath the Apoſtle S. Paul proceeded, as to ſignifie that euen about the outward orders of the Church which ſerue but for comelineſſe, ſome regard is to be had of Angels; who beſt like vs when we are moſt like vnto them in all parts of decent demeanor. So that the law of Angels wee cannot iudge altogether impertinent vnto the affaires of the Church of God. Our largeneſſe of ſpeech how men doe find out what things reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerue, and what it guideth them to chooſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care wee haue had to declare the different nature of lawes which ſeuerally concerne all men, from ſuch as belong vnto men either ciuilly or ſpiritually aſſociated, ſuch as pertaine to the fellowſhip which nations, or which Chriſtian nations haue amongſt themſelues, and in the laſt place ſuch as concerning euery or any of theſe, God himſelfe hath reuealed by his holy word; all ſerueth but to make manifeſt, that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kindes, ſo the lawes thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men opeeations ſome naturall, ſome rationall, ſome ſupernaturall, ſome politique, ſome finally Eccleſiaſticall. Which if we meaſure not each by his owne proper law, whereas the things themſelues are ſo different; there will be in our vnderſtanding and iudgement of them confuſion As that firſt errour ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe haue grounded themſelues. For as they rightly maintaine, that God muſt be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend vnto his glory, vnleſſe they be framed after his law: So it is their errour, to thinke that the only law which God hath appointed vnto men in that behalfe is the ſacred Scripture. By that which wee worke naturally, as when we breath, ſleepe, mooue, we ſet forth the glory of God as naturall agents doe, albeit we haue no expreſſe purpoſe to make that our end, nor any aduiſed determination therein to follow a law, but doe that we doe (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and morall actions another law taketh place, a law by the obſeruation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no creature elſe vnder man is able to doe; becauſe other creatures haue not iudgement to examine the qualitie of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they doe, they neither can accuſe nor approue themſelues. Men doe both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea thoſe men which haue no written lawe of God to ſhew what is good or euill, carry written in their hearts the vniuerſall law of mankind, the law of reaſon whereby they iudge as by a rule which God hath giuen vnto all men for that purpoſe. The lawe of reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorifie God in ſuch ſort as is required to the end he may be an euerlaſting Sauiour, this wee are taught by diuine law, which law both aſcertaineth the truth and ſupplieth vnto vs the want of that other law. So that in morall actions, diuine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reaſon to guide mans life; but in ſupernaturall it alone guideth. Proceed wee further, let vs place man in ſome publique ſocietie with others, whether Ciuill or Spirituall: and in this caſe there is no remedie but we muſt adde yet a further law. For although euen here likewiſe the lawes of nature and reaſon be of neceſſary vſe; yet ſomewhat ouer and beſides them is neceſſary, namely humane and poſitiue law, together with that law which is

1. Cor. 11. 10.

Pſal. 148. 7. 8. 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

of commerce betweene grand ſocieties, the law of nations and of nations Chriſtian. For which cauſe the law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers.* The publique power of all ſocieties is aboue euery ſoule contained in the ſame ſocieties. And the principall vſe of that power is to giue lawes vnto all that are vnder it; which lawes in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, vnleſſe there bee reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily enforce, that the law of reaſon or of God doth inioyne the contrary. Becauſe except our owne priuate, and but probable reſolutions, be by the law of publique determinations ouerruled; we take away all poſsibilitie of ſociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof then our ſelues we cannot haue. How commeth it to paſſe that wee are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutuall contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Politie of the Church? No doubt if men had beene willing to learne how many lawes their actions in this life are ſubiect vnto, and what the true force of each law is, all theſe controuerſies might haue dyed the very day they were firſt brought foorth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truly, that the beſt men otherwiſe are not alwayes the beſt in regard of ſocietie. The reaſon whereof is, for that the law of mens actions is one, if they be reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politique body. Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled. And yet in ſocietie with others, none leſſe fit to anſwere the duties which are looked for at their handes. Yea I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe wee ſtriue, there are whoſe betters among men would bee hardly found, if they did not liue amongſt men, but in ſome wilderneſſe by themſelues. The cauſe of which their diſpoſition ſo vnframable vnto ſocieties wherein they liue, is for that they diſcerne not aright what place and force theſe ſeuerall kindes of lawes ought to haue in all their actions. Is there queſtion either concerning the Regiment of the Church in generall, or about conformitie betweene one Church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, iuriſdictions in our owne Church? Of all theſe things they iudge by that rule which they frame to themſelues with ſome ſhew of probabilitie; and what ſeemeth in that ſort conuenient, the ſame they thinke themſelues bound to practiſe, the ſame by all meanes they labour mightily to vphold; whatſoeuer any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of priuate reaſon, where the law of publique ſhould take place, they breed diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true diſtinction of lawes and of their ſeuerall force, according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it ſhall not peraduenture be amiſſe to ſhew in ſome one example how they all take place. To ſeeke no further, let but that be conſidered then which there is not any thing more familiar vnto vs, our foode. What things are foode, and what are not, we iudge naturally by ſenſe, neither neede we any other law to bee our director in that behalfe then the ſelfe-ſame which is common vnto vs with beaſts. But when wee come to conſider of foode, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſſe hath prouided for all things liuing; the law of reaſon doth here require the dutie of thankfulneſſe at our handes, towards him at whoſe hands wee haue it. And leſt appetite in the vſe of foode, ſhould leade vs beyond that which is meete; wee owe in this

Rom.13.1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δυνάσται χρῆσθαι ἐν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἕτερον ἀδύνατοι εἰσι. *Ariſt. Eth.5. cap.3.*

Iob.34.3.

Pſa.145.15.16.

this caſe obedience to that law of reaſon, which teacheth mediocrity in meates and drinks. The ſame thinges diuine law teacheth alſo, as at large wee haue ſhewed it doth all partes of morall dutie, whereunto wee all of neceſſitie ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certaine kindes of food the Iewes ſometime had, and we our ſelues like wiſe haue a myſticall, religious, and ſupernaturall vſe; they of their Paſchall Lambe and Oblations; we of our bread and wine in the Euchariſt; which vſe none but diuine law could inſtitute. Now as we liue in ciuill ſocietie, the ſtate of the common-wealth wherein we liue, both may and doth require certaine lawes concerning foode; which lawes, ſauing onely that we are members of the common-wealth where they are of force, wee ſhould not neede to reſpect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they muſt bee reſpected and obeyed. Yea the ſelfe ſame matter is alſo a ſubiect wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſticall Lawes haue place; ſo that vnleſſe wee will bee authours of confuſion in the Church, our priuate diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide vs a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelfe to bee that way guided, which the publike iudgement of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe that of *Zonaras* concerning faſtes may bee remembred. *Faſtinges are good, but let good things be done in good and conuenient maner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his faſting the orders of the holy Fathers*, the poſitiue lawes of the Church of Chriſt, muſt bee plainly told *that good thinges doe loſe the grace of their goodneſſe, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here mens priuate phanſies muſt giue place to the higher iudgement of that Church which is in authority a mother ouer them: ſo the very actions of whole Churches, haue in regard of commerce and fellowſhip vvith other Churches, beene ſubiect to lawes concerning foode, the contrary vnto vvhich lawes had elſe beene thought more conuenient for them to obſerue; as by that order of abſtinence from ſtrangled and bloud may appeare; an order grounded vpon that fellovvſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we ſee how euen one and the ſelfe ſame thing is vnder diuers conſiderations conueyed through many lawes and that to meaſure by any one kind of law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath diſpoſed all lawes, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefely end, of lawe there can be no leſſe acknowledged, then that her ſeate is the boſome of God, her voyce the harmony of the world, all things in heauen and earth do her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her power; both Angels and men and creatures of what condition ſo euer, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with vniforme conſent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and ioy.

(* * *)

ὅτι ἐν καλῷ τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. *Zonar. in can. Apoſt. 66.*

Act. 15. 20.

(* * *)

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The second Booke.

Concerning their first position who vrge Reformation in the Church of ENGLAND.

Namely, that Scripture is the onely rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.

The matter conteined in this second Booke.

1 AN answere to their first proofe brought out of Scripture. Prou. 29.
2 To their second. 1. Cor. 10. 31.
3 To their third. 1. Tim. 4. 5.
4 To their fourth. Rom. 14. 23.
5 To their proofes out of Fathers, who dispute negatiuely from the authoritie of holy Scripture.
6 To their proofe by the Scriptures custome of disputing from Diuine authoritie negatiuely.
7 An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actions and perswasions.
8 A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

AS that which in the title hath beene proposed for the matter whereof we treate, is onely the Ecclesiasticall lawe whereby wee are gouerned; So neither is it my purpose to maintaine any other thing, then that which therein truth and reason shall approoue. For concerning the dealings of men who administer gouernment, and vnto whom the execution of that law belongeth; they haue their iudge who sitteth in heauen, and before whose tribunall seate they are accomptable for whatsoeuer abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this Church) the want either of care or of consci-

ence in them hath bred. Wee are no Patrones of thoſe things therefore; the beſt defence whereof is ſpeedy redreſſe and amendement. That which is of God we defend, to the vttermoſt of that hability which he hath giuen: that which is otherwiſe, let it wither euen in the roote from whence it hath ſprung. Wherefore all theſe abuſes being ſeuered and ſet apart, which riſe from the corruption of men, and not from the lawes themſelues: come wee to thoſe things which in the very whole intire forme of our Church-Politie haue beene (as we perſwade our ſelues) iniuriouſly blamed by them who indeauour to ouerthrow the ſame, and in ſtead thereof to eſtabliſh a much worſe; onely through a ſtrong miſconceipt they haue, that the ſame is grounded one diuine authority. Now whether it bee that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end, I doe but imagine the matters whereof wee contend, to bee fewer then indeed they are; or elſe for that in trueth they are fewer when they come to bee diſcuſt by reaſon, then otherwiſe they ſeeme, when by heate of contention they are deuided into many ſlippes, and of euery branch an heape is made: ſurely as now wee haue drawne them together, chooſing out thoſe things which are requiſite to bee ſeuerally all diſcuſt, and omitting ſuch meane ſpecialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themſelues; I know no cauſe why either the number or the length of theſe controuerſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and loue on all ſides; which of his infinite loue and goodneſſe the Father of all peace and vnitie grant. Vnto which ſcope that our indeauour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe thinges bee examined, which are as ſeedes from whence the reſt that enſue haue growne. And of ſuch the moſt generall is that, wherewith wee are here to make our entrance; a queſtion not mooued (I thinke) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be ſoone (I truſt) determined: the rather for that it hath growne from no other roote, then only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſary vſe of the word of God; vvhich deſire hath begotten an error enlarging it further then (as vve are perſvvaded) ſoundneſſe of truth vvill beare. For vvhereas God hath left ſundry kindes of lavves vnto men, and by all thoſe lavves the actions of men are in
T.C.l.1.p.59.60 ſome ſort directed: they hold that one onely lavve, the Scripture, muſt be the rule to direct in all things, euen ſo farre as to the *taking vp of a ruſh or ſtraw*. About vvhich point there ſhould not neede any queſtion to grovv, and that vvhich is grovvne might preſently end, if they did yeelde but to theſe tvvo reſtraints: the firſt is, not to extend the actions vvhereof they ſpeake ſo lovv as that inſtance doth import, of taking vp a ſtravv, but rather keepe themſelues at the leaſt vvithin the compaſſe of morall actions, actions which haue in them vice or vertue; the ſecond, not to exact at our hands for euery action the knowledge of ſome place of Scripture out of vvhich we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by diuerſe teſtimonies they ſeeke to enforce; but rather as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the lawe of reaſon; the generall axiomes, rules, and principles of which lawe being ſo frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, euen out of Scripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kind of conſequence, (as by long circuite of deduction it may be that euen all truth out of any truth may be concluded); howbeit

howbeit no man bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of ſcripture, as if either the place be to him vnknown wheron they may be concluded, or the reference vnto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be cõdemned as vnlawful. In this we diſſent, & this we are preſently to examine.

1 In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed, things moſt generall are moſt ſtrong: Thus it muſt be, in as much as the certainty of our perſwaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether vpon the credite of thoſe generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore euery cauſe admit not ſuch infallible euidence of proofe, as leaueth no poſsibility of doubt or ſcruple behind it; yet they who claime the generall aſſent of the whole world vnto that which they teach, and doe not feare to giue very hard and heauy ſentence vpon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt haue ſpeciall regard that their firſt foundations and grounds be more then ſlender probabilities. This whole queſtion which hath beene mooued about the kind of Church regiment, wee could not but for our owne reſolutions ſake, endeauour to vnrip and ſift; following therein as neare as we might, the conduct of that iudiciall method vvhich ſerueth beſt for inuention of truth. By meanes whereof hauing found this the head theoreme of all their diſcourſes, who pleade for the change of Eccleſiaſticall gouernment in England, namely, *That the ſcripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of humane actions, that ſimply whatſoeuer we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſinne*; vve hold it neceſſary that the proofes hereof bee waighed: bee they of waight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to iudge and determine: onely what difficulties there are, which as yet withhold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorne or refuſe to heare. Firſt therefore whereas they alleage *that wiſedome* doth teach men *euery good way*; and haue thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, vnleſſe wiſedome doe by Scripture leade vnto it: ſee they not plainely how they reſtraine the manifold wayes which wiſedome hath to teach men by, vnto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The boundes of wiſedome are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſedome was *Adams* inſtructor in Paradiſe: wiſedom indued the fathers, who liued before the law, with the knowledge of holy things: by the wiſedome of the law of God, *Dauid* attained to excell others in vnderſtanding; and *Salomon* likewiſe to excell *Dauid*, by the ſelfe ſame wiſedom of God teaching him many things beſides the law. The wayes of well-doing are in number euen as many, as are the kindes of voluntary actions: ſo that whatſoeuer we doe in this world and may doe it ill, we ſhew our ſelues therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if wiſedome did teach men by Scripture not onely all the wayes that are right and good in ſome certaine kind, according to that of [a] Saint Paul concerning the vſe of Scripture; but did ſimply without any maner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction, teach euery way of doing wel; there is no art but Scripture ſhould teach it, becauſe euery art doth teach the way how to do ſome thing or other well. To teach men therefore wiſedome profeſſeth, and to teach them euery good way: but not euery good

The firſt pretended proofe of the firſt poſition out of ſcripture. *Pro.2.9. T.C.l.1.p.20.* I ſay that the word of God containeth whatſoeuer things can fall into any part of mans life. For ſo Salomon ſaith in the ſecond chapter of the Prouerbs, My ſonne, if thou receiue my wordes &c. then thou ſhalt vnderſtand iuſtice and iudgment and equiry, and euery good way.

Pſal.119 96.

a 2.Tim.3.16. *The whole Scripture is giuen by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, that the man of God may be abſolute being made perfect vnto all good worke.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good workes which belong vnto vs as we are men of God, and which vnto ſaluation are neceſſary. Or if we vnderſtand by men of God, Gods Miniſters, there is not required in them an vniuerſall skill of euery good worke or way, but an hability to teach whatſoeuer men are bound to doe that they may be ſaued. And with this kind of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

way

way by one way of teaching. Whatſoeuer either men on earth, or the Angels of heauen doe know, it is as a drop of that vnemptiable fountaine of wiſedome; which wiſedome hath diuerſly imparted her treaſures vnto the world. As her wayes are of ſundry kindes, ſo her manner of teaching is not meerely one and the ſame. Some things ſhe openeth by the ſacred bookes of Scripture; ſome thinges by the glorious workes of nature: with ſome things ſhe inſpireth them from aboue by ſpirituall influence; in ſome thinges ſhee leadeth and traineth them onely by worldy experience and practiſe. Wee may not ſo in any one ſpeciall kinde admire her, that wee diſgrace her in any other; but let all her wayes bee according vnto their place and degree adored.

The ſecond proofe out of Scripture. 1. Cor. 10. 31. T. C. l. 1. p. 26. S. Paul. ſaith that whether we eat or drink or whatſoeuer we do, we muſt doe it to the glory of God. But no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in reſpect of the commandement and word of God: Therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

2 That *all things bee done to the glory of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that vertue diuine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth men and Angels to extoll his greatneſſe, and in regard thereof to feare him. By being glorified, it is not meant that he doth receiue any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his name wee glorifie, when wee teſtifie our acknowledgement of his glory. Which albeit wee moſt effectually doe by the vertue of obedience: neuertheleſſe it may bee perhaps a queſtion, whether S. Paule did meane that we ſinne as oft as euer we goe about any thing, without an expreſſe intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſaith of himſelfe, *I doe in all things pleaſe all men, ſeeking not mine owne commodity, but* rather the good *of many, that they may bee ſaued.* Shall it herevpon be thought, that S. Paule did not mooue either hand or foote, but with expreſſe intent euen thereby to further the common ſaluation of men? Wee mooue, we ſleepe, we take the cuppe at the hand of our friend, a number of things wee oftentimes doe, onely to ſatisfie ſome naturall deſire, without preſent, expreſſe and actuall reference vnto any commaundement of God. Vnto his glory euen theſe thinges are done which wee naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and ſpiritually we doe. For by euery effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſitie wee ſhall ſinne, vnleſſe wee expreſſely intend this in euery ſuch particular. But bee it a thing which requireth no more then onely our generall preſuppoſed willingneſſe to pleaſe God in all things; or bee it a matter wherein wee cannot ſo glorifie the name of God as wee ſhould, without an actuall intent to doe him in that particular ſome ſpeciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alleaged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actuall intelligent deſire to fulfill that law which maketh knowne what his will is, although no ſpeciall clauſe or ſentence of ſcripture bee in euery ſuch action ſet before mens eyes to warrant it. For ſcripture is not the onely law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may bee done; but there are other kind of lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former booke hath bene prooued at large: Nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Doe therefore all things vnto the glory of God* ſaith the Apoſtle, *be inoffenſiue both to the Iewes and Gracians, and the Church of God; euen as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine owne commoditie, but manies that they may bee ſaued.* In the leaſt thing

thing done diſobediently towardes God, or offenſiuely againſt the good of men whoſe benefite we ought to ſeeke for as for our owne, wee plainely ſhew that we doe not acknowledge God to bee ſuch as indeede he is, and conſequently that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth: but doth any Apoſtle teach, that we cannot glorifie God otherwiſe, then onely in doing what we find that God in Scripture commaundeth vs to doe? The Churches diſperſed amongſt the Heathen in the Eaſt part of the world, are by the Apoſtle S. Peter exhorted, to haue their *conuerſation honeſt amongeſt the Gentiles, that they which ſpake euill of them as of euill doers, might by the good workes which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, their vertuous conuerſation was a meane to worke the Heathens conuerſion vnto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had beene a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelues did diſcerne, in matters of life and conuerſation, when beleeuers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heauenly Father, and when not: it followeth that ſome thinges wherein God is glorified, may bee ſome other way knowne, then onely by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being vtterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding iudge rightly of the qualitie of Chriſtian mens actions. Moſt certaine it is that nothing but onely ſinne, doth diſhonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to doe nothing whereby the name of God maybe blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſaluation of Iew or Græcian or any in the Church of Chriſt may be let or hindred, nothing whereby his law is tranſgreſt. But the queſtion is, whether onely Scripture doe ſhew whatſoeuer God is glorified in.

1. *Pet.* 2. 12.

Rom. 2. 24.

1. *Cor.* 10. 32. *Rom.* 2. 23.

3 And though meates and drinkes bee ſaid to bee ſanctified by the word of God, and by prayer: yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to prooue, that by Scripture wee muſt of neceſſitie bee directed in euery light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Onely it ſheweth that vnto vs the vvorde, that is to ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, hauing not deliuered any ſuch difference of things cleane and vncleane, as the lavv of Moſes did vnto the Iewes; there is no cauſe but that vvee may vſe indifferently all things, as long as we doe not (like ſwine) take the benefite of them, vvithout a thankfull acknowledgement of his liberalitie and goodneſſe, by whoſe prouidence they are inioyed: and therefore the Apoſtle gaue warning before hand to take heed of ſuch as ſhould inioyne to *abſtaine from meats, which God hath created to be receiued with thanks-giuing, by them which beleeue and know the truth. For euery creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be receiued with thanks-giuing, becauſe it is ſanctified by the word of God and prayer.* The Goſpell by not making many things vncleane, as the lawe did, hath ſanctified thoſe thinges generally to all, which particularly each man vnto himſelfe muſt ſanctifie by a reuerend and holy vſe: vvhich will hardly bee drawne ſo farre, as to ſerue their purpoſe, who haue imagined the vvord in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all thinges, that neither foode can bee taſted, nor rayment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deede muſt needes bee ſinne in them, which doe not firſt knowe it appointed vnto them by Scripture before they doe it.

The third ſcripture prof. 1. *Tim.* 4. 5.

And that which S. Paul ſaid of meats and drinks, that they are ſanctified vnto vs by the word of God, the ſame is to bee vnderſtanded of all things els whatſoeuer we haue the vſe of. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 20. 1. *Tim.* 4.

4 But

The fourth Scripture proofe. *Rom.*14.23. *T.C.lib.*1.*p.*27.

4 But to come vnto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood vpon; that place of S. Paule they ſay, is *of all other moſt cleare, where ſpeaking of thoſe thinges which are called indifferent, in the end hee concludeth, that whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne. But faith is not but in reſpect of the word of God. Therefore whatſoeuer is not done by the word of God is ſinne.* Whereunto we anſwere, that albeit the name of faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needes haue reference vnto ſome vttered worde, as the obiect of beliefe: neuertheleſſe ſith the ground of credite is the credibilitie of thinges credited; and thinges are made credible, either by the knowne condition and qualitie of the vtterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of truth which they haue in themſelues; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoeuer we are perſwaded of, the ſame we are generally ſaid to beleeue. In which generalitie, the obiect of faith may not ſo narrowly be reſtrained, as if the ſame did extend no further then to the onely ſcriptures of God. *Though* (ſaith our Sauiour) *ye beleeue not me, beleeue my works; that yee may know and beleeue that the Father is in me, and I in him. The other Diſciples ſaid vnto* Thomas, *Wee haue ſeene the Lord*; but his anſwere vnto them was, *Except I ſee in his hands the print of the nailes, and put my finger into them, I will not beleeue.* Can there bee any thing more plaine, then that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth, namely that there may bee a certaine beliefe grounded vpon other aſſurance then Scripture; any thing more cleare, then that wee are ſaid not onely to beleeue the thinges which wee know by anothers relation, but euen whatſoeuer wee are certainely perſwaded of, whether it be by reaſon, or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as [a] it is graunted that S. Paul doth meane nothing elſe by *Faith*, but onely *a full perſwaſion that that which wee doe is well done*; againſt which kinde of faith or perſwaſion as S. Paule doth count it ſinne to enterpriſe any thing, [b] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen haue taught, as *Tully*, *that nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt whether it bee right or wrong; whereby it appeareth that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man*: I hope we ſhall not ſeeme altogether vnneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſſe of their opinion, who thinke ſimply that nothing but onely the word of God, can giue vs aſſurance in any thing we are to doe, and reſolue vs that we doe well. For might not the Iewes haue beene fully perſwaded that they did well to thinke (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the father was, although the onely ground of this their faith, had beene the wonderfull workes they ſaw him doe? Might not, yea did not Thomas fully in the end perſwade himſelfe, that he did well to thinke that bodie, which now was raiſed, to bee the ſame which had beene crucified? That which gaue *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe; *Thomas becauſe thou haſt ſeene, thou beleeueſt*, ſaith our Sauiour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him, thinke hee did well to ſet downe

*Pſal.*19.8. *Apoc.*3.14. *2.Cor.*1.18.

*Ioh.*10.38.

*Ioh.*20.25.

Ioh 10.21.

a And if any will ſay, that Saint Paule meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion that that which hee doth is well done, I graunt it. But from whence can that ſpring but from faith? how can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelues that we do well, but whereas we haue the word of God for our warrant? *T.C. lib.* 1. *cap* 27. b What alſo that ſome euen of thoſe Heathen men haue taught, that nothing ought to bee done, whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man: and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the Schoole of Chriſt in his word, which onely is able through faith to giue them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings. *T.C.lib.*1.*pag.*60.

downe in writing a thing ſo conſonant vnto truth. Finally, wee all beleeue that the Scriptures of God are ſacred, and that they haue proceeded from God, our ſelues we aſſure that we doe right well in ſo beleeuing. We haue for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure vs, that we doe well to think it his word. For if any one booke of Scripture did giue teſtimony to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giueth credite to the reſt, would require another Scripture to giue credite vnto it: neither could we euer come vnto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way: ſo that vnleſſe beſides Scripture there were ſome thing which might aſſure vs that we doe well, we could not thinke we do well, no not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy rule of well doing. On which determination we might be contented to ſtay our ſelues without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawne on into larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtnes, who beate more and more vpon theſe laſt alleaged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore they ſtill argue, that *whereſoeuer faith is wanting, there is ſinne*, and *in euery action not commanded, faith is wanting; Ergo in euery action not commanded, there is ſinne*: I would demaund of them, firſt for as much as the nature of things indifferent is neither to bee commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſinne be committed, when any thing not commanded is done. So that of neceſſitie they muſt adde ſomewhat, and at leaſtwiſe thus ſet it downe: In euery action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is ſinne. The next thing wee are to enquire is, what thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to bee ſo permitted. When there are vnto one end ſundrie meanes, as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kindes of foode, many ſortes of rayment to cloath our nakednes, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end it ſelfe being neceſſary, but not ſo any one meane thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould bee both fed and cloathed, howbeit no one kinde of foode or rayment neceſſary; therefore wee hold theſe things free in their owne nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our owne diſcretion, except a principall bond of ſome higher dutie remooue the indifferency that ſuch things haue in themſelues. Their indifferencie is remooued, if either wee take away our owne libertie, as *Ananias* did, for whom to haue ſolde or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſolemne vow and promiſe vnto God had ſtrictly bound him one onely way: or if God himſelfe haue preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining vs vnto, or by barring vs from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelues altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of prieſtly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his ſonnes might haue had their free choice without ſinne, but that God expreſſely tied them vnto one. All meates indifferent vnto the Iewe, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as ſwines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe thinke, then that what thinges God doth neither command nor forbid, the ſame hee permitteth with approbation either to be done or left vndone. *All things are lawfull vnto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of libertie in things indifferent: whereunto his

T.C.li.p.2.58

Act.5.

Exod.28.4.43

Leuit.11.

1.Cor.6.12.

anſwere

anſwere is, that neuertheleſſe *All things are not expdient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwayes equally expedient. Now in things although not commaunded of God, yet lawfull becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew vs the conueniency which one hath aboue another. For anſwere, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth vs to the ſchoole of Chriſt in his word, which onely is able through faith to giue vs aſſurance and reſolution in our doings.* Which word *Only*, is vtterly without poſſibility of euer being prooued. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that vnles the word of the Lord had determined of the free vſe of them, there could haue beene no lawfull vſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is vntrue; becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting downe ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting downe as neceſſary, that doth make them to bee indifferent: yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerueth nothing at all. Wee inquire not now whether any thing be free to be vſed, which Scripture hath not ſet downe as free: but concerning things knowne and acknowledged to bee indifferent, whether particularly in chooſing any one of them before another we ſinne, if any thing but Scripture direct vs in this our choice. When many meates are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none vnlawfull; I take one as moſt conuenient. If Scripture require me ſo to doe, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to make any ſpeciall choice of one: I doe notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to doe. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be iuſtly condemned of ſinne. Nor let any man thinke, that following the iudgement of naturall diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can haue no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in naturall ſort bee in that reſpect vnacceptable? The nature which him ſelfe hath giuen to worke by, he cannot but be delighted with, when wee exerciſe the ſame any way without commaundement of his to the contrary. My deſire is to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame might remaine in any mans cogitation. Some truthes there are, the veritie whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was liuing on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be knowne therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinfull ſtaine of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertaine vnto vs only, or a perpetuall truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world vnto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath be, nor can ben otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtraine this vnto any particular time, how they can thinke it true now and not alwayes true, that in euery action not commanded there is for want of faith ſinne. Then let them caſt backe their eyes vnto former generations of men, and marke what was done in the prime of the world. *Seth*, *Enoth*, *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iob*, and the reſt that liued before any ſyllable of the law of God was writt..., did they not ſinne as much as wee doe in euery action not commanded? That which God is vnto vs by his ſacred word, the ſame he was vnto them by ſuch like meanes as *Eliphaz* in *Iob* deſcribeth. If therefore wee ſinne in euery action which the Scripture commandeth vs not, it followeth that they did the like

Iob.4.19.

like in all ſuch actions as were not by reuelation from heauen exacted at their handes. Vnleſſe God from heauen did by viſion ſtill ſhew them what to doe, they might doe nothing, not eate, not drinke, not ſleepe, not moue. Yea but euen as in darkeneſſe candle light may ſerue to guide mens ſteps, which to vſe in the day were madneſſe; ſo when God had once deliuered his law in writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it muſt needes be ſinne for men to doe any thing, which was not there commaunded them to doe, whatſoeuer they might doe before. Let this be graunted, and it ſhall hereupon plainely enſue, either that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the world, al other light of nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we neede it not, neyther may we longer vſe it; or if it ſtand vs in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of men whom nature hath fra- *Ariſt. Pol. 1.*
med for the ſtate of ſeruitude, ſaying, *They haue reaſon ſo farre forth as to conceiue when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelues by themſelues; ſo likewiſe our naturall capacity and iudgement muſt ſerue vs only for the right vnderſtanding of that which the ſacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, beene ſetled in this perſwaſion, neuer would they haue taken ſo great paines in gathering together naturall arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To vſe vnto them any other motiue then *Scriptum eſt, Thus it is written*, had bin to teach them other grounds of their actions then Scripture, which I grant they alleadge commonly, but not onely. Onely Scripture they ſhould haue alleadged, had they bin thus perſwaded, that ſo farre forth we do ſinne, as we do any thing otherwiſe directed then by Scripture. S^t. *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credite none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he were, vnleſſe he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them.* Let them there- *Auguſt. Ep. 28.*
fore with S^t. *Auguſtine*, reiect and condemne that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to giue them our handes in token of friendly conſent with them.

5 But againſt this it may be obiected, and is, that the Fathers doe nothing more vſually in their bookes, then draw arguments from the Scripture negatiue-ly in reproofe of that which is euill; *Scriptures touch it not, maydē it therefore*; theſe diſputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Pro-phets themſelues haue ſo reaſoned. Which arguments being found and good, it ſhould ſeeme that it cannot be vnſound or euill to hold ſtil the ſame aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we haue diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to ar-gue, Such a thing is not taught vs in Scripture, therefore we may not receiue or allow it: how ſhould it ſeeme vnreaſonable to thinke, that whatſoeuer we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawfull? But how far ſuch arguments doe reach, it ſhall the better appeare by conſidering the matter wherein they haue beene vrged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantly denie, that of ſo many teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negatiue ar-guments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemne either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as vnlawfull, which the Scripture tea-cheth vs not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is onely, that in ſome caſes a negatiue argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong; whereof no man indu-ed with iudgment can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negatiue argument

The firſt aſſer-tion indeuou-red to be pro-ued by the vſe of taking argu-ments nega-tiuely from the authority of Scripture: which kind of diſputing is v-ſuall in the Fathers.

proue this kinde of negatiue argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture prescribeth not, condemned? The question betweene vs is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or vnlawfull for men to do. The sentences alleadged out of the Fathers, are as peremptory and as large in euery respect for matter of opinion, as of action: which argueth that in truth they neuer meant any otherwise to tie the one then the other vnto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as farre as eaeh is required in the same kinde of necessity vnto saluation. If therefore it be not vnlawfull to know, and with full perswasion to beleeue, much more then Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemne the knowledge of so many artes and sciences as are otherwise learned then in holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of auncient Catholike Fathers, which seeme to close vp within the bosome thereof all manner good and lawfull knowledge: wherefore should their words be thought more effectuall, to shew that we may not in deedes and practise, then they are to proue that in speculation and knowledge, wee ought not to goe any farther then the Scripture? Which Scripture being giuen to teach matters of beliefe no lesse then of action, the Fathers must needs be, and are euen as plaine against credite, besides the relation; as against practise, without the iniunction of the Scripture. Saint *Augustine* hath said, *Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, or of what thing soeuer the question be; I say not if we, but if an Angell from heauen shal tel vs any thing beside that you haue receiued in the Scripture vnder the Law & the Gospel, let him be accursed.* In like sort *Tertullian*, *We may not giue our selues this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor choose any thing that other men bring in of their wil; we haue the Apostles themselues for authors, which themselues brought nothing of their own wil, but the discipline which they receiued of Christ they deliuered faithfully vnto the people.* In which place, the name of discipline importeth not as they who alleadge it would faine haue it construed; but as any man who noteth the circumstance of the place, and the occasion of vttering the words, will easily acknowledge; euen the selfe same thing it signifieth which the name of doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there haue beene vsed. To helpe them farther, doth not S^t. *Ierome* after the selfe same maner dispute, *We beleeue it not because we reade it not?* Yea, *we ought not so much as to know the things which the booke of the Law containeth not*, saith Saint *Hilarie*. Shall we hereupon then conclude that we may not take knowledge of, or giue credit vnto any thing, which sense, or experience, or report, or arte doth propose vnlesse we finde the same in Scripture? No, it is too plaine that so farre to extend their speeches, is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To vrge any thing vpon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian beliefe, wherewith the words of the holy Prophets are receiued; to vrge any thing as part of that supernaturall and Celestially reuealed truth which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture, this did the auncient Fathers euermore thinke vnlawfull, impious, execrable. And thus as their speeches were meant, so by vs they must be restrained. As for those alleadged wordes

of

August. contr. liter. Petil. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Tertul. De præscrip. aduers.

T.C. l. 2. p. 81. *Augustine* saith, Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, &c. And lest the answerer should restraine the generall saying of *Augustine* vnto the doctrine of the Gospell, so that he would thereby shut out the discipline; euen *Tertullian* himselfe before he was embrued with the Heresie of *Montanus*, giueth testimony vnto the discipline in these wordes, *We may not giue our selues, &c.*

Hieron. contra. Heluid.

Hilar. in Psal. 132.

of *Cyprian*, *The chriſtian religion ſhal find, that out of this ſcripture, rules of all doctrins haue ſprong, and that from hence doth ſpring & hither doth return whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline doth conteine*: ſurely this place would neuer haue bin brought forth in this cauſe, if it had bin but once read ouer in the authour himſelfe, out of whom it is cited. For the words are vttered concerning that one principall commandement of loue, in the honour wherof he ſpeaketh after this ſort: *Surely this commandement containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one word is the abridgment of all the volumes of Scripture: This nature, and reaſon, and the authority of thy word, O Lord, doth proclaine, this we haue heard out of thy mouth, herein the perfection of all religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt commaundement and the laſt: this being written in the booke of life, is (as it were) an euerlaſting leſſon both to men and Angels. Let Chriſtian religion reade this one word, and meditate vpon this commandement, and out of this Scripture it ſhall finde the rules of all learning to haue ſprung, and from hence to haue riſen, and hither to returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vaine and bootleſſe which charity confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to proue that Scripture is the onely rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby euen as well proue, that one commaundement of Scripture is the onely rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they doe all meanes beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſſe by number, then to ſtay for waight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeake yet more plainely: *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not*: which are indeede the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth vp the Kings of *Iſraell*, and amongſt thoſe Kings *Dauid*: the Scripture reckoneth vp the ſonnes of *Dauid*, and amongſt thoſe ſonnes *Salomon*. To proue that amongſt the Kings of Iſraell there was no *Dauid* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the ſonnes of *Dauid*, *Tertullians* argument will fitly proue. For in as much as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon vp all, if there were moe it would haue named them. In this caſe *the Scripture doth denie the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit I could not but thinke that man to doe me ſome peece of manifeſt iniury, which would hereby faſten vpon me a generall opinion, as if I did thinke the Scripture to denie the very raigne of King *Henry* the eight, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did raigne. *Tertullians* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech*, like to him that had two wiues; the ſcripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one ſuch to haue been in that age of the world; ſo had there beene moe, it would by likelihood as well haue noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant vnto reaſon to diuorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the later is reſtrained; and not marking the former, to conclude by the later of them, that ſimply whatſoeuer any man at this day doth thinke true, is by the ſcripture denied, vnleſſe it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weake and feeble hath

T.C.l.2.p.8. Let him heare what *Cyprian* ſaith: The Chriſtian Religion (ſaith he) ſhall finde, that &c.

Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium ſcripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audiuimus, hic inuenit conſummationem omnis religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & vltimum; hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc vnum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana religio, & inueniet ex HAC ſcriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanaſſe, & hinc natâ & huc reuerſi quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & friuolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

Tertul. lib. de Monog. *T.C.l.2.p.81.* And in another place *Tertullian* ſaith, that the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

beene ſo much perſiſted in. But to come vnto thoſe their ſentences, wherein matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Tertullian* is as before, ſo here againe pretended; who writing vnto his wife two books, & exhorting her in the one to liue a widow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him vnto his mercy; and in the other, if ſhe did marry, yet not to ioyne her ſelfe to an Infidell, as in thoſe times ſome widowes Chriſtian had done for the aduancement of their eſtate in this preſent world, he vrgeth very earneſtly S. *Pauls* words, *only in the Lord*: wherupon he demandeth of them that thinke they may doe the contrary, what Scripture they can ſhew where God hath diſpenſed and graunted licence to do againſt that which the bleſſed Apoſtle ſo ſtrictly doth inioine. And becauſe in defence it might perhaps be replied, ſeeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are infidels, if either party chance to be after conuerted vnto Chriſtianity, this ſhould not make ſeparation betweene them, as long as the vnconuerted was willing to reteine the other on whom the grace of Chriſt had ſhined; vvherefore then ſhould that let the making of mariage, vvhich doth not diſſolue mariage being made? after great reaſons ſhevved vvhy God doth in conuerts being maried, allovv continuance vvith Infidels, and yet diſallovv that the faithfull vvhen they are free ſhould enter into bonds of vvedlocke vvith ſuch, concludeth in the end concerning thoſe vvomen that ſo mary, *They that pleaſe not the Lord, do euen therby offend the Lord, they do euen therely throw themſelues into euill*: that is to ſay, vvhile they pleaſe him not by marying in him, they do that vvhereby they incurre his diſpleaſure, they make an offer of themſelues into the ſeruice of that enemy vvith vvhoſe ſeruants they linke themſelues in ſo neere a bond. What one ſyllable is there in all this, preiudiciall any vvay to that vvhich vve hol ? For the vvords of *Tertullian* as they are by them alleaged, are two wayes miſunderſtood; both in the former part, vvhere that is extended generally to *all things* in the neuter gender, vvhich he ſpeaketh in the feminine gender of vvomens perſons; & in the later, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in ſtead of *wilfull incurring that which is euill*. And ſo in ſum *Tertullian* doth neither meane nor ſay as is pretended, *vvhatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued*; but *Thoſe women that pleaſe not the Lord* by their kind of marying, *doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themſelues into euill*. Somevvhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of *Tertullian*, vvhich notvvithſtanding vvhen vvee haue examined it, vvill be found as the reſt are. The Romane Emperours cuſtom vvas at certain ſolemne times to beſtovv on his ſouldiers a Donatiue; vvhich Donatiue they receiued, vvearing garlands vpon their heads. There vvere in the time of the Emperours *Seuerus* & *Antoninus*, many vvho being ſoldiers, had bin conuerted vnto Chriſt, & notvvithſtanding continued ſtill in that military courſe of life. In vvhich number, one man there vvas amongſt al the reſt, vvho at ſuch a time comming

to

T.C.l.2.p.80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not againſt the word, but that they be according to the word, it may appeare by other places, where he ſaith, that whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued, *lib.2.ad vxorem.*

Quæ Domino non placent, vtiq; Dominum offendunt, vtiq; malo ſe inferunt.

T.C.l.2.p.81. And to come yet neerer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of crowne or garland (which is indifferent in it ſelfe) to thoſe which obiecting aſked, where the Scripture ſaith that a man might not weare a crown; he anſwereth by asking where the Scripture ſaith that they may weare? And vnto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, he anſwereth that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatiuely, holdeth not only in the doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrary & variable by the aduice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, vnleſſe there be ſome word which doth permit the vſe of them: it is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, vnleſſe it ſpeake for them; and finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſity haue the word of his mouth to declare his pleaſure.

to the Tribune of the army to receiue his Donatiue, came but with a garland in his hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demandeth what this great ſingularity ſhould meane. To whom the ſouldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time; whereupon grew a queſtion, whether a Chriſtian ſouldier might herein do as the vnchriſtian did, and weare as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in Chriſtian beliefe, did rather commend the zeale of this man, then approue his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemy vnto the Church for condemning that propheticall ſpirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had receiued; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the ſpirit that ſhould be their perfecter and final inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of minde made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherfore in honor of that action, and to gall their mindes who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his booke *De corona militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomacke wherewith he wrote it. For firſt the man he commendeth as one more conſtant then the reſt of his brethren, *who preſumed*, ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerue two Lords.* Afterwards choler ſomwhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth euen remaine that they ſhould alſo deuiſe how to rid themſelues of his martyrdomes, towards the propheſies of whoſe holy ſpirit they haue already ſhewed their diſdaine. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſſe vp bagge and baggage, make themſelues in a readines, that they may flie from Citie to Citie. For that is the only point of the Goſpell which they are carefull not to forget. I know euen their Paſtors very well what men they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare.* Now theſe men, ſaith *Tertullian*, *They muſt be anſwered where we do finde it written in Scripture* that a Chriſtian man may not weare a garland. And as mens ſpeeches vttered in heat of diſtempered affection, haue often times much more eagernes then waight; ſo he that ſhall marke the proofes alleaged, and the anſwers to things obiected in that booke, wil now and then perhaps eſpie the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſours of natures law, and guilty of ſacriledge againſt God the Lord of nature, in as much as flowers in ſuch ſort worne, can neyther be ſmelt nor ſeene well by thoſe that weare them: and God made flowers ſweete and beautifull, that being ſeene and ſmelt vnto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakenes in ſtriking onely, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he contendeth. They aske, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the aide of Scripture, they do giue ſentence before hand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be aided.* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſſe I ought not to doe that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelfe bound to doe nothing which the Scripture commaundeth me not. For many inducements beſides Scripture may leade me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all giue place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectuall to perſwade. Which thing himſelfe well enough vnderſtanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things

Tert. de corona militis.

doth neyther commaund nor forbid, but vſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine is; that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerued, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once receiued and confirmed by vſe, long vſage is a law ſufficient; that in ciuill affaires when there is no other law, cuſtome it ſelfe doth ſtand for law; that in as much as law doth ſtand vpon reaſon, to alleage reaſon ſerueth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoeuer is reaſonable, the ſame is lawfull whoſoeuer is author of it; that the authority of cuſtome is great; finally that the cuſtome of Chriſtians was then and had bin a long time not to weare garlands, and therefore that vndoubtedly they did offend, who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtome by not obſeruing that thing: the very inueterate obſeruation whereof was a law ſufficient to binde all men to obſerue it, vnleſſe they could ſhew ſome higher law, ſome law of Scripture to the contrary. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very well with ſtrength and ſoundnes of reaſon, euen thus to anſwere; *whereas they aske what Scripture forbiddeth them to weare a garland, we are in this caſe rather to demand what Scripture commaundeth them. They cannot here alleage that it is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long receiued cuſtome forbidding them to doe as they did (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the world to iuſtifie their acte, vnleſſe in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome law that did licenſe them thus to breake a receiued cuſtome. Now whereas in all the bookes of *Tertullian* beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to proue not only that we may doe, but that we ought to doe ſundry things which the Scripture commaundeth not; out of that very booke theſe ſentences are brought to make vs beleeue that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrary minde. We cannot therfore hereupon yeeld, we cannot graunt, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of Scripture negatiue to be of force, not onely in doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrary. For *Tertullian* doth plainely hold euen in that booke, that neither the matter which he intreateth of was arbitrary but neceſſary, in as much as the receiued cuſtom of the Church did tie and bind them not to weare garlands as the Heathens did: yea and further alſo he reckoneth vp particularly a number of things, whereof he expreſly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum eiuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules ſcripturarum, nullam inuenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſſe words, Many things there are which concern the diſcipline of the Church & the duties of men, which to abrogate & take away, the Scriptures negatiuely vrged may not in any caſe perſwade vs, but they muſt be obſerued, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therfore vndoubtedly doth not in this booke ſhew himſelfe to be of the ſame mind with them by whom his name is pretended.

The firſt aſſertion endeuoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from diuine authority negatiuely.

6 But ſith the ſacred Scriptures themſelues affoorde oftentimes ſuch arguments as are taken from diuine authority both one way and other, *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it muſt be*: And againe in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be*: ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet downe. God himſelfe can neither poſſibly erre, nor leade into errour. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoeuer he affirmeth, are alwaies truth and moſt infallible cer-

1. *Ioh.* 1. 5. God is light, and there is in him no darkeneſſe at all. *Hebr.* 6. 18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lie, *Num.* 23. 19. God is not as man that he ſhould lie.

tainty.

tainty. Yea further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any maner of defect or maime; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, and lacke nothing which they ſhould haue, for performance of that thing wherunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being knowne wherunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument negatiuely is euermore ſtrong and forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparantly requiſit vnto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet downe ſundry times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt; therfore they are not in dignity equall vnto him. It is the Apoſtle S^t. *Pauls* argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his people, both vnto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burne their ſons in fire vnto *Baal* he did not commaund them, hee ſpake no ſuch thing, neyther came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to haue done. Which argument the Prophet *Ieremie* vſeth more then once, as being ſo effectuall and ſtrong, that although the thing hee reproueth were not onely commanded but forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a law vnto themſelues, then the crime of tranſgreſſing a law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himſelfe preciſely ſet down a forme of executing that wherein we are to ſerue him, the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, then not to do that which we are commaunded. In this we ſeeme to charge the law of God with hardneſſe onely, in that with fooliſhneſſe; in this we ſhew our ſelues weake and vnapt to be doers of his will, in that we take vpon vs to be controllers of his wiſedome: in this wee faile to performe the thing which God ſeeth meete, conuenient and good, in that wee preſume to ſee what is meete and conuenient better then God himſelfe. In thoſe actions therefore the whole forme vvhereof God hath of purpoſe ſet downe to be obſerued, vve may not otherwiſe doe then exactly, as he hath preſcribed: in ſuch things negatiue arguments are ſtrong. Againe, vvith a negatiue argument *Dauid* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe hee had to build a Temple vnto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, thou ſhalt not build mee an houſe to dwell in. Whereſoeuer I haue walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Iudges of Iſrael, whom I commaunded to feede my people, ſaying, Why haue ye not built me an houſe?* The Ievves vrged vvith a negatiue argument touching the aide vvhich they ſought at the handes of the King of Ægypt, *Woe to thoſe rebellious children (* ſaith the Lord *) which walke forth to goe downe into Ægypt, and haue not asked counſell at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſtrength of Pharao.* Finally, the league of *Ioſhua* vvith the *Gabeonites* is likevviſe vvith a negatiue argument touched. It

T. C. l. 2. p. 48. It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets haue reaſoned negatiuely. As when in the perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, Whereof I haue not ſpoken. *Jeremy* 19.5. and, Which neuer entred into my heart, *Jeremy* 7.31.32. and where he condemneth them becauſe They haue not asked counſell at the mouth of the Lord, *Eſay* 30.2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kinde of argument hath beene vſed, in things which are not of the ſubſtance of ſaluation or damnation, and whereof there was no commaundement to the contrary (as in the former there was, *Leuit.* 18.21. & 20.3 *Deut.* 17.16.) In *Ioſua* the children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet that they asked not counſell of the mouth of the Lord when they entred into couenant with the Gabeonites; *Joſh.* 9.14. And yet that couenant was not made contrary vnto any commaundement of God. Moreouer we reade that when *Dauid* had taken this counſell to build a Temple vnto the Lord, albeit the Lord had reuealed before in his word that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the Arke of the Couenant and the ſeruice ſhould haue a certaine abiding, and albeit there was no word of God which forbad *Dauid* to build the Temple: yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale he had to the aduancement of his glory) concludeth againſt *Dauids* reſolution to build the Temple, with this reaſon, namly, that he had giuen no commandement of this who ſhould build it. *1. Chr.* 17.6

Leuit. 18.21. & 20.3. *Deut.* 18.10.

1. Chro. 17.6.

Eſay 30.1.

vvas

was not as it ſhould be: And why? The Lord gaue them not that aduice; *They*
Ioſh.9.14. *ſought not counſell at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which examples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of negatiue arguments approued, when they are taken from Scripture in ſuch ſort as we in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceiue themſelues. For vnto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſſe in purpoſing to doe, or in doing any thing at all which *the Scripture* commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſinne which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the *Iſraelites* did at any time amiſſe by following their owne mindes, without asking counſell of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priuiledge, a fauour which God vouchſafed them aboue the reſt of the world, that in the affaires of their eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelfe gaue them extraordinarily direction and counſell, as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech vnto *Moſes*; after by *Vrim* and *Thummim* vnto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreames and viſions vnto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receiue the anſwere of God. Concerning *Ioſua* therefore
Num.27.21. thus ſpake the Lord vnto *Moſes*, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* Eleazar *the Prieſt, who ſhall aske counſell for him by the iudgement of Vrim before the Lord*: wherof had *Ioſua* bin mindfull, the fraud of the *Gabeonites* could not ſo ſmoothly haue paſt vneſpied till there was no helpe. The *Iewes* had Prophets to haue reſolued them from the mouth of God himſelfe, whether Egyptian aydes ſhould profite them yea or no: but they thought themſelues wiſe enough, and him vnworthy to be of their Counſell. In this reſpect therefore was their reproofe, though ſharpe, yet iuſt, albeit there had beene no charge preciſely giuen them that they ſhould alwayes take heede of *Egypt*. But as for *Dauid*, to thinke that he did euill in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no commaundement that he ſhould build it, were very iniurious: the purpoſe of his heart was religious and godly, the acte moſt worthy of honour and renowne; neither could
1.Chron.17. *Nathan* chooſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to goe forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſſe troubles which *Dauid* ſhould be ſubiect vnto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gaue charge to differre ſo good a worke till the dayes of tranquility and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *Dauid* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duety which he owed vnto God, to ſet himſelfe in an houſe of Cedar trees, and to behold the Arke of the Lords Couenant vnſetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainly, that it ſhould be no more imputed vnto him for a fault, then it had beene vnto the Iudges of *Iſrael* before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more vnquiet then his, nor more vnfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negatiue arguments ſo taken from the authority of Scripture as by vs they are denied, there is in all this leſſe then nothing. And touching that which vnto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controuerſies ſometime handled betweene M^r. *Harding*, and the worthieſt Diuine that Chri-

T. C. 2 p. 50. M. *Harding* reprocheth the B. of Salisbury with this kind of reaſoning: vnto whom the B. anſwereth, The argument of authority negatiuely, is taken to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods word, and is vſed not onely by vs, but alſo by many of the Catholique Fathers. A little after he ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatiuely is good, namely for that the word of God is perfect. In another place vnto M. *Harding*, calling him in the teeth with negatiue arguments, he alleadgeth places out of *Ireneus*, *Chryſoſtome*, &c. which reaſoned negatiuely of the authority of the Scriptures. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generality, without any ſuch reſtraint as the Anſwerer imagineth, as they are there to be ſeene.

ſtendome

ſtendome hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of yeares, vvho being brought vp together in one Vniuerſity, it fell out in them vvhich vvas ſpoken of tvvo others; [a] *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Camps they did practiſe.* Of theſe tvvo, the one obiecting that vvith vs arguments taken from authority negatiuely are ouer common, the Biſhops anſvvere hereunto is, that *This kinde of argument is thought to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods word, and is vſed not onely by vs, but alſo by S.* Paul, *and by many of the Catholique Fathers: S.* Paul *ſaith, God ſaid not vnto* Abraham, *In thy ſeedes all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed, but in thy ſeede which is Chriſt, and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe ſaith* Origen, *The bread which the Lord gaue vnto his Diſciples, ſaying vnto them, Take and eate, he differred not, nor commaunded to be reſerued till the next day. Such arguments* Origen *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoeuer miſliking Maſter* Harding *hath found in them. This kinde of proofe is thought to hold in Gods commaundements, for that they be full and perfect, and God hath ſpecially charged vs, that we ſhould neyther put to them, nor take fro them: and therefore it ſeemeth good vnto them that haue learned of Chriſt, Vnus eſt Magiſter veſter Chriſtus, and haue heard the voyce of God the Father from heauen, Ipſum audite. But vnto them that adde to the word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubiect vnto their will, and breake Gods commaundements for their owne traditions ſake, vnto them it ſeemeth not good.* Againe, the Engliſh Apologie alleaging the example of the *Greekes*, hovv they haue neyther priuate Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Maſter *Harding* to ieſt out the matter, to vſe the helpe of his vvits vvhere ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſvvere vvith ſcoffing at negatiues. The Biſhops defence in this caſe is, *The auncient learned Fathers hauing to deale with politique heretiques, that in defence of their errours auouched the iudgement of all the olde Biſhoppes and Doctors that had beene before them, and the generall conſent of the Primitiue and whole vniuerſall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you doe now; the better to diſcouer the ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, and nakedneſſe of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewiſe forced to vſe the negatiue, and ſo to driue the ſame heretiques as we doe you, to proue their affirmatiues; which thing to doe it was neuer poſſible. The auncient Father* Irenæus *thus ſtayed himſelfe, as we doe by the negatiue, Hoc neque Prophetæ prædicauerunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apoſtoli tradiderunt, This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliuer. By a like negatiue* Chryſoſtome *ſaith, This tree neither* Paul *planted, nor* Apollo *watered, nor God increaſed. In like ſort* Leo *ſaith, What needeth it to beleeue that thing that neyther the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets haue ſpoken, nor the Goſpell hath preached, nor the Apoſtles haue deliuered? And againe, How are the new deuices brought in that our Fathers neuer knew?* S. Auguſtine *hauing reckoned vp a great number of the Biſhops of Rome by a generall negatiue ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhoppes, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. Saint* Gregory *being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the title of vniuerſall Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my predeceſſors euer conſented to vſe this vngodly title, No Biſhop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of Singularity. By ſuch negatiues Maſter* Harding, *we reproue the vanity and nouelty of your religion; we tell you none of the Catholique auncient learned Fathers*

a *Vell. Patere. Iugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in eiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrarijs facerent.*

Art. 1. Diuiſ. 29. Gal. 3.

Orig. in Leuit. hom. 5.

Mat. 23. Mat. 17.

Defen par. 5. cd. 15. diuiſ. 1.

Lib. 1 cap. 5.

De incomp. nat. Dei hom. 3. Epiſt. 93. ca. 12

Epiſt. 97. ca. 3. Epiſt. 165. Lib. 4. Ep. 32.

Fathers eyther Greeke or Latine, euer vſed eyther your priuate Maſſe, or your halfe communion, or your barbarous vnknowne prayers. Paul *neuer planted them*, Apollo *neuer watered them, God neuer increaſed them, they are of your ſelues, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a ſillable which any way croſſeth vs. For concerning arguments negatiue taken from humane authority, they are here proued to be in ſome caſes very ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofs, when the Authors of needleſſe innouations are oppoſed with ſuch negatiues, as that of *Leo*, *How are theſe new deuices brought in which our fathers neuer knew?* when their graue and reuerend ſuperiours do reckon vp vnto them, as *Auguſtine* did vnto the Donatiſts, large Catalogues of Fathers wondered at for their wiſdom, piety, and learning, amongſt whom for ſo many ages before vs, no one did euer ſo thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perſwaded; ſurely by vs they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch arguments are negatiue. Much leſſe when the like are taken from the ſacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it ſelfe do beare them. For in truth the queſtion is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatiuely may be good, but whether it be ſo generally good, that in all actions men may vrge it. The Fathers I graunt doe vſe very generall and large termes, euen as *Hiero* the King did in ſpeaking of *Archimedes*, *From henceforward whatſoeuer Archimedes ſpeaketh, it muſt be beleeued.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could ſimply in nothing be deceiued, but that he had in ſuch ſort approued his skill, that he ſeemed worthy of credite for euer after in matters appertaining vnto the ſcience he was skilfull in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that mens ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeake. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of iudgement, peruſe the Biſhops ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatiues concerning ſcripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Leo*; which three are choſen from amongſt the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (euen as one of theirs alſo) doe make for defence of negatiue arguments taken from humane authority, and not from diuine onely. They mention no more reſtraint in the one then in the other: yet I thinke themſelues will not heereby iudge, that the Fathers tooke both to be ſtrong, without reſtraint vnto any ſpeciall kinde of matter, wherein they held ſuch argument forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop eyther ſay or proue any more, then that an argument in ſome kindes of matter may be good, although taken negatiuely from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from humane authority for the ordering of mens actions or perſwaſions.

7 An earneſt deſire to draw all things vnto the determination of bare & naked ſcripture, hath cauſed here much paines to be taken in abating the eſtimation & credite of man. Which if we labor to maintain as far as truth & reaſon wil beare, let not any think that we trauel about a matter not greatly needefull. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt mans authority is, to ouerthrow ſuch orders, lawes, and conſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon if they ſhould therefore be taken away, would peraduenture leaue neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they haue in this caſe ſpoken,

T.C.l.1.p.25. When the queſtion is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. The reaſon is, becauſe the infirmity of man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might ſpeak al things that are to be ſpoken of it; neither yet be free from error in thoſe things wch he ſpeaketh or giueth out. And therfore this argument neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perſwade the ſimpler ſort, then for a diſputer to enforce him that is learned.

ken, I would for breuities ſake let paſſe, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to ſay that ſimply an argument taken from mans authority doth hold no way, neyther affirmatiuely nor negatiuely, is hard. By a mans authority we here vnderſtand, the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of anothers minde that buildeth vpon it; as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did vpon their report of the houſe of *Cloe*, and the Samaritanes in a matter of farre greater moment vpon the report of a ſimple woman: For ſo it is ſaid in S^t. *Johns* Goſpell, *Many of the Samaritans of that Citie beleeued in him for the ſaying of the woman, which teſtified, He hath told me all things that euer I did.* The ſtrength of mans authority is affirmatiuely ſuch, that the waighteſt affaires in the world depend thereon. In iudgement and iuſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the law that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euery word ſhall be confirmed?* This the law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimony no force at all to proue any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credite to be giuen to the teſtimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and iudgement; we ſee the contrary both acknowledged, and vniuerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were neuer but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion; are we not bold to relie and build vpon the iudgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the lawes of this land? In matter of ſtate, the waight many times of ſome one mans authority is thought reaſon ſufficient, euen to ſway ouer whole nations. And this not onely with the ſimpler ſort; but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch arguments in ſome caſes preuaile with vs. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moued with authority, is the conſcience of their owne ignorance; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that hauing learned men in admiration, they rather feare to diſlike them, then know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their iudgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilfull, authority is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcerne how iuſt cauſe there is, why to ſome mens authority ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectuall to perſwade euen ſuch men as *Galen* himſelfe, then to moue a ſilly Empiricke. So that the very ſelfe ſame argument in this kinde, which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtraine the wiſer to yeeld. And therefore not Orators onely with the people, but euen the very profoundeſt diſputers in all faculties haue hereby often with the beſt learned preuailed moſt. As for arguments taken from humane authority, and that negatiuely; for example ſake, if we ſhould thinke the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of infants at the holy Font by ſuch as commonly we call their Godfathers, or any other the like receiued cuſtome to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we thinke very reuerendly, haue in their bookes and writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, it were but feeble, weake and vnſound. Notwithſtanding euen negatiuely an argument from humane authority may be ſtrong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of England mention no moe then onely ſixe Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there

1. *Cor.* 1. 11.

Joh. 4. 39.

Deut. 19. 15. *Mat.* 18. 16.

ſhould

ſhould be moe. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a mans teſtimony, we cannot ſimply auouch, either that affirmatiuely it doth not any way holde, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtraine men of vnderſtanding and ripe iudgement to yeeld aſſent, or that negatiuely it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For vnto euery of theſe the contrary is moſt plaine. Neither doth that which is alleadged concerning the infirmity of men, ouerthrow or diſproue this. Men are blinded with ignorance and errour; many things may eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceiued; yea thoſe things which they doe know, they may eyther forget, or vpon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſſe, and although themſelues do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanity, euen of purpoſe deceiue others. Howbeit infinite caſes there are wherein all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a Citie of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregory* the thirteenth, and others haue beene Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who neuer ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but mans teſtimony. Will any man here notwithſtanding alleadge thoſe mentioned humane infirmities, as reaſons why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? Yea that which is more, vtterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimony, were to ſhake the very fortreſſe of Gods truth. For whatſoeuer we beleeue concerning ſaluation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our beliefe; yet the authority of man is, if we marke it, the key which openeth the dore of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach vs the things that are of God, vnleſſe we did credite men who haue taught vs that the words of Scripture doe ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding mans infirmity, yet his authority may enforce aſſent. Vpon better aduice and deliberation ſo much is perceiued, and at the length confeſt, that arguments taken from the authority of men, may not onely ſo farre forth as hath beene declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in *humane ſciences*; which force be it neuer ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not vtterly naught. But in *matters diuine* it is ſtill maintained ſtifly, that they haue no manner force at all. Howbeit the very ſelfe ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yeelde that they are of ſome force in the one, will at the length conſtraine alſo to acknowledge, that they are not in the other altogether vnforcible. For if the naturall ſtrength of mans wit may by experience and ſtudy attaine vnto ſuch ripeneſſe in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat vpon their iudgement; what reaſon haue we to thinke but that euen in matters diuine, the like wits furniſht with neceſſary helpes, exerciſed in Scripture with like

T.C.l.1.p.10. Although that kinde of argument of authority of men is good, neither in humane nor diuine ſciences; yet it hath ſome ſmall force in humane ſciences, for as much as naturally and in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripenes of iudgment in thoſe ſciences, which in diuine matters hath no force at all; as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more iudge of them then a blinde man of colours. Yea ſo farre is it from drawing credite, if it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimony of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpition of vntruth whatſoeuer proceedeth from him: which the Apoſtle did well note, when to ſignifie a thing corruptly ſpoken & againſt the truth, he ſaith, that it is ſpoken according to men, *Rom.*3. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt aduanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſtempered affections (whereof eyther of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth;) no mans authority, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authority of the word of God, can bring any aſſurance vnto the conſcience.

like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almightie God, may growe vnto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that men ſhall haue iuſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent vnto faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo graue, wiſe, and learned in that facultie ſhall iudge moſt ſound. For the controuerſie is of the waight of ſuch mens iudgements. Let it therefore be ſuſpected, let it bee taken as groſſe, corrupt, repugnant vnto the truth, whatſoeuer concerning things diuine aboue nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouthes of meere naturall men, which haue not the eyes wherewith heauenly things are diſcerned. For this wee contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall gifts to aſpire vnto knowledge by, whoſe exerciſes, labours, and diuine ſtudies he hath ſo bleſt, that the world for their great and rare skill that way, hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reiect euen their iudgement likewiſe, as being vtterly of no moment? For mine owne part I dare not ſo lightly eſteeme of the Church, and of the principall pillars therein. The truth is, that the minde of man deſireth euermore to know the truth according to the moſt infallible certaintie which the nature of things can yeeld. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men, is that which we haue by plaine aſpect and intuitiue beholding. Where wee cannot attaine vnto this; there what appeareth to bee true by ſtrong and inuincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceiued, thereunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neither is it in the choice thereof to doe otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both doe faile; then which way greateſt probabilitie leadeth, thither the mind doth euermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtian men being receiued as the word of God; that for which we haue probable, yea that which wee haue neceſſarie reaſon for, yea that which we ſee with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe we hold that his ſpeech reuealeth there what himſelfe ſeeth, and therefore the ſtrongeſt proofe of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented vnto by vs (which doe thus receiue the Scripture,) is the Scripture. Now it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yeeld vnto any thing other aſſent, then ſuch as doth anſwere the euidence which is to be had of that we aſſent vnto. For which cauſe euen in matters diuine, concerning ſome things we may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our iudgement, inclining neither to one ſide or other, as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and Angels; of ſome things we may very well retaine an opinion that they are probable and not vnlikely to be true, as when we hold that men haue their ſoules rather by creation then propagation, or that the mother of our Lord liued alwayes in the ſtate of virginitie as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two, the one her virginitie before, is a thing which of neceſſitie we muſt beleeue; the other, her continuance in the ſame ſtate alwayes, hath more likelihood of truth then the contrarie,) finally in all things then are our conſciences beſt reſolued, and in moſt agreeable ſort vnto God and nature ſetled, when they are ſo farre perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to bee had will beare. Which thing I doe ſo much the rather ſet downe, for that I ſee how a number of ſoules are, for want of right information in this point, oftentimes grieuouſly vexed. When bare and vnbuilded concluſions are put into their minds, they finding not themſelues to haue thereof any great certaintie, imagine that this proceedeth onely from lacke of faith, and that the ſpirit of God

doeth not worke in them, as it doeth in true beleeuers; by this meanes their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguiſh and perplexity: wheras the truth is, that how bold and confident ſoeuer we may bee in words, when it commeth to the point of triall, ſuch as the euidence is which the truth hath either in it ſelfe or through proofe, ſuch is the hearts aſſent thereunto, neither can it bee ſtronger, being grounded as it ſhould bee. I grant that proofe deriued from the authority of mans iudgement, is not able to worke that aſſurance which doth grow by a ſtronger proofe; and therefore although ten thouſand generall Councels would ſet downe one and the ſame definitiue ſentence concerning any point of religion whatſoeuer, yet one demonſtratiue reaſon alleaged, or one manifeſt teſtimonie cited from the mouth of God himſelfe to the contrary, could not chooſe but ouerweigh them all; in as much as for them to haue beene deceiued, it is not impoſſible; it is, that demonſtratiue reaſon or teſtimonie diuine ſhould deceiue. Howbeit in defect of proofe infallible, becauſe the minde doth rather follow probable perſwaſions, then approoue the things that haue in them no likelihood of truth at all; ſurely if a queſtion concerning matter of doctrin were propoſed, and on the one ſide no kinde of proofe appearing, there ſhould on the other be alleaged and ſhewed that ſo a number of the learnedeſt Diuines in the world haue euer thought; although it did not appeare what reaſon or what Scripture led them to be of that iudgement, yet to their very bare iudgement ſomewhat a reaſonable man would attribute, notwithſtanding the common imbecilities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that eſpecially with the Church, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authority of the word of God, mans authority with them eſpecially ſhould not preuaile; it muſt and doth preuaile euen with them, yea with them eſpecially as far as equity requireth, and farther we maintaine it not. For men to be tyed, and led by authoritie, as it were with a kind of captiuity of iudgement, & though there be reaſon to the cõtrary, not to liſten vnto it, but to follow like beaſtes the firſt in the heard, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutiſh. Againe that authority of men ſhould preuaile with men either againſt or aboue reaſon, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men be they neuer ſo great and reuerend, are to yeeld vnto reaſon; the waight wherof is no whit preiudiced by the ſimplicity of his perſon which doth allege it, but being found to be ſound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, muſt of neceſſity ſtoope & giue place. *Irenæ*[2] writing againſt *Marcion*, which held one God author of the old Teſtament, and another of the new, to proue that the Apoſtles preached the ſame God which was known before to the Iewes, he copiouſly alleageth ſundry their Sermons

*T.C.l.*2 *p.*21. Of diuers ſentences of the fathers themſelues (whereby ſome haue likened them to brute beaſtes without reaſon, which ſuffer themſelues to bee led by the iudgement and authoritie of others, ſome haue preferred the iudgement of one ſimple rude man alleaging reaſon vnto companies of learned men) I wil content my ſelfe at this time with two or three ſentences. *Irenæus* ſaith, whatſoeuer is to be ſhewed in the Scripture, cannot be ſhewed but out of the Scriptures themſelues, *lib.*3. *cap.*12. *Ierome* ſaith, No man be he neuer ſo holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apoſtles, in *Pſal.*86. *Auguſtine* ſaith. that he will beleeue none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he be, vnleſſe he confirme his ſentence by the ſcriptures, or by ſome reaſon not contrarie to them, *Epiſt.*18 And in an other place, Heare this, the Lord ſaith; heare not this, *Donatus* ſaith, *Rogatus* ſaith, *Vincentius* ſaith, *Hilarius* ſaith, *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Auguſtine* ſaith, but hearken vnto this, the Lord ſaith. *Epiſt.*48. And againe hauing to doe with an Arrian, he affirmeth that neither hee ought to bring forth the councell of Nice, nor the other the councell of Arimine, thereby to bring preiudice each to other; neither ought the Arrian to be holden by the authoritie of the one, nor himſelfe by the authority of the other, but by the ſcriptures which are witneſſes proper to neither, but common to both; matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon ought to be debated, *Contra Maxim. Arian.*3.14. *cap.* And in another place againſt *Petilian* the Donatiſt, he ſaith, Let not theſe words be heard betweene vs, I ſay, you ſay; let vs heare this, Thus ſaith the Lord. And by and by ſpeaking of the Scriptures he ſaith, There let vs ſeeke the Church, there let vs trie the cauſe. *De vnita. Eccleſ. cap* 3 Hereby it is manifeſt, that the argument of the authoritie of man affirmatiuely is nothing worth.

mons and ſpeeches vttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And leſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end hee concludeth, *While we labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and doe ſummarily declare the things which many wayes haue beene ſpoken, bee contented quietly to heare, and doe not thinke my ſpeech tedious: Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis; Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture, may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, then by citing them out of the Scriptures themſelues where they are.* Which words make ſo little vnto the purpoſe, that they ſeem as it were offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnely foorth to ſay nothing. And concerning the verdict of Ierome, If no man bee he neuer ſo well learned, haue after the Apoſtles any authoritie to publiſh new doctrine as from heauen, and to require the worlds aſſent as vnto truth receiued by propheticall reuelation; doth this preiudice the credite of learned mens iudgements in opening that truth, which by being conuerſant in the Apoſtles writings, they haue themſelues from thence learned? Saint Auguſtine exhorteth not to heare men; but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I thinke) that wee ſhould ſtop our eares againſt his owne exhortation, and therefore he cannot meane ſimply that audience ſhould altogether bee denied vnto men; but either that if men ſpeake one thing and God himſelfe teach an other, then he, not they to bee obeyed; or if they both ſpeake the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech vnworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea but wee doubt what the will of God is. Are wee in this caſe forbidden to heare what men of iudgement thinke it to bee? If not, then this allegation alſo might very well haue beene ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was betweene the Catholique Fathers and Arrians, Donatiſts, and others of like peruerſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councels alleaged on the one ſide, the like by the contrarie ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that euer the queſtion ſhould by this meane growe vnto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both beleeued, the Scripture they knew could not giue ſentence on both ſides, by Scripture the controuerſie betweene them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſſe was it with ſuch kindes of proofes to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual meanes to end all controuerſie that was betweene them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authoritie of man affirmatiuely is in matters diuine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inſerted into the mindes of the vulgar ſort, what it may growe vnto God knoweth. Thus much wee ſee, it hath alreadie made thouſandes ſo headſtrong euen in groſſe and palpable errors, that a man whoſe capacitie will ſcarce ſerue him to vtter fiue wordes in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, graue and learned iudgements that are in the whole world. Which inſolency muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech hee vttered vnto them, and at the ſame time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, betweene which opinion and the wordes of their Maiſter, it ſeemed vnto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not

themſelues anſwere with full ſatisfaction of their owne mindes; the doubt
Matth.17.10. they propoſe to our Sauiour ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knew that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many wayes euen in matters of their owne profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the iudgement of the very Scribes in matters diuine to bee of ſome value; ſome probabilitie they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, in as much as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth: deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not bee falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeeme true, onely becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. Wee doe not find that our Sauiour reproued them of errour, for thinking the iudgement of Scribes to bee worth the obiecting, for eſteeming it to bee of any moment or value in matters concerning God. Wee cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is, we ſhould ſo farre reiect the authoritie of men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that vrge vs vnto this be themſelues ſo perſwaded indeed. Men doe ſometimes bewray that by deedes, which to confeſſe they are hardly drawne. Marke then if this bee not generall with all men for the moſt part. When the iudgements of learned men are alleaged againſt them; what doe they but either eleuate their credite, or oppoſe vnto them the iudgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and waight, for which they are loath the cauſe they maintaine ſhould be ſo much weakned as their teſtimony is auaileable. Againe what reaſon is there why alleaging teſtimonies as proofes, men giue them ſome title of credite, honour aud eſtimation whom they alleage, vnleſſe before hand it be ſufficiently knowne who they are; what reaſon hereof but only a common ingrafted perſwaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to conteruaile thoſe exceptions which might bee taken againſt them, and that ſuch mens authoritie is not lightly to be ſhaken off? Shall I adde further, that the force of arguments drawne from the authority of Scripture it ſelfe, as Scriptures commonly are alleaged, ſhall (being ſifted) bee found to depend vpon the ſtrength of this ſo much deſpiſed and debaſed authoritie of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proofe which is taken from thence muſt needes be of all other moſt inuincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, vnleſſe it auouch the ſelfe ſame thing for which it is brought. If there bee either vndeniable apparance that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceiue, then Scripture-proofe (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, euen ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing fiue hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant haue they, that any one of them doth meane the thing for which it is alleaged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, either ſome probable coniecture of their owne, or the iudgement of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they doe? Which notwithſtanding to meane otherwiſe then they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelues on humane authoritie, euen when they moſt pretend diuine. Thus it fareth euen cleane throughout the whole controuerſie about that diſcipline

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which is ſo earneſtly vrged and laboured for Scriptures are plentifully alleaged to prooue that the whole Chriſtian world for euer ought to embrace it. Hereupon men terme it *The diſcipline of God.* Howbeit examine, ſift and reſolue their alleaged prooſes, till you come to the very roote from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lyeth; and it ſhall clearely appeare vnto any man of iudgement, that the moſt which can bee inferred vpon ſuch plentie of diuine teſtimonies is onely this, That *ſome things* which they maintaine as fact *ſome man* can *probably coniecture*, do *ſeeme* to haue beene out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to builde ſuch proceedings vpon, as haue beene and are put in vre for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly vnderſtand how it commeth to paſſe, that they which ſo peremptorily doe maintaine that humane authoritie is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they fauour ſo carefull to haue the common ſort of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt learned in all Chriſtendome are that way giuen, ſeeing they iudge this to make nothing in the world for them? Againe how commeth it to paſſe, they cannot abide that authoritie ſhould be alleaged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they ſo ſtrip their aduerſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not helpe? Why take they ſuch needleſſe paines to furniſh alſo their owne cauſe with the like? If it be voyd and to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their bookes; what did moouе them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is falued, *They doe it but after the truth made manifeſt firſt by reaſon or by Scripture, they doe it not but to controule the enemies of truth, who beare themſelues bold vpon humane authority making not for them but againſt them rather.* Which anſwers are nothing. For in what place or vpon what conſideration ſoeuer it bee they doe it, were it in their owne opinion of no force being done, they would vndoubtedly refraine to doe it.

*T.C.l.*2.21. If at any time it happened vnto *Auguſtine* (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alleage the authoritie of the auncient Fathers which had beene before him; yet this was not done before he had laide a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being prouoked by the aduerſaries of the truth, who bare themſelues high of ſome counſell, or of ſome man of name that had fauoured that part.

8 But to the end it may more plainely appeare, what we are to iudge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe it ſelfe wherein they are alleaged; firſt it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the vſe of reaſon are generally either good or euill. For although it bee granted that no action is properly termed good or euill, vnleſſe it be voluntary; yet this can bee no let to our former aſſertion, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon are generally either good or euill; becauſe euen thoſe things are done voluntarily by vs, which other creatures doe naturally, in as much as wee might ſtay our doing of them if wee would. Beaſtes naturally doe take their foode and reſt, when it offereth it ſelfe vnto them. If men did ſo too, and could not doe otherwiſe of themſelues; there were no place for any ſuch reproofe as that of our Sauiour Chriſt vnto his Diſciples, *Could yee not watch with mee one houre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it bee well done, muſt needes be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore wee rather ſhould doe it then not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions only thoſe are ſaid to bee good or euill, which are capable of deliberation. So that many things being hourely done by men, wherein they neede not vſe with themſelues any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeeme

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

*Matth.*26.40.

that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our waightier affaires, and to thoſe deedes which are of ſo great importance that they require aduice. But thus to determine were perrillous, and peraduenture vnſound alſo. I doe rather incline to thinke, that ſeeing all the vnforced actions of men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end haue choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore wee make it: where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelfe, that it needeth not to be ſought for; in thoſe things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend it ſelf, if there were not ſome apparent motiue to leade it. Deliberation actuall we vſe, when there is doubt what we ſhould incline our wils vnto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent vnto the thing, but as needleſſe in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolue vpon. It hath no apparent abſurdity therfore in it to thinke, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon, are generally either good or euill. Whatſoeuer is good; the ſame is alſo approued of God: and according vnto the ſundry degrees of goodneſſe, the kindes of diuine approbation are in like ſort multiplyed. Some things are good, yet in ſo meane a degree of goodneſſe, that men are only not diſproued nor diſalowed of God for them. No man hateth his owne fleſh. If yee doe good vnto them that doe ſo to you, the very Publicans themſelues doe as much. They are worſe then Infidels that haue no care to prouide for their owne. In actions of this ſort, the very light of nature alone may diſcouer that which is ſo farre forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they bee alſo required as neceſſary vnto ſaluation, by way of direct, immediate and proper neceſſity finall; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaued, nor by any meanes be excluded from life obſeruing them. In actions of this kind, our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture, for nature is no ſufficient teacher what we ſhould do that we may attaine vnto life euerlaſting. The vnſufficiency of the light of nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light then this hath added there doth not neede vnto that end. Finally ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſitie, that to leaue them vndone excludeth from ſaluation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignitie and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in heauen is laid vp for them. Hereof wee haue no commandement either in nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands: yet thoſe motiues there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our minds vnto them. In this kind there is not the leaſt action but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſſe. For which cauſe our Sauiour doth plainely witneſſe, that there ſhall not bee as much as a cup of cold water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoeuer difference there is betwene the ſtates of Saints in glory: hither we referre whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſeruice towards God: hereunto that feruor and firſt loue of Christians did bend it ſelfe, cauſing them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feet: hereat S. Paul vndoubtedly did aime, in ſo farre abridging his owne liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſary and enioyned duty tyed him vnto.

Ephes.5.29. *Matth.5.46.* *1.Tim.5.8.*

Matth.10.42.

Act.4.31. *1.Theſ.2.7.9.*

Where-

Wherefore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeuerall kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly euill which God approueth, and that he approueth much more then he doth command; and that his very commandements in ſome kinde; as namely his precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may bee otherwiſe knowne then onely by Scripture; and that to doe them, howſoeuer wee know them, muſt needes bee acceptable in his ſight: let them with whom we haue hitherto diſputed conſider well, how it can ſtand with reaſon to make the bare mandate of ſacred Scripture the only rule of all good and euill in the actions of mortall men. The teſtimonies of God are true, the teſtimonies of God are perfect, the teſtimonies of God are al-ſufficient vnto that end for which they were giuen. Therefore accordingly wee do receiue them, we do not thinke that in them God hath omitted any thing needful vnto his purpoſe, and left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deuiſings. What the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth performe. Howbeit, that here we ſwerue not in iudgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerue, namely that the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeene by relation vnto that ende whereto it tendeth. And euen heereby it commeth to paſſe, that firſt ſuch as imagine the generall and maine drift of the body of ſacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliuer, as in truth hee doth, a full inſtruction in all things vnto ſaluation neceſſary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attaine vnto: they are by this very meane induced, either ſtill to looke for new reuelations from heauen, or elſe dangerouſly to adde to the word of God vncertaine tradition, that ſo the doctrine of mans ſaluation may be complete; which doctrine wee conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch thing added to be ſo complete, that we vtterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelues with any thing further. Whatſoeuer to make vp the doctrine of mans ſaluation is added as in ſupply of the Scriptures vnſufficiency, wereiect it. Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Againe the ſcope and purpoſe of God in deliuering the holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely then hehoueth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further then by him was meant, are drawne into ſundry as great inconueniences. Theſe pretending the Scriptures perfection, inferre thereupon that in Scripture all things lawfull to be done muſt needes be conteined. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end wherto they were inſtituted. As therfore God created euery part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in al points ſufficient vnto that vſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea euery ſentence therof is perfect and wanteth nothing requiſite vnto that purpoſe for which God deliuered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therfore all things lawfull to be done are comprehended in the Scripture we may euen as well conclude ſo of euery ſentence, as of the whole ſum and body thereof, vnleſſe we firſt of all proue that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of almighty God in holy Scripture, to compriſe al things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and marke, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in deliuering Scripture to his Church, ſhould cleane haue abrogated amongſt them the law of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the mindes of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humane actions are

T. C. l. 2. p. 6. Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to deſpaire, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to deſpaire, againſt which this doctrine offereth the remedie; it muſt needes be that it bringeth comfort and ioy to the conſcience of man.

are comprehended, and concluſions deriued from them; vpon which concluſions groweth in particularitie the choice of good and euill in the daily affaires of this life. Admit this; and what ſhall the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weake conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpaires? Not that the Scripture it ſelfe doth cauſe any ſuch thing, (for it tendeth to the cleane contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life vrging men to doe that which the light of nature, common diſcretion and iudgement of it ſelfe directeth them vnto; on the other ſide this doctrine teaching them that ſo to doe were to ſinne againſt their owne ſoules, and that they put forth their hands to iniquitie, whatſoeuer they goe about and haue not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end; how can it chooſe but vexe and amaze them? For in euery action of common life to find out ſome ſentence clearly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to doe, (ſeeme we in Scripture neuer ſo expert) would trouble vs more then we are aware. In weake and tender minds we litle know what miſery this ſtrict opinion wold breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all mens liues and actions. Make all things ſinne which wee doe by direction of natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all vpon Scripture; admit this poſition, and parents ſhall cauſe their children to ſinne, as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing, before they come to yeares of capacitie and bee ripe for knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with maſters, as it was with him in the Goſpell; but ſeruants being commanded to goe ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they haue their errand warranted vnto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian duty in ſome caſes, ſo in common affaires to require it, were moſt vnfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiencie of holy Scripture, each extremely oppoſite vnto the other, & both repugnant vnto truth. The ſchooles of Rome teach Scripture to be vnſufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not conteine all reuealed and ſupernaturall truth, which abſolutely is neceſſary for the children of men in this life to know that they may in the next bee ſaued. Others iuſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe vnto a dangerous extremitie, as if Scripture did not only conteine all things in that kinde neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſorte that to doe any thing according to any other lawe, were not onely vnneceſſary, but euen oppoſite vnto ſaluation, vnlawfull and ſinfull. Whatſoeuer is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe then as the trueth is; thoughit ſeeme an honour, it is an iniury. And as incredible prayſes giuen vnto men, doe often abate and impaire the credite of their deſerued commendation; ſo wee muſt likewiſe take great heed, leaſt in attributing vnto Scripture more then it can haue, the incredibilitie of that doe cauſe euen thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt abundantly, to bee leſſe reuerendly eſteemed. I therefore leaue it to themſelues to conſider, whether they haue in this firſt point or not ouerſhot themſelues; which God doth know is quickly done, euen when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luc. 7. 8.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The third Booke.

Concerning their ſecond Aſſertion, that in Scripture *there muſt be of neceſſitie contained a forme of Church-politie, the Lawes whereof may in no wiſe be altered.*

The matter conteined in this third Booke.

1 WHAT *the Church is, and in what reſpect lawes of Politie are thereunto neceſſarily required.*

2 *Whether it be neceſſarie that ſome particular forme of Church-Politie be ſet downe in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly to any ſuch forme are not of neceſsitie to ſaluation.*

3 *That matters of Church-Politie are different from matters of faith and ſaluation, and that they themſelues ſo teach which are our reproouers for ſo teaching.*

4 *That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with the ſoundneſſe of truth may be giuen.*

5 *Their meaning who firſt vrged againſt the Politie of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more then is commaunded by the word of God.*

6 *How great iniury men by ſo thinking ſhould offer vnto all the Churches of God.*

7 *A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintaine it, by interpreting* Commaunded *as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found ſet downe in Scripture particularly, and leſſer framed by the generall rules of Scripture.*

8 *An other deuice to defend the ſame, by expounding* Commaunded *as if it did ſignifie* grounded *on Scripture, and were oppoſed to things found out by light of naturall reaſon onely.*

9 *How lawes for the Politie of the Church may bee made by the aduice of men, and how thoſe lawes being not repugnant to the word of God are approoued in his ſight.*

10 *That*

10 *That neither Gods being the author of lawes, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient to proue that they admit no addition or change.*

11 *Whether Chriſt muſt needs intend lawes vnchangeable altogether, or haue forbidden any where to make any other law then himſelfe did deliuer.*

What the Church is, and in what reſpect Lawes of Politie are thereunto neceſſarily required.

ALbeit the ſubſtance of thoſe controuerſies whereinto wee haue begun to wade, bee rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Chriſt then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church conſiſteth, yet becauſe the ſubiect or matter which this poſition concerneth, is *A forme of Church-gouernment or Church-Politie*; it therefore behoueth vs ſo farre foorth to conſider the nature of the Church, as is requiſite for mens more cleare and plaine vnderſtanding, in what reſpect lawes of Politie or gouernment are neceſſary thereunto. That Church of Chriſt which wee properly terme his body myſticall, can be but one; neither can that one bee ſenſibly diſcerned by any man, in as much as the parts thereof are ſome in heauen already with Chriſt, and the reſt that are on earth (albeit their naturall perſons bee viſible) wee doe not diſcerne vnder this propertie whereby they are truely and infallibly of that body. Onely our mindes by intellectuall conceipt are able to apprehend, that ſuch a reall body there is, a body collectiue, becauſe it containeth an huge multitude; a body myſticall, becauſe the myſterie of their coniunction is remooued altogether from ſenſe. Whatſoeuer we reade in Scripture concerning the endleſſe loue and the ſauing mercie, which God ſheweth towards his Church, the onely proper ſubiect thereof is this Church. Concerning this flocke it is that our Lord and Sauiour hath promiſed, *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they ſhal neuer periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this ſociety, haue ſuch markes and notes of diſtinction from all others, as are not obiect vnto our ſenſe; onely vnto God, who ſeeth their heartes and vnderſtandeth all their ſecret cogitations, vnto him they are cleare and manifeſt. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an Iſraelite. But our Sauiour pearcing deeper, giueth further teſtimony of him then men could haue done with ſuch certainty as hee did, *Behold indeed an Iſraelite in whom their is no guile.* If we profeſſe as Peter did, that wee loue the Lord, and profeſſe it in the hearing of men; charitie is prone to beleeue al things, and therefore charitable men are likely to thinke we doe ſo, as long as they ſee no proofe to the contrary. But that our loue is ſound and ſincere, that it commeth from a *Pure heart and a good conſcience and a faith vnfained*, who can pronounce, ſauing onely the ſearcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitiuely doth know in this kind who are his? And as thoſe euerlaſting promiſes of loue, mercy, and bleſſedneſſe, belong to the myſticall Church; euen ſo on the other ſide when wee reade of any duty which the Church of God is bound vnto, the Church whom this doth concerne is a ſenſible known company. And this viſible Church in like ſort is but one, continued from the firſt beginning of the world to the laſt end.

Iohn 10.28.

Iohn 1.47.
Iohn 21.15.

1. *Tim.* 1.5.

Which

Which company being deuided into two moieties; the one before, the other ſince the comming of Chriſt: that part which ſince the comming of Chriſt, partly hath embraced, and partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we terme as by a more proper name the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainly of all men Chriſtian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but [a] *one body*. The vnity of which viſible body and Church of Chriſt, conſiſteth in that vniformity which all ſeuerall perſons thereunto belonging haue, by reaſon of that *One Lord*, whoſe ſeruants they all profeſſe themſelues; that *one faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one baptiſme*, wherwith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Ieſus Chriſt is therefore one, in outward profeſſion of thoſe things which ſupernaturally appertain to the very eſſence of Chriſtianity, and are neceſſarily required in euery particular Chriſtian man. *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certainty*, ſaith *Peter*, *that God hath made him both Lord and Chriſt, euen this Ieſus whom yee haue crucified.* Chriſtians therefore they are not, which call not him their Maſter & Lord. And from hence it came, that firſt at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole world, all that were of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians, euen amongſt the heathen: which name vnto them was precious and glorious; but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the world, euen Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe was [b] execrable, for whoſe ſake all men were ſo likewiſe which did acknowledge him to bee their Lord. This himſelfe did foreſee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end thy might ſuſtaine it without diſcomfort. *All theſe things they will doe vnto you for my names ſake; yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you will thinke that he doth God good ſeruice. Theſe things I tell you, that when the houre ſhall come, yee may then call to mind how I told you beforehand of them.* But our naming of Ieſus Chriſt the Lord, is not inough to prooue vs Chriſtians, vnleſſe wee alſo imbrace that faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed vnto the world. To ſhew that the Angell of Pergamus continued in Chriſtianity, behold, how the Spirit of Chriſt ſpeaketh, *Thou keepeſt my name, and thou haſt not denied my faith.* Concerning which faith, *The rule thereof*, ſaith Tertullian, *is one alone, immoueable, and no way poſſible to bee better framed anew.* What rule that is hee ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few articles of Chriſtian beliefe. And before *Tertullian*, *Ireney*; *The Church though ſattered through the whole world vnto the vttermoſt borders of the earth, hath from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples receiued beleefe.* The parts of which beleefe he alſo reciteth in ſubſtance the very ſame with *Tertullian*, and thereupon inferreth; *This faith the Church being ſpread farre and wide preſerueth, as if one houſe did containe them; theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had euen one ſoule, one heart and no more; it publiſheth, teacheth and deliuereth theſe things with vniforme conſent, as if God had giuen it but one onely tongue wherewith to ſpeake. He which amongſt the guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeake, vttereth no more then this; and leſſe then this the moſt ſimple doth not vtter*, when they make profeſſion of their faith. Now although wee know the Chriſtian faith, and allow of it, yet in this reſpect wee are but entring; entered wee are not into the viſible Church, before our admittance by the doore of

[a] *Eph.2.16.* That he might reconcile both vnto God in one body. *Eph.3.16.* That the Gentiles ſhould be inheritors alſo and of the ſame body, *Vide.T.p.3.4,7. ar.3. 1.Cor.12.13. Ephe.4.5. Act.2.36. Iohn 13.13. Col.3.24. Col.4.1.*

[b] 1. Cor.1.23. *Vide & Tacitum lib. Annal. 15. Nero quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit quos per flagitia inuiſos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaque in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Iudeam, originem eius mali, ſed per vrbem etiam, quo cuncta vndique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.*

Iohn 15.21. Iohn 16.2.4.

Apoc.2.13. Tertul.de virgin.veland.

Iren.aduerſ.her. lib.1.cap.2.& 3.

of baptiſme. Wherefore immediately vpon the acknowledgement of Chriſtian faith, the Eunuch (we ſee) was baptiſed by *Philip*; *Paul* by *Ananias*; by *Peter* a huge multitude containing three thouſand ſoules, which being once baptiſed, were reckoned in the number of ſoules added to the viſible Church. As for thoſe vertues that belong vnto morall righteouſneſſe and honeſty of life, we do not mention them, becauſe they are not proper vnto Chriſtian men, as they are Chriſtian, but doe concerne them, as they are men. True it is, the want of theſe vertues excludeth from ſaluation. So doth much more the abſence of inward beliefe of heart; ſo doth deſpaire and lacke of hope; ſo emptines of Chriſtian loue and charity. But we ſpeake now of the viſible Church, whoſe children are ſigned with this marke, *One Lord, one fayth, one baptiſme.* In whomſoeuer theſe things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them onely ſhe holdeth for aliens and ſtrangers, in whom theſe things are not found. For want of theſe it is that Saracens, Iews, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not denie to be of the viſible Church, as long as theſe things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of neceſſitie either Chriſtians or not Chriſtians. If by externall profeſſion they be Chriſtians, then are they of the viſible Church of Chriſt: And Chriſtians by externall profeſſion they are all, whoſe marke of recogniſance hath in it thoſe things which we haue mentioned, yea although they bee impious idolaters, wicked heretiques, perſons excommunicable, yea and caſt out for notorious improbitie. Such withall we denie not to be the imps and limmes of Satan, euen as long as they continue ſuch. Is it then poſsible that the ſelfe ſame men ſhould belong both to the ſynagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Ieſus Chriſt? Vnto that Church which is his myſticall body, not poſsible; becauſe that body conſiſteth of none but onely true Iſraelites, true ſonnes of Abraham, true ſeruants and Saints of God. Howbeit of the viſible body and Church of Ieſus Chriſt, thoſe may bee and oftentimes are, in reſpect of the maine parts of their outward profeſsion; who in regard of their inward diſpoſition of mintle, yea of externall conuerſation, yea euen of ſome parts of their very profeſſion, are moſt worthily both hatefull in the ſight of God himſelfe, and in the eyes of the ſounder parts of the viſible Church moſt execrable. Our Sauiour therefore compareth the Kingdome of heauen to a net, whereunto all which commeth, neither is nor ſeemeth fiſh; his Church hee compareth vnto a field, where tares manifeſtly knowne and ſeene by all men doe growe intermingled with good corne, and euen ſo ſhall continue till the finall conſummation of the world. God hath had euer, and euer ſhall haue, ſome Church viſible vpon earth. When the people of God worſhipped the calfe in the wilderneſſe; when they adored the braſen Serpent; when they ſerued the Gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to Baal; when they burnt incenſe and offered Sacrifice vnto Idoles; true it is, the wrath of God was moſt fiercely inflamed againſt them, their Prophets iuſtly condemned them, as an adulterous ſeede and a wicked generation of miſcreantes, which had forſaken the liuing God, and of him were likewiſe forſaken, in reſpect of that ſingular mercie wherewith hee kindly and louingly embraceth his faithfull children. Howbeit retaining the lawe of God, and the holy ſeale of his couenant; the ſheepe

Act. 8.38.
Act. 22.16.
Act. 2.41.

Mat. 13.47.
Mat. 13.24.

Exod. 23.
Pſa. 106.19.20.
2. *King.* 18.4.
Jer. 11.14.
2 *King.* 22.17.
Eſa. 57.3.
Eſa. 1.4.
Eſa 60.15.

Iere. 13.11.
1. *King.* 19.18.

of

of his viſible flocke they continued euen in the depth of their diſobedience and rebellion. Wherefore not onely *amongſt* them God alwaies had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which neuer bowed their knees to Baal; but whoſe knees were bowed vnto Baal, euen they were alſo of the viſible church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complaine, as if that church had bene quite and cleane extinguiſhed; but he tooke it as though there had not bene remaining in the world any beſides himſelfe, that carried a true and an vpright heart towards God, with care to ſerue him according vnto his holie will. For lacke of diligent obſerning the differences, firſt betweene the Church of God myſticall and viſible, then betweene the viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſſe; the ouerſights are neither few nor light that haue beene committed. This deceiueth them, and nothing elſe, who thinke that in the time of the firſt world, the family of Noah did containe all that were of the viſible Church of God. From hence it grewe and from no other cauſe in the world, that the Affricane Biſhops in the Councell of Carthage, knowing how the adminiſtration of Baptiſme belongeth onely to the Church of Chriſt, and ſuppoſing that Heretiques which were apparantly ſeuered from the ſound beleeuing Church could not poſſibly be of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt; thought it vtterly againſt reaſon, that Baptiſme adminiſtred by men of corrupt beleefe, ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization their arguments are built vpon the forealleaged ground, *That Heretiques are not at all* any part of the Church of Chriſt. *Our Sauiour founded his Church on a rocke, and not vpon hereſie; power of baptizing he gaue to his Apoſtles, vnto Heretiques he gaue it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelues againſt Chriſt, doe but ſcatter his ſheepe and flocke; without the Church baptize they cannot.* Againe, *Are Heretiques Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remaine they not in Gods Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe words of the Lord ſerue, He which is not with me, is againſt me*: and, *He which gathereth not with me, ſcattereth? wherefore euident it is, that vpon miſbegotten children and the brood of Antichriſt, without rebaptization the holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as *Cyprian*; *I know no Baptiſme but one, and that in the Church onely; none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Diuell, hath the Diuell he doth examine about beleefe, whoſe lips and words do breath foorth a canker: the faithleſſe doth offer the articles of faith, a wicked creature forgiueth wickedneſſe, in the name of Chriſt Antichriſt ſigneth, he which is curſed of God bleſſeth, a dead carrion promiſeth life, a man vnpeaceable giueth peace, a blaſphemer calleth vpon the name of God, a prophane perſon doth exerciſe Prieſthood, a ſacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar, and in the necke of all theſe that euill alſo commeth, the Euchariſt a very Biſhop of the Diuell doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to proone that Heretiques were in no ſort any part of the viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their baptiſme no baptiſme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better aduiſed councell, and alſo reuoked by the chiefeſt of the authors thereof themſelues. What is it but onely the ſelfe ſame error and miſconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſt, they aske vs where our Church did lurke, in what caue of the earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of

Ierem.13.11.
1.King.19.18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Math.7.24. Math.16.18. Math.28.19.

Secundinus in eodem concil.

Math.12.30.

In Concilio Niceno. vide Hieron. dial. aduerſ. Luciferia.

yeeres together before the birth of *Martin Luther?* As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth vnto the end. Of which Church all parts haue not bene alwayes equally sincere and sound. In the dayes of *Abia* it plainely appeareth that Iuda was by many degrees more free from pollution then Israell, as that solemne oration sheweth wherein he pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise: *O Ieroboam and all Israell heare you me, Haue ye not driuen away the Priests of the Lord, the sonnes of Aaron and the Leuites, and haue made you Priests like the people of nations? whosoeuer commeth to consecrate with a young Bullocke and seuen Rammes, the same may be a Priest of them that are no Gods. But we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; and the Priests the sonnes of Aaron minister vnto the Lord euery morning and euery euening burnt offerings and sweete incense, and the bread is set in order vpon the pure table, and the candlesticke of gold with the lamps thereof to burne euery euening; for we keepe the watch of the Lord our God, but ye haue forsaken him.* In Saint *Paules* time the integritie of Rome was famous; Corinth many wayes reproued, they of Galatia much more out of square. In Saint *Johns* time Ephesus and Smyrna in farre better state then Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope therefore that to reforme our selues, if at any time we haue done amisse, is not to seuer our selues from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference betweene our estate before and now, we know none but onely such as we see in Iuda, which hauing sometime beene idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatrie and superstition. *If Ephraim be ioyned vnto idoles,* the counsell of the Prophet is, *Let him alone. If Israell play the harlot, let not Iuda sinne.* If it seeme euill vnto you sayth Iosua to serue the Lord, *choose you this day whom ye will serue, whether the Gods whom your fathers serued beyond the flood, or the Gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell; but I and mine house will serue the Lord.* The indisposition therefore of the church of Rome to reforme her selfe, must be no stay vnto vs from performing our duty to God; euen as desire of retaining conformity with them, could be no excuse if we did not performe that dutie. Notwithstanding so farre as lawfully we may, we haue held, and do hold fellowship with them. For euen as the Apostle doth say of Israell, that they are in one respect enimies, but in another beloued of God: In like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundrie her grosse and grieuous abominations; yet touching those maine parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the familie of Iesus Christ; and our hearty prayer vnto God almighty is, that being conioyned so farre foorth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will) so yeeld to frame and reforme themselues, that no distraction remaine in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Sauiour, whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome vtterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so greeuous errors in their doctrines: so we haue them amongst vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do giue euen as hard a iudgement of the Church of England it selfe. But whatsoeuer either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge euen Here-

2. Chron. 13.

Hos. 4. 15. & 17.

Ios. 24. 15.

Rom. 11. 28.

tikes

tikes themſelues to be though a maimed part, yet a part of the viſible Church. If an Infidell ſhould purſue to death an Heretique profeſſing Chriſtianitie, onely for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake: could we deny vnto him the honor of martyrdome? Yet this honor all men know to be proper vnto the Church. Heretikes therefore are not vtterly cut off from the viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true viſible Church of Chriſt and hereticall companies oppoſite, they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating heretikes not altogether from the company of beleeuers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound beleeuers. For where proteſt vnbeleefe is, there can be no viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound beliefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the Church, deny directly and vtterly reiect the very principles of Chriſtianity; which heretikes embrace, and erre onely by miſconſtruction; whereupon their opinions although repugnant indeed to the principles of Chriſtian faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the generall truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſſe; yet they are by the Fathers euery where ſpoken of, as men cleane excluded out of the right belieuing Church, by reaſon of their particular errors, for which all that are of a ſound beleefe muſt needs condemne them. In this conſideration the anſwere of *Caluin* vnto *Farell* concerning the children of Popiſh parents doth ſeeme craſed; *Whereas*, ſayth he, *you aske our iudgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether Miniſters of our order profeſſing the pure doctrine of the Goſpell, may lawfully admit vnto baptiſme an infant whoſe father is a ſtranger vnto our Churches, and whoſe mother hath fallen from vs vnto the Papacie, ſo that both the parents are popiſh; thus we haue thought good to anſwere, namely that it is an abſurd thing for vs to baptiſe them which cannot be reckoned members of our bodie. And ſith Papiſts children are ſuch, we ſee not how it ſhould be lawfull to miniſter baptiſme vnto them.* Cal. Epiſt. 149.

Sounder a great deale is the anſwere of the Eccleſiaſticall Colledge of *Geneua* vnto *Knox*, who hauing ſignified vnto them that himſelfe did not thinke it lawfull to baptize baſtards or the children of idolaters (he meaneth Papiſts) or of perſons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Church, or elſe their children being growne vnto the yeares of vnderſtanding ſhould come and ſue for their owne baptiſme: *For thus thinking* ſayth he, *I am thought to bee ouer ſeuere, and that not onely by them which are Popiſh, but euen in their iudgements alſo who thinke themſelues maintainers of the truth.* Maiſter *Knoxes* ouer-ſight herein they controlled. Their ſentence was, *whereſoeuer the profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath not vtterly periſhed and beene exſtinct, infants are beguiled of their right, if the common ſeale be denied them.* Epiſt. 283. Epiſt. 285.

Which concluſion in it ſelfe is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weake whereupon they build it. For the reaſon which they yeeld of their ſentence is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the faithfull concerning their ſeede, reacheth vnto a thouſand generations; it reſteth not onely in the firſt degree of deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great graundfathers haue beene holy and godly, do in that reſpect belong to the bodie of the Church, although the fathers and graundfathers of whom they deſcend haue beene Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeares agoe and more in their auncient predeceſſors;*

cannot with iuſtice be defeated and broken off by their parents impietie comming betweene. By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeeme that all the world may be baptiſed, in as much as no man liuing is a thouſand deſcents remoued from *Adam* himſelfe; yet we meane not at this time either to vphold or to ouerthrow it: onely their alleaged concluſion we embrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort, *That for as much as men remaine in the viſible Church, till they vtterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; we may not deny vnto infants their right by withholding from them the publike ſigne of holy baptiſme, if they be borne where the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianity is not cleane gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort borne, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth giue them intereſt and right in baptiſme. Albeit not euerie error and fault, yet hereſies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and cleane from that ſaluation, which belongeth vnto the myſticall body of Chriſt; yea they alſo make a ſeparation from the viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the viſible Church neither the one nor the other doth ſeuer. As for the act of excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the myſticall, nor cleane from the viſible, but onely from fellowſhip with the viſible in holie duties. With what congruitie then doth the church of Rome deny, that her enemies, whom ſhe holdeth alwayes for heretikes, do at all appertaine to the Church of Chriſt; when her owne do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach hereſie nor propound error, he may notwithſtanding himſelfe worſhip idols, thinke amiſſe concerning matters of faith, yea giue himſelfe vnto acts diabolicall, euen being Pope? How exclude they vs from being any part of the Church of Chriſt vnder the colour and pretence of hereſie, when they cannot but graunt it poſſible euen for him to be as touching his owne perſonall perſwaſion hereticall, who in their opinion not onely is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of authority ouer the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which already we haue ſet downe, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore in this queſtion we vnderſtand no other then onely the viſible Church. For preſeruation of Chriſtianity there is not any thing more needfull, then that ſuch as are of the viſible Church, haue mutuall fellowſhip and ſocietie one with another. In which conſideration, as in the maine body of the ſea being one, yet within diuers precincts hath diuers names; ſo the Catholike Church is in like ſort deuided into a number of diſtinct ſocieties, euery of which is termed a Church within it ſelfe. In this ſenſe the Church is alwaies a viſible ſociety of men; not an aſſembly, but a ſociety. For although the name of the Church be giuen vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies, although any multitude of Chriſtian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church; yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of publike actions; which actions being ended, the aſſembly diſſolueth it ſelfe and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled, doth no leſſe continue afterwards then before. *Where but three are, and they of the laity alſo,* ſayth *Tertullian, yet there is a Church,* that is to ſay, a Chriſtian aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to vnderſtand it, is a ſociety, that is, a number of men belonging vnto ſome Chriſtian fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certaine. That wherein they haue communion,

Tertul. exhort. ad caſtit. vbi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet laici.

communion, is the publike exerciſe of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles acts, *Inſtruction*, *Breaking of bread*, and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the myſticall body of Chriſt, haue thoſe inward graces and vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the ſame body; againe whoſoeuer appertaine to the viſible body of the Church, they haue alſo the notes of externall profeſſion, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the ſame manner euen the ſeuerall ſocieties of Chriſtian men, vnto euery of which the name of a Church is giuen with addition betokening ſeuerally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, England, and ſo the reſt, muſt be indued with correſpondent generall properties belonging vnto them, as they are publique Chriſtian ſocieties. And of ſuch properties common vnto all ſocieties Chriſtian, it may not be denied, that one of the very chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſticall Politie. Which word I therefore the rather vſe, becauſe the name of gouernement as commonly men vnderſtand it in ordinarie ſpeech, doth not compriſe the largeneſſe of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applied. For when wee ſpeake of gouernement, what doth the greateſt part conceiue thereby, but onely the exerciſe of ſuperioritie peculiar vnto rulers and guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-politie will better ſerue, becauſe it conteineth both gouernement, and alſo whatſoeuer beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publique. Neither is any thing in this degree more neceſſarie then Church-politie, which is a forme of ordering the publique ſpirituall affaires of the Church of God.

Acts.2.47.

2 But wee muſt note, that hee which affirmeth ſpeech to be neceſſary amongſt all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeake one kind of language. Euen ſo the neceſſitie of politie and regiment in all Churches may be held, without holding any one certaine forme to be neceſſarie in them all. Nor is it poſſible that any forme of politie, much leſſe of politie Eccleſiaſticall, ſhould be good, vnleſſe God himſelfe be author of it. *Thoſe things that are not of God* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *they can haue no other then Gods aduerſarie for their author.* Be it whatſoeuer in the Church of God, if it be not of God, wee hate it. Of God it muſt be, either as thoſe things ſometime were, which God ſupernaturally reuealed, and ſo deliuered them vnto *Moſes* for gouernement of the common-wealth of Iſraell; or elſe as thoſe things which men finde out by helpe of that light, which God hath giuen them vnto that end. The verie lawe of nature it ſelfe, which no man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, vnleſſe that be of God, whereof God is the author as well this later way as the former. But for as much as no forme of Church-politie is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, vnleſſe God be ſo the author of it, that it be alſo ſet downe in Scripture; they ſhould tell vs plainely, whether their meaning be, that it muſt be there ſet downe in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one forme of politie euer was ſo. Their owne to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirme; neither denie they that in part, euen this which they ſo much oppugne is alſo from thence taken. Againe they ſhould tell vs, whether onely that be taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there ſet downe; or elſe that alſo, which the generall principles and rules of Scripture potentially conteine. The

Whether it be neceſſarie that ſome particular forme of Church-polity be ſet downe in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly vnto any ſuch forme, are not of neceſſitie to ſaluation.

Tertul. de habitu mul. Æmuli ſint neceſſe eſt, quæ Dei non ſunt. Rom.2.15. Lactan. lib.6. ca.8. Ille legis huius inuentor, diſceptator, latorque. Cic.3. de Repub.

one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their owne diſcipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouthes are ſtopped, when they would pleade againſt all other formes beſides their owne; ſeeing the generall principles are ſuch, as doe not particularly preſcribe any one, but ſundry may equally be conſonant vnto the generall axiomes of the Scripture. But to giue them ſome larger ſcope, and not to cloſe them vp in theſe ſtreights: let their allegations be conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bend themſelues againſt all, which deny it neceſſarie that any one complete forme of Church-politie ſhould be in Scripture. Firſt therefore whereas it hath beene told them, that matters of faith, and in generall matters neceſſarie vnto ſaluation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, order, and the kind of Church-gouernement; that the one are neceſſary to bee expreſſely conteined in the word of God, or elſe manifeſtly collected out of the ſame, the other not ſo; that it is neceſſarie not to receiue the one, vnleſſe there bee ſome thing in Scripture for them, the other free, if nothing againſt them may thence be alleaged: although there doe not appeare any iuſt or reaſonable cauſe to reiect or diſlike of this, neuertheleſſe, as it is not eaſie to ſpeake to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themſelues, but that ſomewhat there will be alwayes which diſpleaſeth, ſo heerein for two things wee are reprooued; the firſt is *miſdiſtinguiſhing*, becauſe matters of diſcipline and Church-gouernement are (as they ſay) matters neceſſarie to ſaluation, and of faith, whereas we put a difference betweene the one and the other; our ſecond fault is *iniurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it conteined onely the principall points of religion, ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth vnto the forme and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more then onely to couer the Churches nakednesſe, and not chaines, bracelets, rings, iewels to adorne her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberall and (as it were) a more delitious and daintie dyet. In which caſe our apologie ſhall not neede to be very long.

Two things miſliked, the one, that we diſtinguiſh matters of diſcipline or Church-gouernment from matters of faith and neceſſarie vnto ſaluation; the other, that we are iniurious to the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh betweene theſe, and ſay that matters of faith and neceſſarie vnto ſaluation may not be tolerated in the Church, vnleſſe they be expreſſely conteined in the word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that ceremonies, order, diſcipline, gouernment in the Church, may not be receiued againſt the word of God, and conſequently may be receiued if there be no word againſt them, although there be none for them; you (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or diuiding after this ſort, doe proue your ſelfe an euill diuider. As though matters of diſcipline and kind of gouernement were not matters neceſſary to ſaluation and of faith. It is no ſmall iniurie which you do vnto the word of God to pin it in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct vs but in the principall points of our religion, or as though the ſubſtance of religion or ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it, or as if there were in the Scriptures onely to couer the Churches nakednesſe, and not alſo chaines, and bracelets, and rings, and other iewels to adorne her and ſet her out; or that to conclude, there were ſufficient to quench her thirſt and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter vnto her a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delitious and dainty dyet. Theſe things you ſeeme to ſay, when you ſay that matters neceſſary to ſaluation and of faith are conteined in Scripture, eſpecially when you oppoſe theſe things to ceremonies, order, diſcipline, and gouernement. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 26.*

* That matters of diſcipline are different from matters of faith and ſaluation, and that they théſelues ſo teach which are our reproouers.

3 *The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech, which by nature are diuided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confuſion breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh is by conceipt of minde to ſeuer things different in nature, and to diſcerne wherein they differ. So that if wee imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe wee diſtinguiſh

ſtinguiſh where wee ſhould not, it may not bee denied that wee miſdiſtinguiſh. The onely tryall whether wee doe ſo, yea or no, dependeth vpon compariſon betweene our conceipt and the nature of things conceiued. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt this wee conceiue, that they are not of one ſute. Some things are *meerely* of faith, which things it doth ſuffice that wee knowe and beleeue: ſome things not onely to bee knowne, but done, becauſe they concerne the actions of men. Articles about the Trinitie are matters of meere faith, and muſt bee beleeued. Precepts concerning the works of charitie, are matters of action, which to knowe, vnleſſe they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo cleare to all mens vnderſtanding, I ſomewhat maruaile that they eſpecially ſhould thinke it abſurd to oppoſe *Church-gouernement* a plaine matter of action vnto matters of faith, who know that themſelues deuide the Goſpell into *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*.

T.C.lib.2.pag.1. Wee offer to ſhew the diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell. And againe *pag.5.* I ſpeake of the diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell. If the diſcipline be one part of the Goſpell, what other part can they aſſigne but doctrine, to anſwer in diuiſion to the diſcipline?

For if matters of diſcipline be rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of doctrine, why not matters of gouernement by vs as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of faith? Do not they vnder doctrine comprehend the ſame which wee intend by matters of faith? Doe not they vnder diſcipline comprize the regiment of the Church? When they blame that in vs, which themſelues followe, they giue men great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing then iudgement doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to knowe or doe, the ſame in part nature teacheth. And becauſe nature can teach them but onely in part, neither ſo fully, as is requiſite for mans ſaluation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way plaine and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it and ſo bee ſaued; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſarie things, that the Schoole of nature teacheth vnto that end; and reuealeth alſo whatſoeuer wee neither could with ſafety bee ignorant of, nor at all bee inſtructed in but by ſupernaturall reuelation from him. So that Scripture conteining all things that are in this kinde any way needefull for the Church, and the principall of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith wee are charged as with an errour: wee teach that whatſoeuer is vnto ſaluation termed *neceſſarie* by way of excellencie, whatſoeuer it ſtandeth all men vpon to knowe or doe that they may be ſaued, whatſoeuer there is whereof it may truely be ſayd, *This not to beleeue is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This euery ſoule that will liue muſt duely obſerue*, of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are; all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not bee able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for euer ſhee is to walke. Heretiques and Schiſmatiques neuer ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to peruert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſorie hereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of ſaluation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to chaunge that way, then a path is chaunged by altering onely the vppermoſt face thereof, which be it layd with gravell, or ſet with graſſe, or paued with ſtone, remaineth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch things becauſe diſcretion

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may teach the Church what is conuenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein vnto Scripture, then that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, least that path which ought alwayes to be kept euen, doe thereby come to be ouer-growne with brambles and thornes. If this be vnsound, wherein doth the point of vnsoundnesse lye? It is not that wee make some things *necessarie*, some things *accessorie* and appendent onely. For our Lord and Sauiour himselfe doth make that difference, by terming iudgement, and mercie, and fidelitie, with other things of like nature, *the greater and waighttier matters of the lawe.* Is it then in that wee account *Ceremonies* (wherein wee doe not comprise Sacraments, or any other the like substantiall duties in the exercise of Religion, but onely such externall rites as are vsually annexed vnto Church-actions,) is it an ouersight, that we recken these things and [a] matters of gouernement in the number of things accessorie, not things necessarie in such sort as hath beene declared? Let them which therefore thinke vs blameable, consider well their owne words. Do they not plainely compare the one vnto garments which couer the body of the Church, the other vnto rings, bracelets, and iewels that onely adorne it? the one to that foode which the Church doth liue by, the other to that which maketh her dyet liberall, daintie, and more delitious? Is daintie fare a thing necessarie to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the bodie rich attire? If not, how can they vrge the necessitie of that which themselues resemble by things not necessarie? Or by what construction shall any man liuing bee able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction vntrue, which putteth a difference betweene things of externall regiment in the Church, and things necessarie vnto saluation?

*Matth.*23.23.

[a] The gouernement of the Church of Christ graunted by Fennar himselfe, to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of religion. Against D. Bridges, pag. 121. if it be Fennar which was the Author of that Booke.

That we doe not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto giuen with soundnesse of truth. *Arist. pol. li.* 1. *cap.* 8. *& Plato in Menex. Arist. lib.* 3. *de Anima. cap.* 45.

4 Now as it can be to nature no iniury, that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her workes haue obserued, namely, that she prouideth for all liuing creatures nourishment which may suffice, that she bringeth foorth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needfull; although we do not so farre magnifie her exceeding bountie, as to affirme that she bringeth into the world the sonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring vp out of the earth for them: So I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaueth vnto the Churches discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impaire the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the sacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by vs maintained, then onely that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoeuer is in such sort necessarie as hath bene set downe; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to haue left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, then for nature to haue left it vnto the wit of man to deuise his owne attire, and not to looke for it as the beasts of the field haue theirs: If neither this can import, nor any other proofe sufficient bee brought foorth, that wee either will at any time or euer did affirme the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more then onely those bare necessaries; if wee acknowledge that as well for particular application to speciall occasions,

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as alſo in other manifold reſpects infinite treaſures of wiſedome are ouer and beſides aboundantly to be found in the holie Scripture; yea that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthie the mind of man, but from thence it may haue ſome direction and light; yea that although there be no neceſſitie it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular forme of Church-gouernement; yet touching the manner of gouerning in generall, the precepts that Scripture ſetteth downe are not few, and the examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-gouernors, euen in particularities to follow; yea that thoſe things finally which are of principall waight in the verie particular forme of Church-politie, (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which we againſt them vphold) are in the ſelfe ſame Scriptures conteined: if all this be willingly graunted by vs, which are accuſed to pinne the word of God in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct vs but in principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion or ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building the Church were vttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the accuſed be referred to the accuſers owne conſcience, and let that iudge whether this accuſation be deſerued where it hath bene layd.

5 But ſo eaſie it is for euery man liuing to erre, and ſo hard to wreſt from any mans mouth the plaine acknowledgement of error, that what hath beene once inconſiderately defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in, as long as wit by whetting it ſelfe is able to finde out any ſhift, be it neuer ſo ſleight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it commeth herein to paſſe with men vnaduiſedly fallen into errour, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to vphold it, but onely the helpe which by ſubtle conueyance they draw out of caſuall euents ariſing from day to day, till at length they be cleane ſpent. They which firſt gaue out, that *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commanded by the word of God*, thought this principle plainely warranted by the manifeſt words of the lawe; *Yee ſhall put nothing vnto the word which I commaund you, neither ſhall yee take ought there-from, that yee may keepe the commaundements of the Lord your God, which I commaund you.* Wherefore hauing an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of England, as marrying with a ring, croſſing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obſeruing of feſtiuall dayes moe then onely that which is called the *Lords day*, inioyning abſtinence at certaine times from ſome kindes of meate, Churching of women after Child-birth, degrees taken by Diuines in Vniuerſities, ſundry Church-offices, dignities, and callings, for which they found no commaundement in the holie Scripture, they thought by the one onely ſtroke of that axiome to haue cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle, being ſifted was repeld. True it is concerning the word of God, whether it be by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endeuor that any thing may ſeeme diuine which is not, or any thing not ſeeme which is, were plainely to abuſe and euen to falſifie diuine euidence, which iniury offered but vnto men is moſt worthily counted hainous. Which point I with they did well obſerue, with whom nothing is more familiar then to pleade in theſe cauſes, *The law of God, The word of the Lord:* who notwithſtanding when

Their meaning who firſt did pleade againſt the politie of the Church of England, vrging that *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God*: and what ſcripture they thought they might ground this aſſertion vpon.

Deut. 4.2. & *Deut.* 12.32. Whatſoeuer I commaund you take heed you do it: thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there-from.

when they come to alleage what word and what lawe they meane, their common ordinarie practiſe is, to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome hiſtoricall narration or other, and to vrge them as if they were written in moſt exact forme of law. What is to adde to the lawe of God, if this bee not? When that which the word of God doth but deliuer hiſtorically, we conſter without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and ſo vrge it further then we can proue that it was intended, do we not adde to the lawes of God, and make them in number ſeeme moe then they are? It ſtandeth vs vpon to be carefull in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heauie againſt them, that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to vſe the Scripture.

The ſame aſſertion wee cannot hold, without doing wrong vnto all Churches.

6 But let that which they doe hereby intend be graunted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to adde to the lawe of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make any lawe more then is alreadie ſet downe in Scripture: who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce vs to giue againſt all Churches in the world, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did neuer commaund, yet for vs to condemne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of God euen in the time of our Sauiour Chriſt ſerue for example vnto all the reſt. In their domeſticall celebration of the Paſſeouer, which ſupper they deuided (as it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did giue commaundement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, he that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his garments, and keeping on his feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them neuer to lift vp their hands vnwaſht in prayer vnto God, which cuſtome *Ariſteus* (be the credite of the author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerue? What Scripture did commaund the Iewes euery feſtiuall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Ioſephus* in the hiſtory of his owne life, and by the words of *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip vp all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtles obſerued, though not commaunded any where in Scripture.

Iohn 13.

Conuiatorium: *de quo Matth.* 22. 12. *Ibi de conuiatorio nuptiali.*

Act. 2.

7 *Well, yet a gloſſe there is to colour that paradoxe, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appeare in ſhew not to be altogether vnreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the commandements of God being either generall or ſpeciall, although there be no expreſſe word for euery thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall commaundements for all things, to the end that euen ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with caution that nothing be done againſt the word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet downe in Scripture foure generall rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be receiued in the Church, as do beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame rules, that ſo all things in the Church may be appointed, not onely *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the word of God. The rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſiue vnto any, eſpecially vnto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemelineſſe; *All vnto edification*; finally

* A ſhift to maintaine that, Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the word of God; Namely that commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpeciall precepts, yet by generall rules in the word. 1. *Cor.* 10. 32. 2. *Cor.* 14. 40.

All

All to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much paines? Which rules they that vrge, minding thereby to proue that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commaundeth, muſt needs hold that they tye the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, then onely becauſe we find them there ſet downe by the finger of the holy Ghoſt. So that vnleſſe the Apoſtle by writing had deliuered thoſe rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſeruing them haue ſinned, as now by not obſeruing them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not graunted, that *the appointment of the howre for daily ſacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the land to heare the word of God and to pray in, when they came not vp to Ieruſalem; the erecting of *Pulpets and Chaires* to teach in; the order of *buriall*, the *rites of mariage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we thinke? Did they hereby adde to the law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their law deliuer vnto them the ſelfe ſame generall rules of the Apoſtle, that framing thereby their orders they might in that reſpect cleare themſelues from doing amiſſe? S. *Paule* would then of likelihood haue cited them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and Canons of that law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for euer no leſſe then now ſtood bound to obſerue them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons doe bind as they are edicts of nature, which the Iewes obſeruing as yet vnwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-orders as in their lawe were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect vnculpable; it followeth that ſundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture doe commaund them, but the Church onely following the light of reaſon, iudge them to be in diſcretion meete. Secondly vnto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the commaundements of God in Scripture be generall or ſpeciall, it skilleth not. For if being particularly applied, they haue in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining vs to take ſome one certaine thing of many, and to leaue the reſt, whereby it would come to paſſe, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the generall rules themſelues in that caſe would be broken; then is it vtterly impoſſible that God ſhould leaue any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly if ſo be they ſhall graunt, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe rules are no ſuch lawes as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerue rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth, ſo that free and lawfull it is to deuiſe any Ceremony, to receiue any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no ſpecial commandement being therby violated, and the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the iudgement therof appertaineth, as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending vnto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God, that is to ſay, agreeable vnto the generall rules of holy Scripture, this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for thē, muſt proue that mē ought not to make laws for Church regiment, but only keepe thoſe lawes which in Scripture they find made. The plaine intent

1. Cor. 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6. 7.

T. C. li. 1. pa. 35.

of

of the booke of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline is to ſhew, that men may not deuiſe lawes of Church gouernment; but are bound for euer to vſe and to execute only thoſe, which God himſelfe hath already deuiſed and deliuered in the Scripture. The ſelfe ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in vrging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according vnto any law of mans deuiſing, but all according to that which God in his word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture generall rules to be followed in making lawes; and ſo in effect they plainely graunt, that wee our ſelues may lawfully make lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture onely to take lawes already made, as they meant who firſt alleaged that principle whereof we ſpeake. One particular platforme it is which they reſpected, and which they labored thereby to force vpon all Churches; whereas theſe generall rules do not let, but that there may well enough be ſundrie. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas vnto thoſe generall rules they know we do not deſend that we may hold any thing vncomformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gaue out that graund axiome: and according vnto that meaning it doth preuaile farre and wide with the ſauourers of that part. Demaund of them, wherefore they conforme not themſelues vnto the order of our Church, and in euery particular their anſwer for the moſt part is, *We find no ſuch thing commaunded in the word.* Whereby they plainely require ſome ſpeciall commaundement for that which is exacted at their hands, neither are they content to haue matters of the Church examined by generall rules and Canons. As therefore in controuerſies betweene vs and the church of Rome, that which they practiſe is many times euen according to the very groſneſſe of that which the vulgar ſort conceiueth; when that which they teach to maintaine it is ſo nice and ſubtle, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which caſes wee ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefite, by diſputing with them according vnto the fineſt points of their darke conueyances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their doctrine to go vncontrolled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily receiued and practiſed: So conſidering what diſturbance hath growne in the Church amongſt our ſelues, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which in the word of God is not commanded*; were it reaſon that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſſe without controulement, in that currant meaning whereby euery where it preuaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly haue thought on, but being driuen thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwere in defenſe of the former aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church orders muſt be commanded in the word, that is to ſay, grounded vpon the word, and made according at the leaſtwiſe vnto the generall rules of holie Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any ſtarre or light of reaſon, and are in that reſpect receiued ſo they be not againſt the word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth vnlawfully receiued.

8 The laſt refuge in maintaining this poſition, is thus to conſter it; *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commaunded in the word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church orders muſt be *grounded vpon the word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded vpon the word, not that being found out by ſome *ſtarre or light of reaſon or learning, or other helpe*, they may be receiued, ſo they be not againſt the word of God; but according at leaſtwiſe vnto the generall rules of Scripture

ture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *We know not what to ſay well in defence of this poſition: and therefore leſt wee ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedy but to ſay that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how.* First that *Scholre* had neede of a very fauourable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould thinke it plaine conſtruction, when to be *commaunded in the word*, and *grounded vpon the word* are made all one. If when a man may line in the ſtate of Matrimony, ſeeking that good thereby which nature principally deſireth, hee make rather choyce of a contrary life in regard of Saint *Paules* iudgement; that which hee doth is manifeſtly *grounded* vpon the worde of GOD, yet *not commaunded* in his word, becauſe without breach of any commaundement hee might doe otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in iuſtice and reaſon can bee reproued, for thoſe actions which are framed according vnto that knowne will of God, whereby they are to bee iudged; and the will of God which wee are to iudge our actions by, no ſound Diuine in the world euer denied to bee in parte made manifeſt euen by light of nature and not by Scripture alone; if the Church being directed by the former of theſe two, (which God hath giuen who gaue the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both,) if the Church I ſay do approue and eſtabliſh that which therby it iudgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſillable of holy Scripture, who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldnes, controlling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the light of nature is made hatefull with men; *the ſtarre of reaſon and learning*, and all other ſuch like helps, beginneth no otherwiſe to be thought of, then if it were an vnluckie Comet, or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould neuer ſhine or giue light in things concerning our duety any way towards him, but be eſteemed as that *ſtarre* in the Reuelation called *wormewood*, which being fallen from heauen, maketh riuers and waters in which it falleth, ſo bitter, that men taſting them die thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things diuine they ſhould attribute any force to mans reaſon. For which cauſe they neuer vſe reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace reaſon. Their vſuall and common diſcourſes are vnto this effect: firſt, *The naturall man perceiueth not the things of the ſpirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe vnto him, neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that S. *Paul* giueth charge to *beware of Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, ſuch knowledge as men by naturall reaſon attaine vnto. Thirdly, Conſider them that haue from time to time oppoſed themſelues againſt the Goſpell of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with Hereſie. Haue they not alwayes beene great admirers of humane reaſon? Hath their deepe and profound skill in ſecular learning, made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather againſt it? Fourthly, They that feare God will remember how heauy his ſentences are in this caſe; *I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the vnderſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the diſputer of this world? Hath not God made the wiſedome of this world fooliſhneſſe? Seeing the world by wiſedome knew not God in the wiſedome of God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue beleeuers.* Fiftly, the word of God in it ſelfe is abſolute,

Ariſt. polit. 1.

1. Cor. 7.

Apoc. 8. 10.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Col. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 1. 19.

exact, and perfect. The worde of God is a two edged ſword : as for the weapons of naturall reaſon, they are as the armour of *Saule*, rather cumberſome about the ſouldier of Chriſt then needefull. They are not of force to doe that, which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did by the power of the holy Ghoſt. *My preaching*, therefore ſaith *Paul*, *hath not beene in the inticing ſpeech of mans*
1.Cor.2.4. *wiſedome, but in plaine euidence of the ſpirit of power; that your faith might not be in the wiſedome of men, but in the power of God.* Sixtly, if I beleeue the Goſpell, there needeth no reaſoning about it to perſvvade me: If I doe not beleeue, it muſt bee the ſpirit of God, and not the reaſon of man that ſhall conuert my heart vnto him. By theſe and the like diſputes an opinion hath ſpread it ſelfe very farre in the vvorld, as if the vvay to bee ripe in faith, vvere to bee ravv in vvit and iudgement; as if reaſon vvere an enemy vnto Religion, childiſh ſimplicitie the mother of ghoſtly and diuine vviſedome. The cauſe why ſuch declamations preuaile ſo greatly, is, for that men ſuffer themſelues in tvvo reſpects to bee deluded; one is, that the vviſedome of man being debaſed, eyther in compariſon vvith that of God, or in regard of ſome ſpeciall thing, exceeding the reach and compaſſe thereof, it ſeemeth to them (not marking ſo much) as if ſimply it vvere condemned: an other, that learning, knovvledge, or vviſedome falſly ſo termed, vſurping a name vvherof they are not vvorthie, and being vnder that name controlled, their reproofe is by ſo much the more eaſily miſapplied, and through equiuocation vvreſted againſt thoſe things vvherunto ſo precious names do properly and of right belong. This duly obſerued, doth to the former allegations it ſelfe make ſufficient anſvvere. Hovvbeit for
1 all mens plainer and fuller ſatisfaction, firſt concerning the inhability of reaſon to ſearch out and to iudge of things diuine; if they be ſuch as thoſe properties of God, and thoſe duties of men towards him, vvhich may be conceiued by attentiue conſideration of heauen and earth: vve knovv that of meere natural men, the
Rom.1.21.31. Apoſtle teſtifieth, hovv they *knevv both God, and the law of God.* Other things of God there be, vvhich are neither ſo found, nor though they be ſhevved, can euer be approued vvithout the *ſpeciall* operation of Gods good grace & ſpirit. Of ſuch things ſometime ſpake the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, declaring hovv Chriſt had called him to be a vvitneſſe of his death and reſurrection from the dead, according to that
Act. 25.19. vvhich the Prophets and *Moſes* had foreſhevved. *Feſtus* a meere naturall man, an Infidel, a Romane, one vvhoſe eares vvere vnacquainted vvith ſuch matter, heard
Act.26.24. him, but could not reach vnto that vvhereof he ſpake; the ſuffering and the riſing of Chriſt from the dead, he reiecteth as idle ſuperſtitious phanſies, not vvorth the hearing. The Apoſtle that knevv them by the ſpirit, & ſpake of them vvith povver of the holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. VVhich example ma-
1.Cor.2.14. keth manifeſt vvhat elſvvhere the ſame Apoſtle teacheth, namely that nature hath need of grace, vvherunto I hope vve are not oppoſite, by holding that grace hath
2 vſe of nature. Secondly, Philoſophy vve are vvarned to take heed of: not that Philoſophy, vvhich is true & ſound knovvledge attained by naturall diſcourſe of reaſon; but that Philoſophy vvhich to bolſter hereſie or errour, caſteth a fraudulent ſhevv of reaſon vpon things vvhich are indeed vnreaſonable, & by that meane as by a ſtratageme ſpoileth the ſimple vvhich are not able to vvithſtand ſuch cun-
Col.2.8. ning. *Take heed leſt any ſpoile you through Philoſophy and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth

teth to beware of an enemies policie, doth not giue counſell to be impolitique; but rather to vſe all prudent foreſight and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be ouer-reacht by cunning ſleights. The way not to be inueigled by them that are ſo guilefull through skill, is thoroughly to be inſtructed in that which maketh skilfull againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere philoſophy, which doth teach againſt that deceitfull and vaine, which ſpoyleth. Thirdly, But many great Philoſophers haue beene very vnſound in beliefe. And many ſound in beliefe, haue beene alſo great Philoſophers. Could ſecular knowledge bring the one ſort vnto the loue of Chriſtian faith? Nor Chriſtian faith the other ſort out of loue with ſecular knowledge. The harme that heretiques did, they did it vnto ſuch as were vnable to diſcerne betweene ſound and deceitfull reaſoning; and the remedy againſt it, was euer the skill which the auncient Fathers had to diſcrie and diſcouer ſuch deceit. In ſo much that *Creſconius* the heretique complained greatly of S. *Auguſtine*, as being too ful of logicall ſubtilties. Hereſie preuaileth onely by a counterfeit ſhew of reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becommeth inuincible, vnleſſe it be conuicted of fraude by manifeſt remonſtrance, clearely true, and vnable to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth hability to conuict Heretiques, can we thinke he iudgeth it a thing vnlawfull, and not rather needefull to vſe the principall inſtrument of their conuiction, the light of reaſon? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers writings there are ſundry ſharpe inuectiues againſt Heretiques, euen for their very Philoſophicall reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to haue beene any diſlike conceiued againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *euen in matters of God, be made wiſer by reaſons drawne from the publique perſwaſions which are graſted in mens mindes, ſo they be vſed to further the truth, not to bolſter errour, ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things euen knowne by nature, as the immortality of the ſoule vnto many, our God vnto all. I will therefore my ſelfe alſo vſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as* Plato, *pronouncing euery ſoule immortall. I my ſelfe too will vſe the ſecret acknowledgement of the communalty, bearing record of the GOD of Gods. But when I heare men alleage, That which is dead is dead: and, while thou art aliue be aliue; and, After death an end of all, euen of death it ſelfe: then will I call to minde both that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very wiſedome of the world is pronounced folly. If then an Heretique flie alſo vnto ſuch vitious, popular and ſecular conceits, my anſwere vnto him ſhall be; Thou Heretique auoyde the heathen, although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God: yet thou that doſt this vnder the name of Chriſt, differeſt from the heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelfe a Chriſtian. Leaue him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neyther will he learne thine. Why doſt thou hauing ſight, truſt to a blinde guide, thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take rayment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle haue armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learne of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the reſurrection of the fleſh.* In a word, the Catholique Fathers did good vnto all by that knowledge, whereby Heretiques hindering the truth in many, might haue furthered therewith themſelues, but that obſtinately following their owne ambitious or otherwiſe corrupted affections, in ſtead of framing their willes to maintaine that which reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how reaſon might ſeeme to teach that which their

3 *Tit.* 9. 11.

Tertul. de Reſur. carnis.

wils vvere ſet to maintaine. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them iuſtly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned euen in and of themſelues. For though they be not all perſwaded that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be errour which they vphold, they might vndoubtedly the ſooner a great deale attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they haue ſtood in, then to find out ſincerely and ſimply vvhat truth they ought to perſiſt in for euer. Fourthly, there is in the vvorld no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeene, but we iuſtly account it precious; yea that principall truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receiue from it ſome kinde of light. Whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldæan wiſedome Mathematical, wherwith *Moſes* and *Daniel* vvere furniſhed; or that naturall, morall, and ciuill wiſdome, wherwith *Salomon* excelled all men, or that rationall and oratoriall wiſedome of the Græcians, which the Apoſtle S. *Paul* brought from *Tarſus*, or that Iudaicall, which he learned in *Ieruſalem* ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliell*, to detract from the dignity thereof, were to iniury euen God himſelfe, who being that light which none can approch vnto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, euen as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the bright fountaine from which they riſe. But there are that beare the title of wiſe men, and Scribes, and great diſputers of the world, & are nothing indeed leſſe then what in ſhew they moſt appeare. Theſe being vvholly addicted vnto their owne wils, vſe their vvit, their learning, & all the wiſdome they haue, to maintaine that vvhich their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frenticke errour of their mindes, the greateſt madnes in the world to be vviſedome, and the higheſt wiſedome fooliſhnes. Such were both *Iewes* & *Græcians*, vvhich profeſſed the one ſort legal, and the other ſecular skill, neither induring to be taught the myſterie of Chriſt: vnto the glory of vvhoſe moſt bleſſed name, vvho ſo ſtudie to vſe both their reaſon and all other gifts, as vvell vvhich nature as vvhich grace hath indued them with, let them neuer doubt but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound viterly that wiſedome falſly ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wiſedome inſtructed to the kingdome of heauen, Scribes againſt that kingdome hardned in a vaine opinion of wiſedome which in the end being proued folly, muſt needes periſh, true vnderſtanding, knowledge, iudgement and reaſon, continuing for euermore. Fiftly, vnto the word of God, being in reſpect of that end for vvhich God ordeined it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelfe, vve do not adde reaſon as a ſupplement of any maim or defect therin, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, vvithout vvhich vve could not reape by the Scriptures perfection, that fruit and benefit vvhich it yeeldeth. The vvord of God is a two edged ſword, but in the hands of reaſonable men; and reaſon as the weapon that ſlew *Goliath*, if they be as *Dauid* was that vſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he vvhich gaue them from aboue ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, indued them alſo vvith wiſedome from aboue to teach that which they ſo did confirme. Our Sauior made choiſe of twelue ſimple & vnlearned men, that the greater their lacke of naturall wiſdome was, the more admirable that might appeare, vvhich God ſupernaturally indued them with from heauen. Such therfore as knew the poore & ſilly eſtate wherin they had liued, could not but wonder to heare the wiſdome of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more attentiue

Tit.3.11.

4

Act.7.22. *Dan.1.17.* *1.King.4.29.30.* *Act.22.3.*

Mat.13.52.

5

Hebr.4.12.

attentiue vnto their teaching. They ſtudied for no tongue they ſpake withall; of themſelues they were rude & knew not ſo much as how to premeditate, the ſpirit gaue them ſpeech and eloquent vtterance. But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe then with the reſt, in as much as he neuer conuerſed with Chriſt vpon earth as they did; and his education had bin ſcholaſticall altogether, which theirs was not: hereby occaſion was taken by certain malignants, ſecretly to vndermine his great authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpell had bin taught him by others then by Chriſt himſelf, & as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* conuerſion and beliefe through his meanes, had beene the learning and skill which he had by being conuerſant in their bookes, which thing made them ſo willing to hear him, and him ſo able to perſwade them; wheras the reſt of the Apoſtles preuailed, becauſe God was with them, and by miracle from heauen confirmed his word in their mouthes. They were mighty in *deeds*: As for him, being abſent, his writings had ſome force, in preſence his power not like vnto theirs. In ſumme, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was, Λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *Addle ſpeech, Empty talke.* 2. *Cor.* 10. 10. His writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth, that S. *Paul* was ſo often driuen to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariſeth, that whatſoeuer time he had ſpent in the ſtudy of humane learning, he maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpel which he had preached amongſt them, did not by other meanes preuaile with them, then with others the ſame Goſpell taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *My preaching*, ſaith he, *hath not bin in the perſwaſiue ſpeeches of humane wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power, that your faith may not be in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.* 1. *Cor.* 2. 4. What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt them had beene *perſwaſiue*? No, for of him the ſacred Hiſtorie plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a yeare & a half he ſpake in their Synagogue euery Saboth, and *perſwaded* both Iewes and Græcians. *Act.* 18. 4. *v.* 11. How then is the ſpeech of men made perſwaſiue? Surely there can be but two wayes to bring this to paſſe, the one humane, the other diuine. Either S. *Paul* did *only* by arte and naturall induſtry cauſe his owne ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two the former he vtterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the reſt had bin effectuall by miracle, his *only* by force of his own learning; ſo great inequality between him and the other Apoſtles in this thing, had bin enough to ſubuert their faith. For might they not w^th^ reaſon haue thought, that if he were ſent of God as wel as they, God wold not haue furniſhed them and not him with the power of the holy Ghoſt? Might not a great part of them being ſimple happily haue feared, leſt their aſſent had been cunningly gotten vnto his doctrine, rather through the weakneſſe of their owne wits, then the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How vnequall had it beene, that all beleeuers through the preaching of other Apoſtles ſhould haue their faith ſtrongly built vpon the euidence of Gods owne miraculous approbation, & they whom he had conuerted ſhould haue their perſwaſion built only vpon his skill & wiſdome who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize vs to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did: ſo although the wiſedome of man had not bin ſuffici-

ent to inable him ſuch a teacher as the reſt of the Apoſtles were, vnleſſe Gods miracles had ſtrengthned both the one and the others doctrine; yet vnto our hability both of teaching and learning the truth of Chriſt, as we are but meere
6 Chriſtian men, it is not a little which the wiſdome of man may adde. Sixtly, yea whatſoeuer our harts be to God & to his truth, beleeue we, or be we as yet faithleſſe, for our conuerſion or confirmation the force of natural reaſon is great. The force whereof vnto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient, that whoſoeuer doth ſerue, honor and obey God, whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, that man would nomore do this then innocents & infants do, but for the light of naturall reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God, which being by grace diſcouered, are effectuall to perſwade reaſonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience and credit belong aright vnto God. No man commeth vnto God to offer him ſacrifice, to poure out ſupplications and prayers before him, or to do him any ſeruice
Hebr.11.6. which doth not firſt beleeue him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in ſuch ſort ſeeke vnto him. Let men be taught this eyther by reuelation from heauen, or by inſtruction vpon earth, by labor, ſtudy and meditation, or by the only ſecret inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt; whatſoeuer the meane be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, why ſhould none be found capable therof but onely men, nor men till ſuch time as they come vnto ripe & full hability to worke by reaſonable vnderſtanding? The whole driſt of the Scripture of God, what is it but onely to teach *Theology*? *Theology* what is it but the ſcience of things diuine? What ſcience can be attained vn-
1.Cor.10.15. to without the helpe of naturall diſcourſe and reaſon? *Iudge you of that which I ſpeake*, ſaith the Apoſtle. In vaine it were to ſpeake any thing of God, but that by reaſon men are able ſomewhat to iudge of that they heare, and by diſcourſe to diſcerne how conſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things aboue nature, things which our reaſon by it ſelfe could not reach vnto. Yet thoſe things alſo we beleeue, knowing by reaſon that the Scripture is the word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus* a Roman, and of King *Agrippa* a Iew, S. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Iewes religion, nor the books wherby they were taught it, ſpeakes vnto the other of things foreſhewed by *Moſes* & the Prophets, & performed in Ieſus Chriſt; intending therby to proue himſelfe ſo vniuſtly accuſed, that vnleſſe his Iudges did condemne both *Moſes* and the Prophets, him they could not chooſe but acquite, who taught only that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretolde. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done their eyes were witneſſes: what *Moſes* and the Prophets did ſpeake, their bookes could quickly ſhew, it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, & be-
Act.26.22. leeued the other. *King Agrippa, beleeueſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is, how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of King *Agrippa*. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with vs doth cauſe the reſt of the ſcripture of God to be of credit. Becauſe we maintain that in ſcripture we are taught all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation, hereupon very childiſhly it is by ſome demanded, what ſcripture can teach vs the ſacred authority of the ſcripture, vpon the knowledge wherof our whole faith & ſaluation dependeth. As though there were any kind of ſcience in the world, vvhich leadeth men into knowledge, vvith-

out preſuppoſing a number of things already knowne. No ſcience doth make known the firſt principles wheron it buildeth; but they are alwayes eyther taken as plaine and manifeſt in themſelues, or as proued and granted already, ſome former knowledge hauing made them euident. Scripture teacheth al ſupernaturally reuealed truth, without the knowledg wherof ſaluation cannot be attained. The maine principle wherupon our beliefe of all things therin contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himſelfe. This in it ſelfe we cannot ſay is euident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they heare that *euery whole is more then any part of that whole*, becauſe this in it ſelfe is euident. The other we know that all doe not acknowledge when they heare it. There muſt be therfore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed, which doth herein aſſure the hearts of all beleeuers. Scripture teacheth vs that ſauing truth which God hath diſcouered vnto the world by reuelation: and it preſumeth vs taught otherwiſe that it ſelfe is diuine & ſacred. The queſtion then being by what meanes we are taught this: ſome anſwer, that to learne it we haue no other way then only tradition: as namely that ſo we beleeue, becauſe both we frō our predeceſſors, & they from theirs haue ſo receiued. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wiſe be denied. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward motiue leading men ſo to eſteeme of the Scripture, is the authority of Gods Church. For when we know the vvhole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we iudge it euen at the firſt an impudent thing for any man bred and brought vp in the Church, to be of a contrary minde without cauſe. Afterwards the more we beſtow our labour in reading or hearing the myſteries thereof, the more we finde that the thing it ſelfe doth anſwere our receiued opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement preuailing ſomewhat with vs before, doth now much more preuaile, when the very thing hath miniſtred farther reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chaunce at any time to call it in queſtion, this giueth vs occaſion to ſift what reaſon there is, vvhereby the teſtimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our owne perſwaſion vvhich Scripture it ſelfe hath confirmed, may be proued a truth infallible. In which caſe the auncient Fathers being often conſtrained to ſhew, vvhat vvarrant they had ſo much to relie vpon the Scriptures, endeuoured ſtill to maintaine the authority of the bookes of God, by arguments ſuch as vnbeleeuers themſelues muſt needes thinke reaſonable, if they iudged thereof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible or greatly hard, euen by ſuch kind of proofs ſo to manifeſt & cleere that point, that no man liuing ſhalbe able to denie it, without denying ſome apparant principle, ſuch as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherfore if I beleeue the Goſpell, yet is reaſon of ſingular vſe, for that it confirmeth me in this my beleefe the more: If I do not as yet beleeue, neuertheles to bring me into the number of beleeuers except reaſon did ſomewhat help, & were an inſtrument which God doth vſe vnto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boot to diſpute with Infidels or godles perſons for their conuerſion & perſwaſion in that point? Neither can I think that when graue & learned men do ſometime hold, that of this principle there is no proofe but by the teſtimony of the ſpirit, which aſſureth our harts therin, it is their meaning to exclude vtterly all force which any kind of reaſon may haue in that behalfe: but I rather incline

incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet downe, that other motiues and inducements, be they neuer ſo ſtrong and conſonant vnto reaſon, are notwithſtanding effectual of themſelues to work faith concerning this principle, if the ſpeciall grace of the holy Ghoſt concurre not to the inlightning of our minds. For otherwiſe I doubt not but men of wiſedome and iudgement will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with reaſon, to ſtop the mouthes of her impious aduerſaries: and that as it vvere altogether bootleſſe to alleage againſt them, what the ſpirit hath taught vs; ſo likewiſe that euen to our owne ſelues it needeth caution and explication, how the teſtimony of the ſpirit may be diſcerned, by what meanes it may be known, leſt men thinke that the ſpirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things wch the ſpirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the ſpirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be common vnto all true Chriſtian men, are as we know, things ſecret and vndiſcernable euen to the very ſoule where they are, becauſe their nature is of another and an higher kinde then that they can be by vs perceiued in this life. Wherfore albeit the ſpirit leade vs into all truth, & direct vs in al goodnes; yet becauſe theſe workings of the ſpirit in vs are ſo priuy and ſecret, we therfore ſtand on a plainer ground, vvhen we gather by reaſon from the quality of things beleeued or done, that the ſpirit of God hath directed vs in both; then if we ſettle our ſelues to beleeue, or to do any certain particular thing, as being moued therto by the ſpirit. But of this enough.

To go from the books of Scripture to the ſenſe and meaning therof, becauſe the
Act. 13.36. & *cap.* 2.34. ſentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the Pſalmes to proue the reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, did not proue it, if ſo be the Prophet *Dauid* meant them of himſelfe, this expoſition therefore they plainly diſproue, and ſhew by manifeſt reaſon, that of *Dauid* the words of *Dauid* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the vſe of naturall reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture concerning the Articles of our faith, & then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our faith, vvho can aſſure vs? That which by right expoſition buildeth vp Chriſtian faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth error: between true & falſe conſtruction, the
1. *Pet.* 3.15. difference reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men perform that which *Peter* requireth at their hands; is it poſſible they ſhould both beleeue, & be able without the vſe of reaſon, to render a reaſon of their beleefe, a reaſon ſound and ſufficient to anſvver them that demand it, be they of the ſame faith with vs, or enemies thereunto? May vve cauſe our faith vvithout reaſon to appeare reaſonable in the eyes of men? This being required euen of learners in the ſchoole of Chriſt, the duty of their teachers in bringing them vnto ſuch ripenes, muſt needes be ſomevvhat more, then only to reade the ſentences of Scripture, and then paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry formes of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing vvhich they contain. This method of teaching may commend it ſelfe vnto the vvorld by that eaſines & facility vvhich is in it: but a lavv or a patterne it is not, as ſome do imagine, for all men to followv that vvill do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe did hope by diſputation to doe ſome good, yea by diſputation not onely of, but againſt the truth, albeit vvith purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the ſonne of *Dauid* was truth, yet againſt this truth our Lord in the Goſpell obiecteth, If Chriſt
Mat. 22.43. be the ſonne of *Dauid*, hovv doth *Dauid* call him Lord? There is as yet no

vvay

way knowne how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the vſe of naturall reaſon. If we pleaſe to adde vnto Chriſt their example, who followed him as neere in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſet downe in the Actes, where the people would haue offered vnto them ſacrifice: in that Sermon what is there but onely naturall reaſon to diſproue their acte? *O men why doe you theſe things? We are men euen ſubiect to the ſelfe ſame paſſions with you: we preach vnto you to leaue theſe vanities, and to turne to the liuing God, the God that hath not left himſelfe without witnes, in that he hath done good to the world, giuing raine and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our heart with ioy and gladneſſe.* Act. 14. 15. Neither did they onely vſe reaſon in winning ſuch vnto Chriſtian beleefe as were yet thereto vnconuerted, but with beleeuers themſelues they followed the ſelfe ſame courſe. In that great and ſolemne aſſembly of beleeuing Iewes, how doth *Peter* proue that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reaſon drawne from thoſe effects, which were apparantly knowne amongſt them? *God which knoweth hearts hath borne them witneſſe in giuing vnto them the holy Ghoſt as vnto you.* Act. 15. The light therefore which the ſtarre of naturall reaſon and wiſedome caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, vttered to diminiſh that opinion which iuſtly hath beene receiued concerning the force and vertue thereof, euen in matters that touch moſt nearely the principall duties of men, and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath beene ſpoken touching the force and vſe of mans reaſon in things Diuine, I muſt craue that I be not ſo vnderſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing by vertue thereof could be done without the ayde and aſſiſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed ſpirit. The thing we haue handled according to the queſtion moued about it: which queſtion is, whether the light of reaſon be ſo pernitious, that in deuiſing lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may be fit and conuenient. For this cauſe therefore we haue endeuoured to make it appeare, how in the nature of reaſon it ſelfe there is no impediment, but that the ſelfe-ſame ſpirit, which reuealeth the things that God hath ſet downe in his law, may alſo be thought to aide and direct men in finding out by the light of reaſon, what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, ouer and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom humane lawes are defined to be ordinances which ſuch as haue lawfull authority giuen them for that purpoſe, do probably draw from the lawes of nature and God, by diſcourſe of reaſon, ayded with the influence of diuine grace. And for that cauſe it is not ſaid amiſſe touching Eccleſiaſticall Canons, that by *inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt they haue beene made, and conſecrated by the reuerend acceptation of the world.* c. Violatores. 25. q. 1.

9 Laws for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, vnles the makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherin that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerueth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſſe as needles to be conſulted with, we iudge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to thinke. For although it were in vaine to make lawes which the Scripture hath already made, becauſe what vve are already there commanded to do, on our parts there reſteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet becauſe

How lawes for the regiment of the Church may be made by the aduice of men, following therein the light of reaſon and how thoſe lawes being not repugnant to the word of God, are approued in his ſight.

both

both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to prouide, that the looſenes and ſlackenes of men may not cauſe the commandements of God to be vnexecuted; and a number of things there are for wch the Scripture hath not prouided by any law, but left them vnto the carefull diſcretion of the Church; we are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that prouiſion by lawes which is moſt conuenient and fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly reaſon muſt teach to diſcerne. Scripture comprehending examples and lawes, lawes ſome naturall and ſome poſitiue; examples neyther are there for all caſes which require lawes to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as precedents onely. Naturall lawes direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things wee muſt for euer doe according vnto them; poſitiue ſo, that againſt them in no caſe we may doe any thing, as long as the will of God is that they ſhould remaine in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yeelde vs precedents, how farre forth they are to be followed; when it giueth naturall lawes, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when poſitiue, which way to make lawes vnrepugnant vnto them; yea though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kinde of ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this muſt be by reaſon found out. And therefore *To refuſe the conduct of the light of nature*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the Schoole Diuines, ſtudying how to ſet downe by exact definition the nature of an humane law, (of which nature all the Churches conſtitutions are) found not which way better to doe it then in theſe wordes: *Out of the precepts of the law of nature, as out of certaine common and vndemonſtrable principles, mans reaſon doth neceſſarily proceede vnto certain more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according vnto the reaſon of man, they haue the names of humane lawes, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of lawes doth require*, that is, if they whoſe authority is therunto required do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as lawes. And the truth is, that all our Controuerſie in this cauſe concerning the orders of the Church, is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth finde them out, is the force of mans reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his reaſon, is firſt the generall law of nature, which law of nature, and the morall law of Scripture are in the ſubſtance of law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of lawes particular and poſitiue, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated: we are in making lawes to haue therunto an eſpeciall eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeeme reaſonable vnto the Church of God, following the general laws concerning the nature of mariage, to ordaine in particular that coſen Germanes ſhall not mary. Which law notwithſtanding ought not to be receiued in the Church, if there ſhold be in the Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding vtterly the bonds of mariage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therefore, whoſe definition of humane lawes wee mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon wherby to make them: *Humane lawes are meaſures* in reſpect of men whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures

Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modo ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium. Aug. 4. de trin. c. 6.

Th. Aqui. 12. q. 91. art. 3. Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principijs communibus & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quòd ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinuente ſecundum rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſeruatis alijs conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.

1. 2. q. 95. art. 3.

ſures they are, as haue alſo their higher rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the law of God and the law of nature.* So that lavves humane muſt be made according to the general lavves of nature, and vvithout contradiction vnto any poſitiue lavv in Scripture. Othervviſe they are ill made. Vnto lavves thus made and receiued by a vvhole Church, they vvhich liue vvithin the boſom of that Church muſt not thinke it a matter indifferent eyther to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My ſonne keepe thy fathers commandement*, ſaith Salomon, *and forget not thy mothers inſtruction, bind them both alwayes about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand vvith the duety vvhich vve ovve to our heauenly Father, that to the ordinances of our mother the Church vve ſhould ſhew our ſelues diſobedient. Let vs not ſay vve keepe the commaundements of the one, vvhen vve breake the lavv of the other: for vnleſſe vve obſerue both vve obey neyther. And what doth let, but that we may obſerue both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch laws only we ſpeak, as being made in forme and maner already declared, can haue in them no contradiction vnto the lawes of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the lawes thus made God himſelfe doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts haue embraced, holding that a Chriſtian mans liberty is loſt, and the ſoule which Chriſt hath redeemed vnto himſelfe, iniuriouſly drawn into ſeruitude vnder the yoke of humane power, if any law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt: in obedience whereunto the ſpirit of God, and not the conſtraint of men is to leade vs, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the ſpirit of God are the ſonnes of God*, & not ſuch as liue in thraldome vnto men. Their iudgment is therefore that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no law-makers but the Euangeliſts. The author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is authour of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of naturall vnderſtanding, wit and reaſon is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate euery man entring into the world. If there proceede from vs any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother therof is our owne darknes, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we thinke or do by vertue of that light which himſelfe hath giuen. And therfore the lawes which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo farre forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God himſelfe doth acknowledge to haue proceeded euen from himſelfe, and that he was the vvriter of them in the tables of their hearts. Hovv much more then is he the authour of thoſe lavves vvhich haue beene made by his Saints, endued further vvith the heauenly grace of his ſpirit, and directed as much as might be vvith ſuch inſtructions as his ſacred vvord doth yeeld? Surely if vve haue vnto thoſe lavves that dutifull regard vvhich their dignity doth require, it vvill not greatly need, that vve ſhould be exhorted to liue in obedience vnto them. If they haue God himſelfe for their author, contempt vvhich is offered vnto them cannot chooſe but redound vnto him. The ſafeſt and vnto God the moſt acceptable vvay of framing our liues therefore is, vvith all humility, lovvlines and ſinglenes of heart to ſtudy, which vvay our vvilling obedience both vnto God and man may be yeelded euen to the vtmoſt of that vvhich is due.

1. Cor. 11. 22. Pro. 6. 20.

Rom. 8. 14.

Iohn. 1. 9.

Rom. 1. 19. & 2. 15.

That neither Gods being the authour of lawes, nor his committing them to ſcripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were inſtituted, is any reaſon ſufficient to proue that they are vnchangeable.

10 Touching the mutability of lawes that concerne the regiment and Politie of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this queſtion about the changing of lawes, concerneth onely ſuch lawes as are poſitiue, and do make that now good or euill by being commaunded or forbidden, which otherwiſe of it ſelfe were not ſimply the one or the other. Vnto ſuch laws it is expreſly ſometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expreſt, then haue we no light to direct our iudgments concerning the chaungeablenes or immutability of them, but by conſidering the nature and quality of ſuch lawes. The nature of euery law muſt be iudged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptneſſe of things therein preſcribed vnto the ſame end. It may ſo fall out, that the reaſon why ſome lawes of God were giuen, is neither opened nor poſſible to be gathered by wit of man. As why God ſhould forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* euer to haue certainely vnderſtood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point Sathan tooke aduantage, vrging the more ſecurely a falſe cauſe, becauſe the true was vnto *Adam* vnknowne.

*Deut.*22.10. *Deut.*22.11.

Why the Iewes were forbidden to plow their ground with an Oxe and an Aſſe, why to cloath themſelues with mingled attire of wooll and linnen, both it was vnto them, and vnto vs it remaineth obſcure. Such laws perhaps cannot be abrogated, ſauing onely by whom they were made: becauſe the intent of them being knowne vnto none but the authour, he alone can iudge how long it is requiſite they ſhould endure. But if the reaſon why things were inſtituted may be known, and being known do appeare manifeſtly to be of perpetuall neceſſity; then are thoſe things alſo perpetuall, vnleſſe they ceaſe to be effectuall vnto that purpoſe for which they were at the firſt inſtituted. Becauſe when a thing doth ceaſe to be auaileable vnto the end which gaue it being, the continuance of it muſt then of neceſſity appeare ſuperfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how ſometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath chaunged the auncient courſe of things, doth grow to be eyther very hurtfull, or not ſo greatly profitable and neceſſary. If therefore the end for which a law prouideth be perpetually neceſſary, & the way wherby it prouideth perpetually alſo moſt apt, no doubt but that euery ſuch law ought for euer to remain vnchangeable. Whether God be the authour of lawes, by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by deliuering them made immediately from himſelfe, by word only, or in writing alſo, or howſoeuer, notwithſtanding the authority of their maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth alſo make them changeable. The law of ceremonies came from God. *Moſes* had commandement to commit it vnto the ſacred records of Scripture, where it continueth euen vnto this very day and houre; in force ſtill as the Iew furmiſeth, becauſe God himſelfe was authour of it, and for vs to abolliſh what he hath eſtabliſhed were preſumption moſt intolleratle. But (that which they in the blindnes of their obdurate hearts are not able to diſcerne) ſith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, paſt and gone, how ſhould it but ceaſe any longer to be, which hath no longer any cauſe of being in force as before? *That which neceſſity of ſome ſpeciall time doth cauſe to be inioyned, bindeth no longer then during that time, but doth afterwards become free.* VVhich thing is alſo plaine, euen by that law

Quod pro neceſſitate temporis ſtatutum eſt, ceſſante neceſſitate debet ceſſare pariter quod vrgebat. 1. *q.* 1.

vvhich

which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the councell of Ieruſalem did from thence deliuer vnto the Church of Chriſt; the preface whereof to authorize it was, *To the Holy Ghoſt and to vs it hath ſeemed good*: which ſtile they did not vſe as matching themſelues in power with the Holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the Holy Ghoſt to be the authour, and themſelues but onely vtterers of that decree. This law therefore to haue proceeded from God as the authour thereof, no faithfull man will denie. It was of God, not only becauſe God gaue them the power whereby they might make lawes, but for that it proceeded euen from the holy motion and ſuggeſtion of that ſecret diuine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithſtanding as the law of ceremonies deliuered vnto the Iewes, ſo this very lawe which the Gentiles receiued from the mouth of the holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was giuen. But ſuch as doe not ſticke at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath beene inſtituted vpon any ſpeciall cauſe needeth not to bee obſerued that cauſe ceaſing, doe notwithſtanding herein faile; they iudge the lawes of God onely by the author and maine end for which they were made, ſo that for vs to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that meane prouideth be permanent. And vpon this they ground thoſe ample diſputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the gouernmeot of his Church, if it be neceſſary alwayes that the Church of Chriſt be gouerned, then doth the end for which God prouided remaine ſtill; and therefore in thoſe meanes which he by law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt vnto that end, for vs to alter any thing is to lift vp our ſelues againſt God, and as it were to countermaund him. Wherein they marke not that lawes are inſtruments to rule by, and that inſtruments are not onely to bee framed according vnto the generall end for which they are prouided, but euen according vnto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they haue to worke. The end wherefore lawes were made may bee permanent, and thoſe lawes neuertheleſſe require ſome alteration, if there be any vnfitneſſe in the meanes which they preſcribe as tending vnto that end and purpoſe. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth puniſh theeues with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world it ſelfe continueth. Theft will be alwayes, and will alwayes need to bee bridled. But that the meane which this law prouideth for that end, namely the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will be alwayes ſufficient to bridle and reſtraine that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Inſufficiency of lawes doth ſometimes come by want of iudgement in the makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately diuine, as it may and doth into humane lawes often. But that which hath beene once moſt ſufficient, may waxe other wiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath bin ſometimes forcible to bridle ſinne, may grow afterwards too weake an feebled. In a word we plainly perceiue by the difference of thoſe three lawes which the Iewes receiued at the hands of God, the morall, ceremoniall, and iudiciall, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his lawes continue alwayes one and the ſame, his lawes alſo doe the like for which cauſe the morall law cannot be altered: ſecond-

Quod prouenit. Act. 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

ly that whether the matter whereon lawes are made continue or contine not, if their end haue once ceased, they cease also to be of force, as in the law ceremoniall it fareth: Finally that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient iudicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all respects the same subiect or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, euen this is sufficient cause of change. And therefore lawes though both ordeined of God himselfe, and the end for which they were ordeined continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found vnsufficient to attaine vnto that end. In which respect why may wee not presume, that God doth euen call for such change or alteration, as the very condition of things themselues doth make necessary? They which doe therefore pleade the authority of the law-make, as an argument wherefore it should not be lawfull to change that which he hath instituted, and will haue this the cause why all the ordinances of our Sauiour are immutable; they which vrge the vrge the wisedome of God as a proofe, that whatsoeuer lawes he hath made they ought to stand, vnlesse himselfe from heauen proclaime them disanuld, because it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that wee are farre from presuming to thinke that men can better any thing which God hath done, euen as we are from thinking that men should presume to vndoe some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God neuer ordeined any thing that could bee bettered. Yet many things hee hath, that haue beene changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had beene worse when that which now is changed was instituted. Othervvise God had not then left this to choose that, neither vvould novv reiect that to choose this, vvere it not for some newv growne occasion making that which hath beene better worse. In this case therefore men doe not presume to change Gods ordinance, but they yeeld thereunto requiring it self to be changed. Against this it is obiected, that to abrogate or innouate the Gospell of Christ, if men or Angels should attempt, it were most heynous and cursed sacriledge. And the Gospell as they say, containeth not onely doctrine instructing men how they shuld beleeue, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. [a] Discipline therfore is a part of the Gospel; and God being the author of the whole Gospell, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them haue a common cause. So that as we are to beleeue for euer the articles of Euangelicall doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are in like sort bound for euer to obserue. Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the vnity of God, the trinity of persons, saluation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life euerlasting, the iudgement to come, and such like, they haue bin since the first houre that there was a Church in the world, and till the last they must be beleeued. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine no man thinketh it lawfull; new lawes of gouernment what common wealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of faith*, saith Tertullian, *is but one and that alone immoueable, and impossible to be framed or cast anew.* The law of outward order and Polity not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore

We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the Gospel, and therefore to haue a common cause: so that in the repulse of the discipline, the Gospell receiues a check. And againe, I speake of the discipline as of a part of the Gospell, and therefore neither vnder nor aboue the Gospell, but the Gospel. *T.C. l.2.p.1.4. Tertul. de veland virg. Matt. in 1. Sam 14. Act. 15.*

wherefore we ſhould eſteeme it as neceſſary alwayes to doe, as alwayes to beleeue the ſame things; ſeeing euery man knoweth that the matter of faith is conſtant, the matter contrariwiſe of action daily changeable, eſpecially the matter of action belonging vnto Church-Politie. Neither can I find that men of ſoundeſt iudgement haue any otherwiſe taught, then that articles of beliefe, and things which all men muſt of neceſſitie doe to the end they may be ſaued, are either expreſly ſet downe in Scripture, or elſe plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to diſcipline and outward politie, the Church hath authority to make Canons, lawes, and decrees, euen as we reade that in the Apoſtles times it did. Which kind of lawes (for as much as they are not in themſelues neceſſary to ſaluation) may after they are made be alſo changed as the difference of times or places ſhall require. Yea it is not denied I am ſure by themſelues, that certaine things in diſcipline are of that nature, as they may bee varied by times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Whereupon I demaund, are thoſe changeable points of diſcipline commanded in the word of God; or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be receiued in the Church, how can their former poſition ſtand, condemning all things in the Church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may ſuffer change; how can this later ſtand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their diſtinction touching matters of ſubſtance and of circumſtance, though true, will not ſerue. For be they great things or be they ſmall, if God haue commanded them in the Goſpell, and his commanding them in the Goſpell doe make them vnchangeable, there is no reaſon we ſhould more change the one then we may the other. If the authoritie of the maker doe proue vnchangeableneſſe in the lawes which God hath made; then muſt all lawes which he hath made be neceſſarily for euer premanent, though they be but of circumſtance only and not of ſubſtance. I therefore conclude that neither Gods being authour of lawes for gouernment of his Church, nor his committing them vnto Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient, wherefore all Churches ſhould for euer be bound to keepe them without change. But of one thing we are here to giue them warning by the way. For wheras in this diſcourſe we haue oftentimes profeſt, that many parts of diſcipline or Church-Politie are deliuered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driuen to confeſſe their diſcipline to be deliuered in Scripture, and that hauing no other meanes to auoid it, we are faine to argue for the changeableneſſe of lawes ordained euen by God himſelfe, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſitie ſhould take place, and that vnder which we liue be abandoned: There is no remedy therefore but to abate this errour in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any ſuch conceit, they doe but a little flatter their owne cauſe. As for vs, wee thinke in no reſpect ſo highly of it. Our perſwaſion is, that no age euer had knowledge of it but onely ours; that they which defend it, deuiſed it; that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtls at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therfore we did ſeeke to mainteine that which moſt aduantageth our own cauſe, the very beſt way for vs, and the ſtrongeſt againſt them, were to hold euen as they doe, that in Scripture there muſt needs be found ſome particular forme of Church-Politie, which God hath inſtituted, and which [a] for that very cauſe belongeth to all

Act. 15.

[a] *Diſciplina eſt Chriſtiane Eccleſie politia, à Deo eiusque reſtè adminiſtrande cauſa conſtituta, ac propterea ex eius verbo petenda, & ob eandem cauſam omnium Eccleſiarum communis & omnium temporum. l. 3 de Eccleſ. Diſcipli. in Analy.*

[b] Εοίκασιν ἐνίοι ἀλη θῶς ἅμα λόγων, ἢ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εὐδόκιμον χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. Συμφέροι γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἄρχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τοιοῦτον τι. *Aristo. Eth.* 10. *ca.* 1.

all Churches[1], to all times. But with any such partiall eye to respect our selues and by cunning to make those things seeme the trueſt which are the fittest to serue our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor meane to follow. Wherfore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of lawes, the same we haue plainly deliuered; as being perswaded of nothing more then we are of this, [b] that whether it be in matter of speculation or of practise, no vntruth can possibly auaile the patrone and defendor long, and that things most truely are likewise most behouefully spoken.

Whether Christ haue forbidden all change of those Lawes which are set downe in Scripture.

11 This we hold and grant for truth, that those very lawes which of their owne nature are changeable, be notwithstanding vncapable of change, if hee which gaue them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law maker. Albeit therefore we doe not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable forme set downe in holy Scripture; nevertheless if indeed there haue beene at any time a Church-Politie so set downe, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those lawes which God for perpetuity hath established, were presumption most intollerable. To prooue therefore that the will of Christ was to establish lawes so permanent and immutable that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reason. First if *Moses* being but a seruant in the house of God did therein establish lawes of gouernment for perpetuity, lawes which they that were of the household might not alter: shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Sonne of God hath in prouiding for this his household declared himselfe lesse faithfull then *Moses*? *Moses* deliuering vnto the Iewes such lawes as were durable, if those bee changeable which Christ hath deliuered vnto vs, we are not able to auoide it, but (that which to thinke were heynous impiety) we of necessity must confesse, euen the Sonne of God himselfe to haue beene lesse faithfull then *Moses*. Which argument shall need no touchstone to trie it by, but some other of the like making. *Moses* erected in the wildernesse a tabernacle, which was moueable from place to place; *Salomon* a sumptuous and stately Temple, which was not moueable: Therefore *Salomon* was faithfuller then *Moses*; which no man indued with reason will thinke. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow. He that will see how faithfull the one or the other was, must compare the things which they both did, vnto the charge which God gaue each of them. The Apostle in making comparison betweene our Sauiour and *Moses*, attributeth faithfulnesse vnto both, and maketh this difference betweene them; *Moses in*, but Christ *ouer* the house of God; *Moses* in that house which was *his by charge* and commission, though to gouerne it, yet to gouerne it *as a seruant*; but Christ ouer this house, as being *his owne intire possession*. Our Lord and Sauior doth make protestation, *I haue giuen vnto them the wordes which thou gauest me*. Faithfull therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of lawes concerning Church-Politie? They answer, yea. For else God should lesse

Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the Sonne before the seruaunt is a false testimonie, or the Sonne ordained a permanent gouernment in the Church. If permanent, then not to bee changed. What then doe they that hold it may be changed at the Magistrates pleasure, but adulse the Magistrate by his positiue Lawes to proclaime that it is his will, that if there shall be a Church within his Dominions, he will maime and deforme the same. *M. M. Pag.* 16. Hee that was as faithfull as *Moses*, left as cleare instruction for the gouernement of the Church. But Christ was as faithfull as *Moses*. Ergo. *Demonst.* of *Disc. cap.* 1.

Ioh. 17.

fauour

fauour vs then the Iewes. God would not haue their Churches guided by any lawes but his owne. And ſeeing this did ſo continue euen till Chriſt; now to eale God of that care, or rather to depriue the Church of his patronage, what reaſon haue we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient loue which God hath borne to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is, who conſidering how many things beaſts haue which men haue not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, and how much leſſe able wee are to ſhift for our ſelues a long time after we enter into this world, repiningly cõcluded hereupon, that nature being a carefull mother for them, is towards vs a hard hearted Stepdame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For euen herein ſhineth his wiſedome, that though the wayes of his prouidence bee many, yet the end which hee bringeth all at the length vnto, is one and the ſelfe ſame. But if ſuch kind of reaſoning were good, might we not euen as directly conclude the very ſame concerning lawes of ſecular regiment? Their owne words are theſe. *In the ancient Church of the Iewes, God did command, and Moſes commit vnto writing, all things pertinent as well to the ciuill as to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate.* God gaue them lawes of ciuill regiment, and would not permit their common-weale to be gouerned by any other lawes then his owne. Doth God leſſe regard our temporall eſtate in this world, or prouide for it worſe then for theirs? To vs notwithſtanding he hath not as to them deliuered any particular forme of temporal regiment, vnleſſe perhaps we think, as ſome do, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Iſrael, doth import that we ought to be ſubiect vnto the rites and lawes of their whole Politie. We ſee then how weake ſuch diſputes are, and how finally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not meane to ſet downe particular poſitiue lawes for all things in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different manner of deliuering the lawes of *Moſes* and the lawes of Chriſt doth plainely ſhew. *Moſes* had commandement to gather the ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them downe according vnto their ſeuerall kindes, for each publique dutie and office the lawes that belong thereto, as appeareth in the bookes themſelues written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the lawes of Chriſt we find rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, then any ſolemne thing directly written to comprehend them in legall ſort. Againe the poſitiue lawes which *Moſes* gaue, they were giuen for the greateſt part with reſtraint to the land of Iury; Behold, ſayth *Moſes*, *I haue taught you ordinances and lawes as the Lord my God commanded me, that yee ſhould doe euen ſo within the land whither yee goe to poſſeſſe it.* Which lawes and ordinances poſitiue he plainely diſtinguiſheth afterward from the lawes of the two Tables which were morall; *The Lord ſpake vnto you out of the midſt of the fire, yee heard the voyce of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, onely a voice. Then he declared vnto you his Couenant which he commanded you to doe, the ten Commandements, and wrote them vpon two Tables of ſtone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you ordinances and lawes which yee ſhould obſerue in the land whither yee goe to poſſeſſe it.* The ſame difference is againe ſet downe in the next Chapter following. For rehearſall being made of the ten Commandements, it followeth immediately; *Theſe words the Lord ſpake vnto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midſt of the fire, the cloude and the darkneſſe,*

Either God hath left a preſcript forme of Gouernment now or elſe he is leſſe carefull vnder the new Teſtament then vnder the olde, *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap. 1.*

Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 17. Eph. 2. 12. 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verſe 12. 13. 14.

Deut. 5. 22.

 neſſe,

neſſe, with a great voyce, and added no more, and wrote them vpon two Tables of ſtone, and deliuered them vnto me. But concerning other lawes, the people giue
27. their conſent to receiue them at the hands of *Moſes*; *Goe thou neerer, and heare all that the Lord our God ſayth, and declare thou vnto vs all that the Lord our God ſaith vnto thee, and wee will heare it and doe it.* The peoples alacritie herein God
28. highly commendeth with moſt effectuall and hearty ſpeech; *I haue heard the*
23. *voyce of the wordes of this people, they haue ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to feare me, and to keepe all my Commaundements alwayes, that it might*
30. *goe well with them, and with their Children for euer! Goe ſay vnto them, Returne you*
31. *to your tents; But ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commaundements and the ordinances and the Lawes which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may doe them in the land which I haue giuen them to poſſeſſe.* From this later kinde the former are plainely diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time deliuered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former vttered by the voyce of God himſelfe in the hearing of ſixe hundred thouſand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Couenant; the former giuen to bee kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the later giuen after, and neither written by God himſelfe, nor giuen vnto the whole multitude immediately from God, but vnto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by worde and writing; the later termed Ceremonies, Iudgements, Ordinances, but no where Couenants; finally the obſeruation of the later reſtrained vnto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabite. The lawes poſitiue are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons for the which they are made. If therefore Almightie God in framing their lawes, had an eye vnto the nature of that people, and to the country where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their lawes, and muſt bee alſo regarded in the Poſitiue lawes of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giuing of one kinde of poſitiue lawes vnto one onely people, without any libertie to alter them, is but a ſlender proofe, that therefore one kind ſhould in like ſort be giuen to ſerue euerlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the cleering of this point is, that the Iewes who had lawes ſo particularly determining and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affaires what to doe, were notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their lawes had not prouided for. And in this point much more is granted vs then wee aske, namely that for one thing which we haue left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were vndecided by the expreſſe word of God; and that as their ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplyed aboue ours, euen ſo grew the number of thoſe caſes which were not determined by any expreſſe word. So that if we may deuiſe one law, they by this reaſon might deuiſe twentie: and if their deuiſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example prooue vs forbidden to deuiſe as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? Wee might not deuiſe no not one, if their example did prooue that our Sauiour hath vtterly forbidden all alteration of his lawes, in as much as there can be no law deuiſed

T.C.l.1.p.35. Whereas you ſay that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the law, and we haue many things vndetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that wee haue left to the order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twentie which were vndecided of by the expreſſe word of God.

deuiſed, but needs it muſt either take away from his, or adde thereunto more or leſſe, and ſo make ſome kind of alteration. But of this ſo large a grant wee are content not to take aduantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſudden paſſion more liberall, then they would be if they had leiſure to take aduice. And therefore ſo bountifull words of courſe and franke ſpeeches wee are contented to let paſſe, without turning them to aduantage with too much rigour. It may bee they had rather bee liſtened vnto, when they commend the Kings of Iſrael which attempted nothing in the gouernment of the Church without the expreſſe word of God; and when they vrge that God left nothing in his word vndeſcribed, whether it concerned the worſhip of God or outward Politie, nothing vnſet downe, and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keepe themſelues vnto that, without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong vnto the courſe of their publike affaires, wherein they had no expreſſe word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould doe; the difference betweene their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light vnto the truth of this preſent controuerſie. Before the fact of the ſonne of *Shelomith*, there was no law which did appoint any certaine puniſhment for blaſphemers. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in ward, till the minde of the Lord were knowne concerning his caſe. The like practiſe is alſo mentioned vpon occaſion of a breach of the Sabboth day. They find a poore ſilly creature gathering ſtickes in the wilderneſſe, they bring him vnto *Moſes*, and *Aaron* and all the congregation, they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſayd vnto *Moſes*, *This man ſhall die the death.* The Law required to keepe the Sabboth day; but for the breach of the Saboth what puniſhment ſhould bee inflicted it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare. And for ſuch things as doe fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffiſe to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch as being not already determined by lawe, were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come into queſtion, it gaue occaſion of adding lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men polluted, and of the daughters of *Zelophhad*; whoſe cauſes *Moſes* hauing brought before the Lord, receiued lawes to ſerue for the like in time to come. The *Iewes* to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: And by ſuch meanes God himſelfe inſtructed them from heauen what to doe, in all things that did greatly concerne their ſtate, and were not already ſet downe in the lawe. Shall wee then hereupon argue euen againſt our owne experience and knowledge? Shall wee ſeeke to perſwade men, that of neceſſity it is with vs as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore either no ſuch way of direction hath beene at any time, or if it haue beene, it doth ſtill continue in the Church, or if the ſame do not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplied by ſome ſuch meane as pleaſeth vs to accompt of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for vs were, to admire the wiſedome of God, which ſhineth in the beautifull variety of all things; but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe wayes, whereby his Church vpon earth is guided from age to age throughout all generations of men. The Iewes were neceſſarily to continue till the comming of

T.C. In the table to his ſecond Booke. *T.C.h.* 2 p 446. If he will needs ſeparate the worſhip of God from the externall Politie; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo he left nothing vndeſcribed in the other. *Leuit.* 24. 12.

Numb. 15. 34.

Numb 9.
Numb. 27.

Gene. 18. 18.

of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations vnto him. So much the promise made vnto *Abraham* did import. So much the prophecy of *Iacob* at the howre of his death did foreshew. Vpon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole world, and the saluation of all did depend. Vnto their so long safety for two things it was necessary to prouide, namely the preseruation of their state against forraine resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselues. Touching the one, as they receiued the promise of God to bee the rocke of their defence, against which who so did violently rush, should but bruse and batter themselues; so likewise they had his commandement in all their affaires that way, to seeke direction and counsell from him. Mens consultations are alwayes perillous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation, those things are by their wit euen resolued on, which by tryall are found most opposite to publique safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they neuer so well established, yet by ouersight in some one acte or treaty betweene them and their potent opposites, vtterly to cast away themselues for euer. Wherefore least it should so fall out to them, vpon whom so much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into warre, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any acte of moment betweene them and forraine states, vnlesse the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And least domesticall disturbance should waste them within themselues, because there was nothing vnto this purpose more effectuall, then if the authority of their lawes and gouernours were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience vnto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any sparke of the feare of God; therefore hee gaue them euen their positiue lawes from heauen, and as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort Rulers also to leade and gouerne them. Notwithstanding some desperatly impious there were which aduentured to try what harme it could bring vpon them, if they did attempt to be authours of confusion, and to resist both Gouernours and lawes. Against such monsters God mainteined his owne by fearefull execution of extraordinary iudgement vpon them. By which meanes it came to passe, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard hearted, querulous, wrathfull and impatient of rest and quietnesse, yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to worke the ruine and subuersion of their state, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dissimilitude in these things, betweene that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since. And whereas it is further alleaged, that albeit in *Ciuill matters and things perteining to this present life, God hath vsed a greater particularity with them then amongst vs, framing lawes according to the quality of that people and country; yet the leauing of vs at greater liberty in things ciuill, is so far from procuring the like liberty in things pertaining to the kingdome of heauen, that it rather proues a streighter bond. For euen as when the Lord would haue his fauour more appeare by temporall blessings of this life towards the people vnder the law then towards vs, he gaue also politick lawes most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into, and most stedfastly remaine in possession of those earthly benefites: euen so at this time, wherein he would not haue his*

Gene. 48. 10.

T. C. li. 2. pa. 440.

fauour

fauour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing lawes for that purpoſe hath ſomwhat fallen, in leauing them to mens conſultations which may be deceiued; ſo his care for conduct and gouernment of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leauing leſſe to the order of men then in times paſt. Theſe are but weake and feeble diſputes for the inference of that concluſion which is intended. For ſauing only in ſuch conſideration as hath beene ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould thinke God more deſirous to manifeſt his fauour by temporall bleſſings towards them, then towards vs. Godlineſſe had vnto them, and it hath alſo vnto vs, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heauenly; that more is left vnto mens conſultrations in the one, and therefore leſſe muſt be granted in the other; that God hauing vſed a greater particularity with them then with vs for matters perteining vnto this life, is to make vs amends by the more exact deliuery of lawes for gouernment of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we muſt plainly confeſſe that which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake vnto them by his Prophets hath vnto vs by his onely begotten Sonne; thoſe myſteries of grace and ſaluation which were but darkly diſcloſed vnto them, haue vnto vs more cleerely ſhined. Such differences betweene them and vs the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue well acquainted vs withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or gouernment of the Church; ſeeing that euen in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Sauior hath not by poſitiue lawes deſcended ſo far into particularities with vs, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by extraordinary meanes, oracles, and Prophets, direct vs, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions, are of neceſſity to be prouided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to vs there ſhould be freedome and liberty granted to make lawes? Yea but the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* doth fearefully charge *Timothy*, euen *In the ſight of God who quickneth all, and of Chriſt Ieſus who witneſſed that famous confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to keepe what was commanded him ſafe and ſound til the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude al liberty of changing the lawes of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoeuer. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receiueth charge concerning her duty. And that charge is to keepe the Apoſtles commandement: And his commandement did conteine the lawes that concerned Church gouernment: And thoſe lawes hee ſtraightly requireth to bee obſerued without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. In Scripture wee grant euery one mans leſſon, to bee the common inſtruction of all men, ſo farre foorth as their caſes are like, and that religiouſly to keepe the Apoſtles commandements in whatſoeuer they may concerne vs, wee all ſtand bound. But touching that commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, we ſwarue vndoubtedly from the Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if wee extend it ſo largely, that the armes thereof ſhall reach vnto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelues doe reſtraine themſelues vnto ſome one ſpeciall commandement among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keepe the ordinances, lawes and conſtitutions which thou haſt receiued*, but ἐντολὴν *that great commaundement, which doth principally concerne thee and thy calling*; that

1. *Tim.* 6. 14.

Ioh. 18. 37.

that commandement which Christ did so often inculcate vnto *Peter*; that commandement vnto the carefull discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, *Attend to your selues and to all the flock, wherin the holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his owne blood*; finally that commandement which vnto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle euen in the same forme and manner afterwards againe vrged, *I charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, which will iudge the quicke and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdome, Preach the word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted into that office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed vnto his faithfull care. The doctrine of the Gospell was then giuen him, *as the precious talent or treasure of Iesus Christ*; then receiued he for performance of this duty, *the speciall gift of the holy Ghost.* To keepe this commandement immaculate and blamelesse, *was to teach the Gospell of Christ without mixture of corrupt and vnsound doctrine*, such as a number did euen in those times intermingle with the mysteries of Christian beliefe. *Till the appearance of Christ to keepe it so*, doth not import the time wherein it should bee kept, but rather the time whereunto the finall reward for keeping it was reserued: according to that of Saint *Paul* concerning himselfe, *I haue kept the faith; for the residue there is laid vp for me a crowne of righteousnesse, which the Lord the righteous iudge shall in that day render vnto me.* If they that labour in this haruest should respect but the present früite of their painfull trauell, a poore incouragement it were vnto them to continue therein all the dayes of their life. But their reward is great in heauen; the crowne of righteousnesse which shall be giuen them in that day is honourable. The fruite of their industry then shall they reape with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnesse of their reward is abundantly sufficient, to counteruaile the tediousnesse of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keepe that which is committed vnto thy charge, that great commandement which thou hath receiued keepe, till the appearance of our Lord Iesus Christ. In which sense although we iudge the Apostles words to haue beene vttered; yet hereunto we doe not require them to yeeld, that thinke any other construction more sound. If therefore it be reiected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold that the last words doe import perpetuall obseruation of the Apostles commandement imposed necessarily for euer vpon the militant Church of Christ; let them withall consider that then his commandement cannot so largely be taken, to comprehend whatsoeuer the Apostle did commaund *Timothy*. For themselues doe not all bind the Church vnto some things whereof *Timothy* receiued charge, as namely vnto that precept concerning the choise of Widowes. So as they cannot hereby maintaine, that all things positiuely commanded concerning the affaires of the Church, were commanded for perpetuity. And we doe not deny that certaine things were commanded to be, though positiue, yet perpetuall in the Church. They should not therefore vrge against vs places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure if we haue exceeded, then might they therewith charge vs iustly: whereas now they themselues both granting, and also vsing liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ deliuered no inconuenient

Iohn 21.15. *Act.* 20.28.

2. *Tim.* 4.1.

1. *Tim.* 6.20. τὴν παραθήκην. 1. *Tim.* 4.14.

2. *Tim.* 4.7.

uenient or vnmeete lawes. Sundry of ours they hold inconuenient. Therefore ſuch lawes they cannot poſſibly hold to be Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſity grant them added vnto his. Yet certaine of thoſe very lawes ſo added, they themſelues do not iudge vnlawfull; as they plainly confeſſe, both in matter of preſcript attire, and of rites appertaining to buriall. Their owne proteſtations are, that they pleade againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of popiſh apparell; and againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of Ceremonies in Buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not vnlawfull to adde to the lawes of Ieſus Chriſt; and ſo conſequently they yeeld, that no law of Chriſt forbiddeth addition vnto Church lawes. The iudgment of *Caluin* being alleaged againſt them, to whom of all men they attribute moſt, whereas his words be plaine, that for Ceremonies and externall diſcipline the Church hath power to make lawes: the anſwer which hereunto they make is, that in definitely the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him, namely that ſome things belonging vnto externall diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external diſcipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Againe, excommunication is a part of externall diſcipline, which might alſo be caſt away, if all externall diſcipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwere it doth appeare, that touching the names of Ceremony and externall diſcipline, they gladly would haue vs ſo vnderſtood, as if we did herein conteine a great deale more then we doe. The fault which we find with them is, that they ouermuch abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge vs, as if in theſe things we gaue the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of diſcipline conteineth, were at the Churches free choice, ſo that we might either haue Church-gouernours and gouernement or want them, either reteine or reiect Church cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at vs, as at men which thinke it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in matter of Ceremonies, that it may bee feared leaſt wee iudge the very Sacraments themſelues to be held at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we doe not vſe in ſo large a meaning as to bring Sacraments within the compaſſe and reach thereof; although things belonging vnto the outward forme and ſeemely adminiſtration of them, are conteined in that name, euen as we vſe it. For the name of Ceremonies wee vſe as they themſelues doe, when they ſpeake after this ſort: *The Doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked vnto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as mint & comin, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides in the matter of externall diſcipline or regiment

T.C.l.3.p.141. My reaſons do neuer conclude the vnlawfulneſs of theſe ceremonies of Buriall, but the inconuenience and inexpedience of them. *And in the Table.* Of the inconuenience, not of the vnlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell and ceremonies in buriall. *l.C.l.1 p.32.* Vpon the indefinite ſpeaking of M. *Caluin* ſaying, ceremonies and externall diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you goe about ſubtilly to make men beleeue, that Maſter *Caluin* had placed the whole externall diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie and in the choyſe of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might bee caſt away, which I thinke you will not ſay. *And in the very next words before,* Where you would giue to vnderſtand that ceremonies and externall diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt vnderſtand that all externall diſcipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more then all ceremonies are left to the orders of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſme, and Supper of the Lorde.

T.C.l.3.p.171.

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it ſelfe, we doe not denie but there are ſome things whereto the Church is bound till the worlds end. So as the queſtion is onely how farre the bounds of the Churches libertie doe reach. We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make lawes and orders for it ſelfe, doth extend vnto ſundry things of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authoritie and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt vs about this point, they take their compaſſe a great deale wider then the truth of things can affoord, producing reaſons and arguments by way of generalitie, to proue that Chriſt hath ſet downe all things belonging any way vnto the forme of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) we are conſtrained to make our defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not depriued his Church ſo farre of all liberty in making orders and lawes for it ſelfe, and that they themſelues doe not thinke hee hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular cuſtomes, rites and orders of reformed Churches, haue beene appointed by Chriſt himſelfe? No, they grant that in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they haue receiued; but in things of ſubſtance they keepe the lawes of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our owne behalfe, (which ſurely wee may doe with a great deale more truth) then muſt they cancell all that hath beene before alleaged, and begin to inquire a freſh, whether we reteine the lawes that Chriſt hath deliuered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, that we haue no where altered the lawes of Chriſt, further then in ſuch particularities onely as haue the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded prayers to bee made, ſacraments to bee miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning euery of theſe ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded which muſt bee kept till the worlds end. On the contrary ſide in euery of them ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall iudge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeake to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath beene diſputed of they muſt giue ouer, and ſtand vpon ſuch particulars onely as they can ſhew wee haue either added or abrogated otherwiſe then wee ought, in the matter of Church Politie. Whatſoeuer Chriſt hath commanded for euer to be kept in his Church, the ſame wee take not vpon vs to abrogate; and whatſoeuer our lawes haue thereunto added beſides, of ſuch qualitie wee hope it is, as no lawe of Chriſt doth any where condemne. Wherefore that all may be layd together, and gathered into a narrow roome. 1. Firſt ſo farre forth as the Church is the myſticall body of Chriſt and his inuiſible ſpouſe, it needeth no externall Politie. That very part of the law diuine which teacheth faith and workes of righteouſneſſe, is it ſelfe alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a viſible ſocietie and body politique, lawes of Politie it cannot want. 2. Wheras therefore it commeth in the ſecond place to be inquired, what lawes are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriueth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for her ſelfe, inclined (as it ſhould ſeemeth) hereunto, for that they imagined all things, which the Church doth without commandement

T.C.l.1.p.27. We denie not but certaine things are left to the order of the Church; becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at one bee ſet downe and eſtabliſhed for euer.

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Eſa.29.14. Col.2.22.

mandement of holy Scripture, ſubiect to that reproofe which the Scripture it ſelfe vſeth in certaine caſes, when diuine authoritie ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it inough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatſoeuer, to ſay, *The word of God teacheth it not, it is a deuice of the braine of man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* S. Auguſtine was of another minde, who ſpeaking of faſts on the Sunday ſaith, *That he which would chuſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould giue thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had receiued a contrary cuſtome. For in theſe things whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the vſe of the people of God, or the ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerue for a law. In which caſe if we will diſpute, and condemne one ſort by anothers cuſtome, it will be but matter of endleſſe contention; where, for as much as the labor of reaſoning ſhall hardly beate into mens heads any certaine or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth vs vpon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of ſtrife the brightneſſe of charity and loue be darkned.* If all things muſt bee commanded of God which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandement the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the booke of *Ioſhua*. Did not congruity of reaſon induce them thereunto, and ſuffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandement the women of Iſrael had yearely to mourne and lament in the memory of *Iephtaes* daughter; what commandement the *Iewes* had to celebrate their feaſt of *Dedication* neuer ſpoken of in the law, yet ſolemniſed euen by our Sauiour himſelfe; what commandement finally they had for the Ceremony of odours vſed about the bodies of the dead, after which cuſtome notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtome) our Lord was contented that his owne moſt pretious bodie ſhould be intoombed. Wherfore to reiect all orders of the Church which men haue eſtabliſhed, is to thinke worſe of the lawes of men in this reſpect, then either the iudgement of wiſemen alloweth, or the law of God it ſelfe will beare. Howbeit they which had once taken vpon them to condemne al things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needes there muſt be in Scripture ſet downe a complete particular forme of Church-politie, a forme preſcribing how all the affaires of the Church muſt be ordered, a forme in no reſpect lawfull to be altered by mortal men. For reformation of which ouerſight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian loue and charitie to inſtruct them better, and to open vnto them the difference betweene matters of perpetuall neceſſity to all mens ſaluation, and matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at al by men the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authours of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned; who being loath that the forme of Church-politie which they ſought to bring in, ſhould bee otherwiſe then in the higheſt degree accounted of, tooke firſt an exception againſt the difference betweene Church-politie and matters of neceſſity to ſaluation; ſecondly againſt the reſtraint of Scripture, which they ſay receiueth iniurie at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matters of Politie as of faith and ſaluation. 3. Conſtrained hereby we haue beene therefore, both to maintaine that diſtinction, as a thing not only true in it ſelfe, but by them likewiſe

Auguſt. Epiſt. 86.

Iof. 22.

Iud. 11. 40.

Iohn 10. 22.

Iohn 19. 40.

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wiſe ſo acknowledged, though vnawares; 4. And to make manifeſt that from Scripture wee offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereunto doth claime, in as much as by vs it is willingly confeſt, that the Scripture of God is a ſtorehouſe abounding with ineſtimable treaſures of wiſedome and knowledge in many kindes, ouer and aboue things in this one kind barely neceſſary; yea euen that matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before mentioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing euer can need to be added, nothing euer ceaſe to be neceſſary: theſe on the contrary ſide, as being of a farre other nature and qualitie, not ſo ſtrictly nor euerlaſtingly commanded in Scripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church politie much may bee requiſite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught, become vnrequiſite, ſometime becauſe we neede not vſe it, ſometime alſo becauſe we cannot. In which reſpect for mine owne part, although I ſee that certaine reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecially and French, haue not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred Scripture, I meane the gouerment that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe Churches are fallen vnder a different kinde of regiment, which to remedie it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoone for the other during their preſent affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch a caſe then exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without any fault of their owne, may be driuen to want that kinde of Politie or regiment which is beſt, and to content themſelues with that, which either the irremediable errour of former times, or the neceſſity of the preſent hath caſt vpon
5 them. 5. Now becauſe that poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary that all things which the Church may lawfully doe in her owne regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter defendors thereof beene greatly qualified; who, though perceiuing it to be ouer extreme, are notwith-
6 ſtanding loth to acknowledge any ouerſight therein, and therefore labour what they may to ſalue it by conſtruction; we haue for the more perſpicuity deliue-
7 red what was thereby meant at the firſt; 6. How iniurious a thing it were vnto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning; 7. And how vnperfect their interpretations are who ſo much labour to helpe it, either by diui-
8 ding commandements of Scripture into two kindes, and ſo defending that all things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpeciall, yet in generall precepts; 8. Or by taking it as meant that in caſe the Church doe deuiſe any new order, ſhee ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any ſtarlight
9 of mans reaſon. 9. Both which euaſions being cut off, wee haue in the next place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelfe lawes of Politie, and in what reckoning ſuch poſitiue lawes both are with God, and
10 ſhould be with men. 10. Furthermore becauſe to abridge the libertie of the Church in this behalfe, it hath beene made a thing very odious, that when God himſelfe hath deuiſed ſome certaine lawes, and committed them to ſacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his lawes vnto Scripture, be ſufficient arguments to prooue that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any

ſuch kind of change. 11. The laſt refuge for proofe that diuine lawes of Chriſtian Church-politie may not be altered, by extinguiſhment of any olde or addition of new in that kinde, is partly a marueilous ſtrange diſcourſe, that Chriſt (vnleſſe he would ſhew himſelfe not ſo faithfull as *Moſes*, or not [a] ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needes haue ſet downe in holy Scripture ſome certaine complete and vnchangeable forme of politie; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome euidence, where change of that ſort of lawes may ſeeme expreſſely forbidden, although in truth nothing leſſe be done. I might haue added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes; as, The Church is a Citie, yea the Citie of the great King, and the life of a Citie is politie: The Church is the houſe of the liuing God, and what houſe can there be, without ſome order for the gouernment of it? In the royall houſe of a Prince there muſt be officers for gouernment, ſuch as not any ſeruant in the houſe but the Prince, whoſe the houſe is, ſhall iudge conuenient: So the houſe of God muſt haue orders for the gouernment of it, ſuch as not any of the houſhold, but God himſelfe hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the loue and wiſedome of God, to leaue ſuch order vntaken as is neceſſary for the due gouernment of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Salomons* ſeruants did ſhew his wiſedome: therefore he which is greater then *Salomon*, hath not failed to leaue in his houſe ſuch orders for gouernment thereof, as may ſerue to be as a locking gaſſe for his prouidence, care, and wiſedome to be ſeene in. That little ſparke of the light of nature which remaineth in vs, may ſerue vs for the affaires of this life: But as in all other matters concerning the kingdome of heauen, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very gouernment of that kingdome, needfull it is we ſhould be taught of God. As long as men are perſwaded of any order that it is only of men, they preſume of their owne vnderſtanding, and they thinke to deuiſe an other not only as good, but better then that which they haue receiued. By ſeuerity of puniſhment, this preſumption and curioſity may be reſtrained. But that cannot worke ſuch cheereſull obedience as is yeelded, where the conſcience hath reſpect to God as the authour of lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the lawes of *Moſes*, made concerning outward politie for the adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome lawgiuers of the heathens did pretend, but falſely; yet wiſely diſcerning the vſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be authour of the politie of his Church. But to what iſſue doth al this come? A man would think that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded then of this, that the Scripture hath ſet downe a complete forme of Church-politie, vniuerſall, perpetuall, altogether vnchangeble. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding they which haue thus formally maintained argument in defence of the firſt ouerſight, are by the very euidence of truth themſelues conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater waight, ſome of leſſe; that what hath beene vrged as touching immutabilitie of lawes, it extendeth in truth no further then onely to laws wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now thoſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors*

[a] *Niſi reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemq; deſcripſerit, quæ iudiciorum forig; ratio habenda, quomodo ciuium ſtipendia ſint. non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ prouidit quàm Moſes olim Iudaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, ciuitatib. ſuis proſpectum ſit.* Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſc.

The defence of godly Minist. against. D. Bridges. p. 133.

ſtors, Layelders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three; Synods conſiſting of many Elderſhips; Deacons, women-church-ſeruants or widowes' free conſent of the people vnto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolued. All *this forme* of politie (if yet we may terme that a forme of building, when men haue laid a few rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoeuer, all *this forme* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance, (for ſo I thinke they meane) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is vnlawfull. In which reſolution if they will firmely and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto haue beene diſputed of, they muſt agree that they haue moleſted the Church with needleſſe oppoſition; and henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelues wholly vnto the triall of particulars, whether euery of thoſe things which they eſteeme as principall, be either ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-politie be receiued other then the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-politie is conuerſant are the publique religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the word and Sacraments, prayers, ſpirituall cenſures & the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth alwaies bound. Lawes of politie are lawes which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof becauſe all that are of the Church cannot ioyntly and equally worke, the firſt thing in Politie required, is a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that Gods Clergie are a ſtate which hath beene and will be, as long as there is a Church vpon earth, neceſſary by the plaine word of God himſelfe; a ſtate wherunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubiect as touching things that appertaine to their ſoules health. For where politie is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blind leade the blind, they both periſh* Luke 6.39. It is with the Clergie, if their perſons be reſpected, euen as it is with other men; their qualitie many times farre beneath that, which the dignitie of their place requireth. Howbeit according to the order of politie, they being the *lightes of the world*, Matth. 5.14. others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubiect vnto them. Againe, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; we hold there haue euer beene and euer ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſt wiſe two ſorts of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, the one ſubordinate vnto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops alwayes ſince, we finde plainly both in Scripture and in all Eccleſiaſticall records, other Miniſters of the word and Sacraments haue been. Moreouer it cannot enter into any mans conceipt to thinke it lawfull, that euery man which liſteth ſhould take vpon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemne admittance is of ſuch neceſſitie, that without it there can be no Church-politie. A number of particularities there are, which make for the more conuenient being of theſe principal and perpetuall parts in Eccleſiaſticall Politie, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant vſe and neceſſitie in Gods Church. Of this kind are times and places appointed for the exerciſe of Religion, ſpecialties belonging to the publike ſolemnity of the word, the Sacraments and prayer; the enlargment or abridgement of functions miniſteriall depending

pending vpon thoſe two principall before mentioned; to conclude, euen whatſoeuer doth by way of formality and circumſtance concerne any publique action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for euer permanent; yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God ſhall alwayes neede which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the forme of Politie by them ſet downe for perpetuitie, is three wayes faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Paſtors when they grow to any great multitude; faultie in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widowes, and ſuch like; as things of perpetuall neceſſitie by the law of God, which in truth are nothing leſſe; faulty alſo in vrging ſome things by Scripture immutable, as their Layelders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find, or they haue hitherto beene able to prooue. But hereof more in the bookes that follow. As for thoſe maruellous diſcourſes, whereby they aduenture to argue that God muſt needes haue done the thing which they imagine was to bee done; I muſt confeſſe I haue often wondred at their exceeding boldneſſe herein. When the queſtion is whether God haue deliuered in Scripture (as they affirme he hath) a complete particular immutable forme of Church Politie; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labor, to proue he ſhould haue done it; there being no way in this caſe to proue the deed of God, ſauing only by producing that euidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent vpon record, they doe as if one ſhould demand a legacy by force and vertue of ſome written teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, hee pleadeth that there it muſt needes bee, and bringeth arguments from the loue or goodwill which alwayes the teſtator bore him; imagining that theſe or the like prooſes will conuict a teſtament to haue that in it, which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concerne the actions of God, the moſt dutifull way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekneſſe to admire that, rather then to diſpute what he in congruity of reaſon ought to doe. The wayes which he hath whereby to doe all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number then we can ſearch, other in nature then that wee ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould bee the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as wee ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one wee then may boldly conclude to be the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When wee doe otherwiſe, ſurely we exceede our bounds, who and where wee are we forget; and therefore needfull it is that our pride in ſuch caſes be controld, and our diſputes beaten backe with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his waies paſt finding out? Who hath knowne the minde of the Lord, or who was his counſeller?* Rom 11.33.

(***)

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fourth Booke.

Concerning their third Aſſertion, that our forme of *Church-politie is corrupted with Popiſh orders, rites and ceremonies, baniſhed out of certaine reformed Churches, whoſe example therein we ought to haue followed.*

The matter conteined in this fourth Booke.

1 HOw great vſe ceremonies haue in the Church.
2 *The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that wee haue not in them auncient Apoſtolicall ſimplicitie, but a greater pompe and ſtatelineſſe.*
3 *The ſecond, that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of Rome vſeth; and the reaſons which they bring to proue them for that cauſe blame worthy.*
4 *How when they goe about to expound what Popiſh ceremonies they meane, they contradict their owne arguments againſt Popiſh ceremonies.*
5 *An anſwere to the argument whereby they would proue, that ſith wee allow the cuſtomes of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow ſuch cuſtomes as the Church of Rome hath, becauſe wee cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our fathers.*
6 *To their allegation that the courſe of Gods owne wiſedome doeth make againſt our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.*
7 *To the example of the eldeſt Church which they bring for the ſame purpoſe.*
8 *That it is not our beſt politie (as they pretend it is) for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion to haue in theſe things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vnſound.*
9 *That neither the Papiſts vpbraiding vs as furniſhed out of their ſtore, nor any hope which in that reſpect they are ſaid to conceiue, doth make any more againſt our ceremonies then the former allegations haue done.*
10 *The griefe which they ſay godly brethren conceiue, at ſuch ceremonies as wee haue common with the Church of Rome.*

11 *The*

11 *The third thing for which they reproue a great part of our ceremonies is, for that as we haue them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Iews.*

12 *The fourth, for that sundry of them haue beene (they say) abused vnto idolatrie, and are by that meane become scandalous.*

13 *The fifth for that wee retaine them still notwithstanding the example of certaine Churches reformed before vs, which haue cast them out.*

14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for the establishment of things as they are.*

How great vse ceremonies haue in the Church.

SVCH was the ancient simplicitie and softnesse of spirit which sometimes preuailed in the world, that they whose words were euen as Oracles amongst men, seemed euermore loath to giue sentence against any thing publiquely receiued in the Church of God, except it were wonderfull apparently euill; for that they did not so much incline to that seueritie, which delighteth to reproue the least things it seeth amisse; as to that charitie, which is vnwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reproue. The state of this present age, wherein zeale hath drowned charitie, and skill meeknesse, will not now suffer any man to maruell whatsoeuer he shall heare reproued by whomsoeuer. Those rites and ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the selfesame now that they were when holy and vertuous men maintained them against prophane and deriding aduersaries, her owne children haue at this day in derision. Whether iustly or no, it shall then appeare, when all things are heard which they haue to alleage against the outward receiued orders of this Church. Which in as much as themselues doe compare vnto *mint and comin*, granting them to bee no part of those things which in the matter of Politie are waightier, we hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long. The sifting of that which is obiected against the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong vnto this place. Here wee are to discusse onely those generall exceptions, which haue beene taken at any time against them. First therefore to the end that their nature and vse whereunto they serue may plainely appeare, and so afterwardes their qualitie the better bee discerned; we are to note that in euery grand or maine publique dutie which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, besides that matter and forme wherein the essence thereof consisteth, a certaine outward fashion whereby the same is in decent sort administred. The substance of all religious actions is deliuered from God himselfe in fewe words. For example sake in the sacraments, *Vnto the element let the word bee added, and they both doe make a Sacrament*; saith Saint Augustine. Baptisme is giuen by the element of water, and that prescript forme of words which the Church of Christ doth vse; the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ is administred in the elements of bread and wine, if those mysticall words be added thereunto. But the due and decent forme of administring those holy Sacraments, doth require a great deale more. The end which

Math. 23. 23. The doctrine and Discipline of the Church, as the waightiest things, ought especially to be looked vnto: but the ceremonies also, as *mint & comin*, ought not to be neglected. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 171.

which is aimed at in ſetting downe the outward forme of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their vnderſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behooueth all men to conſider; or when their hearts are mooued with any affection ſuteable thereunto, when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred vp vnto that reuerence, deuotion, attention, and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore vnto this purpoſe not onely ſpeech but ſundry ſenſible meanes beſides haue alwayes beene thought neceſſary, and eſpecially thoſe meanes which being obiect to the eye, the liueliеſt and the moſt apprehenſiue ſenſe of all other, haue in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deepe and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence haue riſen not onely a number of prayers, readings, queſtionings, exhortings, but euen of viſible ſignes alſo; which being vſed in performance of holy actions are vndoubtedly moſt effectuall to open ſuch matter, as men when they know, and remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deale the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerue. We muſt not thinke but that there is ſome ground of reaſon euen in nature, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that no nation vnder heauen either doth or euer did ſuffer publique actions which are of waight, whether they be ciuill and temporall, or elſe ſpirituall and ſacred, to paſſe without ſome viſible ſolemnitie; the very ſtrangneſſe whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerue and to marke the ſame. Words both becauſe they are common, and doe not ſo ſtrongly mooue the phancie of man, are for the moſt part but ſleightly heard: and therefore with ſingular wiſedome it hath beene prouided, that the deedes of men which are made in the preſence of witneſſes, ſhould paſſe not onely with wordes, but alſo with certaine ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is farre more eaſie and durable then the memory of ſpeech can bee. The things which ſo long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not vs preſume to condemne as follies and toyes, becauſe wee ſometimes know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorne whatſoeuer it doth not conceiue, might aske wherefore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſeruant, *Put thy hand vnder my thigh and ſweare*: was it not ſufficient for his ſeruant to ſhew the Religion of an oath, by naming the Lord God of heauen and earth, vnleſſe that ſtrange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargaines & conueiances, a mans word is a token ſufficient to expreſſe his wil. *Yet this was the ancient maner in Iſrael concerning redeeming and exchanging to eſtabliſh all things; A man did pluck of his ſhooe, and gaue it to his neighbour; and this was a ſure witneſſe in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondred wherefore ſo great a doe ſhould be made? The maiſter to preſent his ſlaue in ſome court, to take him by the hand, and not onely to ſay in the hearing of the publique Magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after theſe ſolemne words vttered, to ſtrike him on the cheeke, to turne him round, the haire of his head to be ſhaued off, the Magiſtrate to touch him thriſe with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be giuen him. To what purpoſe all this circumſtance? Amongſt the *Hebrewes* how ſtrange & in outward appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelfe a perpetuall ſeruant, ſhould not onely teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the iudge, but for a viſible token thereof haue alſo his eare bored through with a nawle? It

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth. 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

were

were an infinite labor to prosecute these things so farre as they might bee exemplified both in ciuill and religious actions. For in both they haue their necessary vse and force. [a] *These sensible things which Religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually vnderstood, whereunto they serue as a hand to leade and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peraduenture be obiected, that to adde to religious duties such rites & ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new Sacraments: sure I am they will not say that *Numa Pompilius* did ordeine a Sacrament; a significant Ceremony he hid ordaine, in commanding the Priests [b] *to execute the worke of their diuine seruice with their hands as farre as to the fingers couered; therby signifying that fidelity must be defended, and that mens right hands are the sacred seate therof.* Againe we are also to put them in mind, that themselues do not hold all significant Ceremonies for Sacraments; in as much as imposition of hands they deny to be a Sacrament, and yet they giue thereunto a forcible signification. For concerning it their words are these, [c] *The party ordained by this Ceremony, was put in mind of his separation to the worke of the Lord, that remembring himselfe to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himselfe now his owne, nor to do what himselfe listeth, but to consider that God hath set him about a worke, which if he will discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himselfe of reward, and if otherwise, of reuenge.* Touching significant Ceremonies, some of them are Sacraments, some as Sacraments onely. Sacraments are those, which are signes and tokens of some generall promised grace, which alwayes really descendeth from God vnto the soule that duly receiueth them: other significant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments. Which is not our distinction but theirs. For cõcerning the Apostles imposition of hand, these are their owne words; *Manuum signum hoc & quasi sacramentum vsurparunt*; They vsed this signe, or as it were Sacrament.

a Dion. p. 121 τὰ μὲν δὴ τετάχθαι ἱερὰ ἀφ' ὑλικῆς ἀπεικονίσματα ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγίαν ὁδός.

b Lin. l. 1. Mana ad digitos vsque inuolutâ rem diuinam facere; significantes fidem tutandam, sedemq; eius etiam in dextris sacratam esse.

c Eccl. disci. fol. 51.

Fol. 25.

2 Concerning rites and Ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kinde of ours is, that in many things we haue departed frõ the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles, we haue embraced more outward statelinesse, we haue those orders in the exercise of Religion, which they who best pleased God and serued him most deuoutly, neuer had. For it is out of doubt, that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian Religion, faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best vnderstood by all men, all parts of godlinesse did then most abound: and therefore it must needes follow, that customes, lawes and ordinances deuised since, are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is to cut off later inuentions, and to reduce things vnto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which rule or Canon we hold to be either vncertaine, or at leastwise vnsufficient; if not both. For in case it be certaine, hard it cannot be for them to shew vs, where we shall find it so exactly set downe, that we may say without all controuersie, *These were the orders of the Apostles times, these wholy and onely, neither fewer nor more then these.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded vnto, yea many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in vse, should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings bee well obserued, it shall vnto any man easily appeare,

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies is, that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicitie, but a greater pompe and statelines. *Iib. Eccle. disci. & I. C. l. 3. p. 181*

appeare, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion and ſometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are farre enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolicall, which is not found in the Apoſtles writings, in what other records ſoeuer it be found. And therefore whereas S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be Apoſtolicall, although they be not found written; this his iudgement they vtterly condemne. I will not here ſtand in defence of S. *Auguſtines* opinion, which is, that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolicall; but yet with this exception, vnleſſe the decree of ſome generall councell haue happily cauſed them to be receiued: for of poſitiue lawes and orders receiued throughout the whole Chriſtian world, S. *Auguſtine* could imagine no other fountaine ſaue theſe two. But to let paſſe S. *Auguſtin*, they who condemne him herein, muſt needs confeſſe it a very vncertaine thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the Scriptures doe not mention them all, and other records thereof beſides they vtterly reiect. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles times, they tie it to a maruellous vncertaine rule; vnleſſe they require the obſeruation of no orders but onely thoſe which are knowne to be Apoſtolicall by the Apoſtles owne writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould vſe it as a touchſtone to trie the orders of the Church by for euer. Our end ought alwayes to be the ſame; our wayes and meanes thereunto not ſo. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aymed at, and therefore ought to bee the marke whereat wee alſo leuell. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may be at one time more, which at an other are leſſe auaileable vnto that purpoſe: what reaſon is there in theſe things to vrge the ſtate of one onely age, as a patterne for all to follow? It is not I am right ſure their meaning, that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerue God in cloſe and ſecret meetings; or that common brookes or riuers ſhould be vſed for places of Baptiſme; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtred after meate; or that the cuſtome of Church feaſting ſhould be renued; or that all kinde of ſtanding prouiſion for the Miniſtry ſhould bee vtterly taken away, and their eſtate made againe dependent vpon the voluntary deuotion of men. In theſe things they eaſily perceiue how vnfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt age conuenient enough. The faith, zeale and godlineſſe of former times is worthily had in honour: but doth this proue that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt bee ſtill the ſelfeſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince haue ceaſed? They who recall the Church vnto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds and limits vnto their ſpeeches. If any thing haue beene receiued repugnant vnto that which was firſt deliuered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt giue place vnto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath beene can be no preiudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, and their manner of ſeruing God in a ſtrange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Ieruſalem did affoord, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was between them? in Egypt it may be they were right glad to take ſome

Tom. 7. de bap. contra Donatiſt. l. 5. cap. 23. T. C. l. 1 p. 31.

If this iudgement of Saint *Auguſtine* be a good iudgement & ſound; then there bee ſome things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therfore there is no ſufficient doctrine conteined in Scripture whereby we may be ſaued. For all the commandements of God and of the Apoſtles are needfull for our ſaluation. *Vid. Epiſt. 118.*

corner of a poore cottage, and there to ſerue God vpon their knees, peraduenture couered in duſt and ſtraw ſometimes. Neither were they therefore the leſſe accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliuerance, did teſtifie that they ſerued him not in vaine. Notwithſtanding in the very deſert they are no ſooner poſſeſt of ſome little thing of their owne, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and hauing *Dauid* to be their King, when the Lord had giuen him reſt from all his enemies, it grieued his religious minde to conſider the growth of his owne eſtate and dignitie, the affaires of religion con-
2.*Sam.*7.2. tinuing ſtill in the former manner: *Behold now I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remaineth ſtill within curtaines.* What he did purpoſe, it was the pleaſure of God that *Salomon* his ſonne ſhould performe, and performe it in maner ſuteable vnto their preſent, not their ancient eſtate and condition. For which
2.*Chron.*2.5. cauſe *Salomon* writeth vnto the King of *Tyrus*; *The houſe which I build is great and wonderfull; for great is our God aboue all Gods.* Whereby it clearely appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable vnto him, as well being framed ſutable to the greatneſſe and dignitie of later, as when they keepe the reuerend ſimplicitie of ancienter times. Such diſſimilitude therefore betweene vs and the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the order of ſome outward things, is no argument of default.

Our orders and ceremonies blamed, in that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of Rome vſeth. *Eccleſ. Diſcipl. fol.*12. *T.C. lib.*1. *pag.*131.

3 Yea but wee haue framed our ſelues to the cuſtomes of the Church of Rome, our orders and ceremonies are Papiſticall. It is eſpied that our Church-founders were not ſo carefull as in this matter they ſhould haue beene, but contented themſelues with ſuch diſcipline as they tooke from the Church of Rome. Their errour we ought to reforme by aboliſhing all Popiſh orders. There muſt be no communionnor fellowſhip with Papiſtes, *neither in doctrine, Ceremonies, nor gouernment.* It is not enough that wee are deuided from the Church of Rome by the ſingle wall of doctrine, reteining as we doe part of their Ceremonies, and almoſt their whole gouernment: but gouernment or Ceremonies of
*T.C.lib.*1.*pa.*20. whatſoeuer it be which is Popiſh, away with it. This is the thing they require in vs, the vtter relinquiſhment of all things Popiſh. Wherein to the end we may anſwere them according vnto their plaine direct meaning, and not take aduantage of doubtfull ſpeech, whereby controuerſies grow alwayes endleſſe; their
*T.C.lib.*1 *pa.*25. maine poſition being this, that *nothing ſhould bee placed in the Church but what God in his word hath commanded*, they muſt of neceſſitie hold all for Popiſh, which the Church of Rome hath ouer and beſides this. By Popiſh orders, Ceremonies and gouernment they muſt therefore meane in euery of theſe ſo much, as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandement of Gods word: ſo that whatſoeuer ſuch thing we haue, if the Church of Rome haue it alſo, it goeth vnder the name of thoſe things that are Popiſh, yea although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the word of God. For ſo they plainly affirme
*T.C.li.*1.*pa.*131. ſaying: *Although the formes and Ceremonies which they* (the Church of Rome) *vſed were not vnlawfull, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the word of God; yet notwithſtanding neither the word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches both Iewiſh and Chriſtian, doe permit vs to vſe the ſame formes and Ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither ſuch as there may not as good as they*

and

and rather better be eſtabliſhed. The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in thoſe orders, rites and ceremonies, wherein we doe not thinke them blameable, or elſe ought to deuiſe others, and to haue no conformitie with them, no not as much as in theſe things. In this ſenſe and conſtruction therfore as they affirme, ſo we denie, that whatſoeuer is Popiſh vve ought to abrogate. Their arguments to proue that generally all Popiſh orders and ceremonies ought to be cleane aboliſhed, are in ſumme theſe: *First whereas we allow the iudgement of* S^t. Auguſtine, *that touching thoſe things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerue the cuſtome of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers: how can we retaine the cuſtomes and conſtitutions of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly, *although the formes and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not vnlawfull, neyther did containe any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor reaſon doe permit vs to vſe the ſame,* they being Heretikes, and ſo neare about vs, *and their orders being neyther commanded of GOD, nor yet ſuch but that as good or rather better may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the word of God, to haue conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things, as appeareth in that the wiſdome of God hath thought it a good way to keepe his people from infection of Idolatry & ſuperſtition, by ſeuering them from Idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therfore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themſelues very lawfull to be done. And further whereas the Lord was carefull to ſeuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not ſo careful to ſeuer them from any, as from the Egyptians amongſt whom they liued, and from thoſe nations which were next neighbours vnto them, becauſe from them was the greateſt feare of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdome of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neere. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one councell it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not decke their houſes with bay leaues and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo to do, and that they ſhould not reſt from their labors theſe dayes that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keepe the firſt day of euery moneth as they did. Another Councel decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate feaſts on the birth dayes of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O, ſaith* Tertullian, *better is the Religion of the* Heathen: *for they vſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neyther the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they would haue nothing to doe with them: for they would be affraid leſt they ſhould ſeeme Chriſtians: but we are not affraide to be called Heathen. The ſame* Tertullian *would not haue Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of Councels, in making or aboliſhing of ceremonies heed had beene taken, that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelues are moſt indifferent to be vſed or not vſed. The ſame conformity is not leſſe oppoſite vnto reaſon: firſt in as much as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therfore Popery being Antichriſtianity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhment of orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as farre from exceſſe of drinke as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſticke, wee bend it on the contrarie ſide, as farre as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence we draw it: and ſo it commeth in the end to a middle betweene both, which is perfect ſtraightneſſe.*

T.C.l.1.p.30.

T.C.l.1.p.131.

T.C.l.1.p.132.

Tom.2.Braca.73

Con. Africa. cap.27.

Lib.de Idolatria. He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Sauiours reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lords day. *lib.de Anima.*

Vtter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome in theſe things, is the beſt and ſureſt policie which the Church can vſe. While we vſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies. They hereby conceiue great hope of hauing the reſt of their Popery in the end; which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſſe. T.C.l.3.p.178. *Neyther is it without cauſe that they haue this hope, conſidering that which Maiſter* Bucer *noteth vpon the eighteenth of Saint* Matthew, *that where theſe things haue beene left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part in places which haue beene clenſed of theſe things, it hath not yet beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance. None make* T.C.l.3.p.179. *ſuch clamors for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts and thoſe whom they ſuborne; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and ioy in theſe things. They breede griefe of minde in a number that are godly minded, and haue Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that* T.C.l.3.p.180. *their mindes are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieue with vnprofitable Ceremonies, yea Ceremonies wherein there is not onely no profite, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are meanes to breed.* This in effect is the ſumme and ſubſtance of that w^ch they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe orders which we haue common with the Church of Rome, theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would proue our ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

That whereas they who blame vs in this behalfe, when reaſon euicteth that all ſuch ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwere that when they condemne Popiſh ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies vnprofitable, or ceremonies in ſtead whereof as good or better may bee deuiſed: they cannot hereby get out of the bryers, but contradict and gaineſay themſelues; in as much as their vſuall manner is to proue that ceremonies vncommaunded in the Church of God, and yet vſed in the Church of Rome, are for *this very cauſe* vnprofitable to vs, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

4 Before we anſwere vnto theſe things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe obiections proceede, doe oftentimes flie for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their arguments is elided. For the ceremonies in vſe amongſt vs, being in no other reſpect retained, ſauing onely for that to retaine them is to our ſeeming, good and profitable, yea ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had eyther ſimply taken them cleane away, or elſe remoued them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: the plaine and direct way againſt vs herein had bin only to proue, that all ſuch ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed are retayned by vs with the hurt of the Church, or with leſſe benefite then the aboliſhment of them would bring. But for as much as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to performe this; they tooke a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our Church vnder the name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better vnto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious then very Paganiſme amongſt diuers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo whatſoeuer they heare named Popiſh, they preſently conceiue deepe hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contayned in that name, but needes it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The eares of the people they haue therefore filled with ſtrong clamor; *The Church of England is fraught with Popiſh ceremonies: They that fauour the cauſe of reformation, maintaine nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpell of* IESVS CHRIST: *All ſuch as withſtand them, fight for the lawes of his ſworne enemy, vpholde the filthy reliques of Antichriſt; and are defenders of that which is Popiſh.* Theſe are the notes wherewith are drawne from the hearts of the multitude ſo many ſighes; with theſe tunes their mindes are exaſperated againſt

againſt the lawfull guides and gouernors of their ſoules; theſe are the voyces that fil them with general diſcontentment, as though the boſome of that famous Church wherin they liue, were more noyſome then any dungeon. But when the authours of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account how they can iuſtifie ſuch their dealings; when they are vrged directly to anſwere, vvhether it be lawfull for vs to vſe any ſuch ceremonies as the Church of Rome vſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the word of God; being driuen to ſee that the vſe of ſome ſuch ceremonies muſt of neceſſity be graunted lawful, they goe about to make vs beleeue that they are iuſt of the ſame opinion, and that they only thinke ſuch ceremonies are not to be vſed when they are vnprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which anſwer is both idle in regard of vs, and alſo repugnant to themſelues. It is in regard of vs very vaine to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what ceremonies we retaine common vnto the Church of Rome, we therefore retaine them, for that we iudge them to be profitable, & to be ſuch that others in ſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſaw that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh ceremonies as are vnprofitable, or elſe might haue other more profitable in their ſtead; they trifle & they beat the ayre about nothing which toucheth vs, vnles they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh ceremonies, which in their iudgement haue eyther no vſe, or leſſe vſe then ſome other might haue. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſsion, wherby they are authorized to ſit as Iudges, and we required to take their iudgement for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh* vnto the orders of the Church of England: as in the queſtion about Surpleſſes one of them doth; *If we looke to the colour, blacke me thinketh is more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deale more comelineſſe in it.* If they thinke that we ought to proue the ceremonies commodious which we haue reteined, they doe in this point very greatly deceiue themſelues. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath receiued and held ſo long for good, that which publique approbation hath ratified, muſt cary the benefite of preſumption with it to be accounted meet and conuenient. They which haue ſtood vp as yeſterday to challenge it of defect, muſt proue their challenge. If we being defendants do anſwer, that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their replie is childiſh and vnorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, and ſhew the pouerty of our cauſe, the goodneſſe whereof we are faine to begge that our aduerſaries would graunt. For on our part this muſt be the anſwere, vvhich orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of prouing doth reſt on them. In them it is friuolous to ſay, vve ought not to vſe bad ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth themſelues to diſlike, vnleſſe we can perſwade them the contrary. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelues. For vvhat one thing is ſo common vvith them, as to vſe the cuſtome of the Church of Rome for an argument to proue, that ſuch and ſuch ceremonies cannot be good & profitable for vs, in as much as that Church vſeth them? Wch vſuall kind of diſputing, ſheweth that they do not diſallow onely thoſe Romiſh ceremonies which are vnprofitable, but count al vnprofitable which are Romiſh; that is to ſay, which haue bin deuiſed by the Church of Rome, or which are vſed

T.C. lib. 3. p. 171. What an open vntruth is it, that this is one of our principles not to be lawfull to vſe the ſame ceremonies which the Papiſts did: when as I haue both before declared the contrary, and euen here haue expreſly added, that they are not to be vſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed.

Eccleſi. diſcipl. fol. 100.

T.C. l. 3. p. 176. As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent: it is your olde wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an vndoubted argument of your extreme pouerty.

T.C. l. 3. p. 174.

in that Church,& not preſcribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can vſe ſutable vnto their other poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yeeld, why they hold it lawful to reteine in *Doctrine* & in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetual commandements, in whoſe place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their iudgement in truth is, that whatſoeuer by the word of God is not changeable in the Church of Rome, that Churches vſing is a cauſe, why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to thinke it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeeme to father any thing vpon them more then is properly their owne, let them reade euen their owne words, where they complaine that *we are thus conſtrayned to be like vnto the Papiſts in any their ceremonies*; yea they vrge that this cauſe although it were alone, ought to moue them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *for as much as they are their ceremonies*, and that the B. of Salisbury doth iuſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is vntrue which they adde concerning the B. of Salisbury; but the ſentence doth ſhew, that we do them no wrong in ſetting downe the ſtate of the queſtion betweene vs thus: Whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of England all ſuch orders, rites, and ceremonies, as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the word of God. For the affirmatiue whereof we are now to anſwere ſuch proofes of theirs as haue beene before alleaged.

T.C.l.3.p.177. And that this complaint of ours is iuſt, in that we are thus conſtrained to be like vnto the Papiſts in any their ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to moue them to whom that belongeth, to doe theirs away, for as much as they are their ceremonies: the Reader may further ſee in the B. of Salisbury, who brings diuers proofes thereof.

5 Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, and our fathers in the Chriſtian faith, or let them be otherwiſe, holde them for Catholiques, or hold them for heretiques, it is not a thing eyther one way or other in this preſent queſtion greatly materiall. Our conformity with them in ſuch things as haue bin propoſed, is not proued as yet vnlawful by al this S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, yea and we haue allowed his ſaying, *That the cuſtome of the people of God, & the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture had neither one way nor other giuen vs any charge.* What then? Doth it here therfore follow, that they being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This conſequent were good if ſo be it were graunted, that only the cuſtome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in ſuch caſe to be obſerued. But then ſhould no other kind of later laws in the Church be good, which were a groſſe abſurdity to think. S. *Auguſtines* ſpeech therfore doth import, that where we haue no diuine precept, if yet we haue the cuſtome of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and muſt be kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obſerue the poſitiue conſtitutions of our owne Churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by our ſelues alone. Nor is there any thing in this to proue, that the Church of England might not by law receiue orders, rites or cuſtoms from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much leſſe when we haue receiued frō them nothing, but that wch they did themſelues receiue from ſuch, as we cannot denie to haue bin the people of God, yea ſuch as either we muſt acknowledge for our owne forefathers, or els diſdaine the race of Chriſt?

That our allowing the cuſtomes of our fathers to be followed, is no proofe that we may not allow ſome cuſtomes which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

6 The

6 The rites and orders wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kinde then ſuch as the Church of *Geneua* it ſelfe doth follow them in. We follow the Church of Rome in moe things; yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent controuerſie is: ſo that the difference is not in the kinde, but in the number of rites onely, wherein they and we doe follow the Church of Rome. The vſe of wafer-cakes, the cuſtom of god-fathers & god-mothers in baptiſme, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture; things which haue bin of olde, and are reteined in the Church of Rome, euen at this very houre. Is conformity with Rome in ſuch things a blemiſh vnto the Church of England, and vnto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reuerence they owe vnto this Church, in the bowels whereof they haue receiued I truſt that pretious and bleſſed vigor, which ſhall quicken them to eternall life; yet at the leaſtwiſe for the ſingular affection which they doe beare towards others, take heed how they ſtrike, leſt they wound whom they would not. For vndoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, when they plead that euen ſuch ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as conteine in them nothing which is not of it ſelfe agreeable to the word of God, ought neuertheleſſe to be aboliſhed, and that neither the word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, do permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretiques they are, and they are our neighbours. By vs and amongſt vs they leade their liues. But what then? Therfore no ceremony of theirs lawfull for vs to vſe? We muſt yeeld and will, that none are lawfull, if God himſelfe be a precedent againſt the vſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby they ſay it doth appeare, in that *God ſeuered his people from the* Heathens, *but ſpecially from the Ægyptians, and ſuch nations as were neereſt neighbours vnto them, by forbidding them to do thoſe things, which were in themſelues very lawfull to bee done, yea very profitable ſome and incommodious to be forborne; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them, only becauſe thoſe* Heathens *did them, with whom conformity in the ſame things might haue bred infection. Thus in ſhauing, cutting, apparell wearing, yea in ſundry kinds of meats alſo, ſwines fleſh, conies, and ſuch like, they were forbidden to do ſo and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch things was, to ſeuer them for feare of infection by a great and an high wall from other nations, as* S^t. Paul *teacheth.* The cauſe of more carefull ſeparation from the neereſt nations, was the greatneſſe of danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now Papiſts are to vs as thoſe nations were vnto Iſraell. Therefore if the wiſdome of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent ceremonie. Our direct anſwer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleaged we may ſtill doubt, whether the Lord in ſuch indifferent ceremonies as thoſe whereof we diſpute, did frame his people of ſet purpoſe vnto any vtter diſſimilitude, eyther with Ægyptians, or with any other nation elſe. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproued, although Papiſts were vnto vs as thoſe heathens were vnto Iſraell. *After the doings of the land of Ægypt, wherin you dwelt, ye ſhall not doe, ſaith the Lord, and after the maner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, ſhall ye not do, neither walke in their ordinances: Do after my iudgements, and keepe my ordinances to walke therin: I am the Lord your God.* The ſpeech is indefinite,

That the courſe which the wiſdome of God doth teach, maketh not againſt our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.

T. C. lib. p. 89. & 131.

Leuit. 18. 3.

Leuit. 19. 27.
Leuit. 19. 19.
Deut. 22. 11.
Deut. 4. 7. & Leuit. 11.
Epheſ. 2. 14.

Leuit. 18. 3.

indefinite, *ye ſhall not be like them*: It is not generall, *ye ſhall not be like them in any thing, or like vnto them in any thing indifferent, or like vnto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs.* Seeing therfore it is not ſet down how farre the bounds of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure vs, that it extendeth farder then to thoſe things only, wherin the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did againſt that which the law of God commandeth? Nay doth it not ſeeme a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſely adde, *Do after my iudgments*, as giuing therby to vnderſtand, that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to barre ſimilitude in ſuch things, as were repugnant vnto the ordinances, laws and ſtatutes which he had giuen? Ægyptians and Cananites are for example ſake named vnto them, becauſe the cuſtomes of the one they had bin, & of the other they ſhould be beſt acquainted with. But that wherin they might not be like vnto eyther of them, was ſuch peraduenture as had been no whit leſſe vnlawful, although thoſe nations had neuer bin. So that there is no neceſſity to thinke, that God for feare of infection by reaſon of neerenes forbad them to be like to the Cananites or the Egyptians, in thoſe things which otherwiſe had bin lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe nations, & is here forbidden, being indifferent in it ſelfe, yet forbidden only becauſe they vſed it. In
Leuit.19.17. the lawes of Iſrael we find it written, *ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou teare the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were vſuall amongſt thoſe nations, and in themſelues they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being vſed as ſignes of immoderate and hopeles lamentation for the dead? In this
Leuit.21.5. ſenſe it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which cauſe the very next wordes following are, *ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a marke vpon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leuiticus*, where ſpeech is of mourning for the dead, *They ſhall not make bald parts vpon their head, nor ſhaue off the lockes of their*
Deut.14.1. *beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.* Againe in *Deut. Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye ſhall not cut your ſelues, nor make you baldnes betweene your eyes for the*
1.Theſ.4.13. *dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly expreſſe, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they do which haue no hope?* The very light of nature it ſelfe was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe nations did vſe, hauing been alſo in vſe with others, the ancient Roman lawes do forbid. That ſhauing therefore and cutting which the law doth mention, was not a matter in it ſelfe indifferent, and forbidden onely becauſe it was in vſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were neighbors to the people of God; but to vſe it had bin a crime, though no other people or nation vnder heauen ſhould haue done it ſauing only themſelues. As for thoſe lawes concerning attire, *There ſhall no garment of linnen and wollen come*
Leuit.19.19. *Deut.22.11.* *vpon thee*; as alſo thoſe touching food and diet, wherin *Swines fleſh* together with ſundry other meates are forbidden; the vſe of theſe things had bin indeede of it ſelfe harmeleſſe and indifferent: ſo that hereby it doth appeare, how the law of God forbad in ſome ſpecial conſideration, ſuch things as were lawfull enough in
Deut.14.7. *Leuit.11.* themſelues. But yet euen here they likewiſe faile of that they intend. For it doth not appeare that the conſideration in regard whereof the law forbiddeth theſe things, was becauſe thoſe nations did vſe them. Likely enough it is that the Cananites vſed to feed as well on ſheepes as on ſwines fleſh; and therfore if the for-
Leuit.19.19. bidding of the later had no other reaſon then diſſimilitude with that people they

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which of their owne heads alleage this for reaſon, can ſhew I thinke ſome reaſon more then we are able to find, why the former was not alſo forbidden. Might there not be ſome other myſterie in this prohibition then they thinke of? Yes, ſome other myſterie there was in it by all likelihood. For what reaſon is there wch ſhould but induce, and therfore much leſſe enforce vs to thinke, that care of diſſimilitude betweene the people of God & the heathen nations about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on garments of ſundry ſtuffe, then of charging them withall not to ſow their fields with meſline, or that this was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to eate Swines fleſh, then of charging them withall not to eate the fleſh of Eagles, Haukes, and the like? Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to vs, as to Iſraell the Ægyptians and Cananites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wiſedome of God without reſpect doth teach vs to erect betweene vs and them a partition wall of difference, in ſuch things indifferent as haue beene hitherto diſputed of.

Deut 14. *Leuit.* 11.

Eph. 2. 14.

7 Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more auaileable to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault vndoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kinde of blemiſh to be like vnto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo vſually be obiected, men would not thinke it any aduantage in the cauſes of Religion, to be able therewith iuſtly to charge their aduerſaries as they doe. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainely appeare, what force this hath, and how farre the ſame extendeth: we are to note how all men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeeme neither to iudge, nor to do amiſſe, becauſe every errour and offence is a ſtaine to the beauty of nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrarie. From whence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſſe the credit of others, doe it either in both or in one of theſe. To haue beene in either directed by a weake and vnperfect rule, argueth imbecilitie and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chooſe to follow, as namely if wee frame our opinions to that which condemned heretiques thinke, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them: it lieth as an heauie preiudice againſt vs, vnleſſe ſomewhat mightier then their bare example, did moue vs to thinke or do the ſame things with them. Chriſtian men therfore hauing beſides the common light of all men ſo great helpe of heauenly direction from aboue, together with the lampes of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yeeld, it cannot but worthily ſeeme reproachfull for vs, to leaue both the one and the other, to become diſciples vnto the moſt hatefull ſort that liue, to doe as they doe, onely becauſe we ſee their example before vs, and haue a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not euill ſimply to concurre with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: and that conformity with them is onely then a diſgrace, when eyther we follow them in that they thinke and doe amiſſe, or follow them generally in that they doe, without other reaſon then only the liking we haue to the paterne of their example: which liking doth intimate a more vniuerſall approbation of them then is allowable. *Fauſtus* the Manichey therfore obiecting againſt the Iewes, that they forſooke the Idols of the Gentiles, but their temples, & oblations, and altars, and Prieſt-

That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt vs.

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*132. The Councels although they did not obſerue themſelues alwaies in making of decrees this rule; yet haue kept this conſideration continually in making of their lawes, that they would haue the Chriſtians differ from others in their ceremonies.

Prieſthoods, and all kinde of miniſtery of holy things, they exerciſed euen as the Gentiles did, yea more ſuperſtitiouſly a great deale; againſt the Catholike Chriſtians likewiſe, that betweene them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference, *From them* (ſaith *Fauſtus*) *ye haue learned to hold that one onely God is the authour of all, their ſacrifices ye haue turned into feaſts of charity, their Idols into Martyrs whom ye honour with the like religious offices vnto theirs, the Ghoſts of the dead ye appeaſe with wine and delicates, the feſtiuall dayes of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye haue vtterly changed nothing.* *S. Auguſtines* defence in behalfe of both is, that touching the matters of action, Iewes and Catholike Chriſtians were free from the Gentiles faultines, euen in thoſe things which were obiected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles: & concerning their conſent in opinion, they did not hold the ſame with the Gentiles, becauſe Gentiles had ſo taught, but becauſe heauen and earth had ſo witneſſed the ſame to be truth, that neither the one ſort could erre in being fully perſwaded therof, nor the other but erre in caſe they ſhold not conſent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either Councels or particular men haue at any time with ſound iudgement miſliked conformity betweene the Church of God and Infidels, the cauſe thereof hath bin ſomewhat elſe then onely affectation of diſſimilitude. They ſaw it neceſſary ſo to do, in reſpect of ſome ſpeciall accident, which the Church being not alwaies ſubiect vnto, hath not ſtill cauſe to doe the like. For example, in the dangerous daies of tryall, wherein there was no way for the truth of Ieſus Chriſt to triumph ouer infidelity, but through the conſtancy of his Saints, whom yet a naturall deſire to ſaue themſelues from the flame, might peraduenture cauſe to ioyne with Pagans in externall cuſtomes, too farre vſing the ſame as a cloake to conceale themſelues in, and a miſt to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedy hereof, thoſe laws it might be were prouided, wch forbad that Chriſtians ſhould decke their houſes with boughes, as the Pagans did vſe to do, or reſt thoſe feſtiuall dayes wheron the Pagans reſted, or celebrate ſuch feaſts as were, though not Heatheniſh, yet ſuch that the ſimpler ſort of Heathens might be beguiled in ſo thinking them. As for *Tertullians* iudgment concerning the rites and orders of the Church, no man hauing iudgment can be ignorant how iuſt exceptions may be taken againſt it. His opinion touching the Catholike Church was as vnindifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that fauor this pretended reformation is. He iudged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded, he iudged them ſtill ouer-abiectly to fawn vpon the Heathens, & to curry fauor with Infidels. Which as the Catholike Church did wel prouide that they might not do indeed, ſo *Tertullian* ouer-often through diſcontentment carpeth iniuriouſly at them, as thogh they did it euen when they were free from ſuch meaning. But if it were ſo that either the iudgement of thoſe councels before alleaged, or of *Tertullian* himſelfe againſt the Chriſtians, are in no ſuch conſideration to be vnderſtood as we haue mentioned; if it were ſo that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, onely for vſing the ceremonies of a Religion *contrary* vnto their owne, and

To.6.cont.Fauſt. Manich.l.20.c.4

T.C.l.1.p.132. Alſo it was decreed in another Councell, that they ſhould not decke their houſes with bay leaues & greene boughes, becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labour thoſe daies that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keepe the firſt day of euery moneth as they did.

T.C.l.3.p.132. *Tertul.* ſaith, O ſaith he, better is the Religion of the Hea then; for they vſe no ſolemnitie of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neyther, &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathen.

T.C.l.1.p.133. But hauing ſhewed this in generall to be the Polity of God firſt, and of his people afterward, to put as much difference as can be commodiouſly betweene the people of God and others which are not, I ſhall not, &c.

and that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to preuaile no leſſe with vs then with them; ſhall it not follow that ſeeing there is ſtil betweene our Religion and Paganiſme the ſelfe ſame *contrariety*, therefore we are ſtill no leſſe rebukeable, if we now decke our houſes with boughes, or ſend New-yeares-gifts vnto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe dayes which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they inferre vpon the premiſes, that as great difference as commodiouſly may be, there ſhould be in all outward ceremonies betweene the people of God, and them which are not his people. Againe, they teach, as hath beene declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be betweene them, except the one doe auoide whatſoeuer rites and ceremonies vncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of ſpirituall condition it ſelfe betweene the ſeruants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in ceremonies betweene them, although the one be neuer ſo farre diſioyned in time or place from the other. But in caſe the people of God and *Belial* doe chaunce to be neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay is thereby made more neceſſary. In this reſpect as the Iewes were ſeuered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neereſt them. And in the ſame reſpect we, which ought to differ howſoeuer from the Church of Rome, are now they ſay by reaſon of our neereneſſe more bound to differ from them in ceremonies then from *Turkes*. A ſtrange kinde of ſpeech vnto Chriſtian eares, and ſuch as I hope they themſelues do acknowledge vnaduiſedly vttered. *We are not ſo much to feare infection from Turkes as from Papiſts.* What of that? we muſt remember that by conforming rather our ſelues in that reſpect to *Turkes*, we ſhould be ſpreaders of a worſe infection into others, then any we are likely to draw from Papiſts by our conformity with them in ceremonies. If they did hate as *Turkes* doe, the Chriſtian; or as Cananites of old did the Iewiſh religion euen in groſſe; the circumſtance of locall neerenes in them vnto vs, might happily enforce in vs a duty of greater ſeparation from them, then from thoſe other mentioned. But for as much as Papiſts are ſo much in Chriſt neerer vnto vs then *Turks*, is there any reaſonable man trow you, but will iudge it meeter that our ceremonies of Chriſtian religion ſhould be Popiſh then Turkiſh or Heatheniſh? Eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as Iſraell in Canaan) hauing not beene of them. For euen a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt to reforme our ſelues, (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good meanes to ſeeke alſo their reformation; had we not onely cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelues from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly preiudiciall this might haue beene to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had giuen them to thinke (to their greater obduration in euill) that through a froward or wanton deſire of innouation, wee did vnconſtrainedly thoſe things, for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoeuer the caſe doth ſtand, as Iuda had beene rather to chooſe conformity in things indifferent with Iſraell when they were neereſt oppoſites, then with the fartheſt remoued Pagans: So wee in like caſe, much rather with Papiſts then with Turkes. I might adde further for more full and complete anſwere, ſo much concerning the large oddes betweene

tweene the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of Rome, that very cauillation it ſelfe ſhould be ſatisfied, and haue no ſhift to flie vnto.

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to haue in theſe things no agreement with the Church of Rome, being vnſound.

8 But that no one thing may deteine vs ouer long, I returne to their reaſons againſt our conformity with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude which they vrge vpon vs, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policie for eſtabliſhment of ſound religion. The ground of which politique poſition is, that *Euils muſt be cured by their contraries*; & therfore the cure of the Church infected with the poyſon of Antichriſtianity, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. A medled eſtate of the orders of the Goſpell and the ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which wil perfectly recouer a ſicke, & reſtore a diſeaſed body vnto health, muſt not endeuor ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety vnto thoſe euils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat, by ſetting the body in extremity of cold ſhall vndoubtedly remoue the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilfull cures, is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the euil which doth affect it; the laſt is not only of the kind, but alſo of the meaſure of contrary things whereby to remoue it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of Rome, thinke euery man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeeme more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely the Arrians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the Canker to haue eaten ſo far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound beliefe, no not concerning God himſelfe, but that the very beliefe of the Trinity were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderfull prouidence of God did bring to paſſe, that the Biſhop of the Sea of Rome ſhould be famous for his triple crowne; a ſenſible marke whereby the world might know him to be that myſticall beaſt ſpoken of in the Reuelation, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much, as in this that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdome therefore and skill is requiſite to know, what partes are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neyther is it to all men apparant which complaine of vnſound parts, with what kinde of vnſoundnes euery ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeede) very foule and groſſe corruptions: the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they haue not for the moſt part exact skill and knowledge to diſcerne, they thinke that amiſſe many times which is not, and the ſalue of reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the ſores are which neede it, as they wote full little, ſo they thinke it not greatly materiall to ſearch. Such mens contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratageme: the vſuall methode of art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſſe more then ordinary and common knowledge of good from euill, with them that are able to put a difference betweene things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controuerſie about the maner of remouing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, vnleſſe that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it, ſo farre till no rite or ceremony remaine which

T.C.l.1.p.132. Common reaſon alſo doth teach, that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, the Goſpel and Popery, be contraries, and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured, not by it ſelfe, but by that wch is (as much as may be) contrary vnto it.

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the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we thinke this too extreme, they reply that to draw men from great exceſſe, it is not amiſſe though we vſe them vnto ſomewhat leſſe then is competent; and that a crooked ſticke is not ſtraightned vnleſſe it be bent as farre on the cleane contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelfe at the length in a middle eſtate of euenneſſe betweene both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they vrge vs to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, doe they meane we ſhould be drawne vnto it onely for a time, and afterwards returne to a mediocrity? or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches, which vtterly aboliſhed al Popiſh ceremonies, to come in the end backe againe to the middle point of euenneſſe and moderation? Then haue we conceiued amiſſe of their meaning. For we haue alwaies thought their opinion to be, that vtter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawne for a time, but the very mediocrity it ſelfe wherein they meant we ſhould euer continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth cleane contrary, that howſoeuer they haue bent themſelues at firſt to an extreme contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer then onely till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to leade them vnto it. They haue ſeene that experience of the former policy, which may cauſe the authors of it to hang downe their heads. When Germany had ſtriken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed neuertheleſſe in diſcipline ſtill to reteine therewith very great conformitie: Fraunce by that rule of policy, which hath beene before mentioned, tooke away the Popiſh orders which Germany did reteine. But proceſſe of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiuing that they of the religion in Fraunce haue alſo reteined ſome orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commaunded in the word of God; there hath ariſen a ſect in England, which following ſtill the very ſelfe ſame rule of policy, ſeeketh to reforme euen the French reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregges of Popery. Theſe haue not taken as yet ſuch roote that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtocke, and how farre the vnquiet wit of man might be caried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The tryall which we haue liued to ſee, may ſomewhat teach vs what poſterity is to feare. But our Lord of his infinite mercy, auert whatſoeuer euill our ſwaruings on the one hand or on the other may threaten vnto the ſtate of his Church.

T.C. 1. p. 132. If a man would bring a dronken man to ſobriety, the beſt and neereſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſſe in drinke as may be: and if a man could not keepe a meane, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſſe then he ſhould drinke, then to fault in giuing him more then he ought. As we ſee to bring a ſticke which is crooked to be ſtraight, we doe not onely bow it ſo farre vntill it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo farre vntill we make it to be ſo crooked of the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid way betweene both the crookes.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our religion is not able to ſtand of it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did need to be obiected,

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies, either becauſe Papiſts vpbraide vs as hauing taken from them, or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceiue I know not what great hopes. *T.C.* 3. p. 178. By vſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying, that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies.

iected, or doth deſerue to receiue anſwer. The name of blaſphemy in this place, is like the ſhoe of *Hercules* on a childes foot. If the Church of Rome do vſe any ſuch kind of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch vgly thing to the eare, that wee ſhould thinke the honor and credite of our religion to receiue therby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perilous a matter, do ſeeme to imagine, that we haue erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion; the furniture whereof we ſhould not haue borrowed from our enemies, leſt they relieuing vs might afterwards laugh and gibe at our pouerty: whereas in truth the ceremonies which we haue taken from ſuch as were before vs, are not things that belong to this or that ſect, but they are the auncient rites and cuſtomes of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelues being a part, we haue the ſelfe ſame intereſt in them which our fathers before vs had, from whom the ſame are deſcended vnto vs. Againe, in caſe we had beene ſo much beholding priuately vnto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying vnto another, *I need thee not?* If ſome ſhould be ſo vaine and impotent, as to marre a benefite with reproachfull vpbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelues to haue beſtowed ſome good turne; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, becauſe his fond and fooliſh neighbour from whom he borrowed peraduenture wherewith to kindle it, might happily caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, were it not for me thou wouldeſt freeze, and not be able to heate thy ſelfe. As for that other argument deriued from the ſecret affection of Papiſts, with whom our conformity in certaine Ceremonies is ſaid to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will haue re-entrance; and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongſt vs for the obſeruation of theſe ceremonies, as Papiſts and ſuch as Papiſts ſuborne to ſpeake for them, whereby it clearely appeareth how much they reioyce, how much they triumph in theſe things; our anſwere hereunto is ſtill the ſame, that the benefite we haue by ſuch ceremonies ouerweigheth euen this alſo. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well denie, but that there is moſt iuſt cauſe wherefore we ſhould be offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithſtanding at ſuch times as we are to deliberate for our ſelues, the freer our mindes are from all diſtempered affections, the ſounder and better is our iudgement. When we are in a fretting moode at the Church of Rome, and with that angry diſpoſition enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our Church; taking particular ſuruey of them, we are ſure to haue alwayes one eye fixed vpon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blith or heauy aſpect thereof, our other eye ſheweth ſome other ſutable token eyther of diſlike or approbation towards our owne orders. For the rule of our iudgement in ſuch caſe being onely that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enemies would haue*; what they ſeeme contented with, euen for that very cauſe we reiect; and there is nothing but it pleaſeth vs much the better, if we eſpy that it gauleth them. Miſerable were the ſtate and condition of that Church, the waighty affaires whereof ſhould be ordered by thoſe deliberations, wherein ſuch an humour as this were predominant. We haue moſt heartily to thanke God therefore that they amongſt vs to whom the firſt conſultations of cauſes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another marke, namely the glory of God and the good of this his Church, tooke that which they iudged thereunto

T.C.l.3.p.179. To proue the Papiſts triumph and ioy in theſe things, I alleaged further that there are none which make ſuch clamors for theſe ceremonies, as the Papiſts and thoſe which they ſuborne.

ἃ κεν γνῶσιν Πριαμος. Il. a.

unto neceſſary, not reiecting any good or conuenient thing, onely becauſe the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we haue that which is meete and right, although they be glad, we are not to enuie them this their ſolace; we doe not thinke it a duety of ours, to be in euery ſuch thing their tormentors. And whereas it is ſaid, that Popery for want of this vtter extirpation hath in ſome places taken roote and flouriſhed againe, but hath not beene able to re-eſtabliſh it ſelfe in any place, after prouiſion made againſt it by vtter euacuation of all Romiſh ceremonies; and therfore as long as we hold any thing like vnto them, we put them in ſome more hope, then if all were taken away; as we denie not but this may be true, ſo being of two euils to chuſe the leſſe, we hold it better that the friends and fauourers of the Church of Rome, ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to haue a corrupt religion reſtored, then both we and they conceiue iuſt feare, leſt vnder colour of rooting out Popery, the moſt effectuall meanes to beare vp the ſtate of Religion be remoued, and ſo a way made eyther for Paganiſme, or for extreme barbaritie to enter. If deſire of weakening the hope of others ſhould turne vs away from the courſe we haue taken; how much more the care of preuenting our owne feare with-hold vs from that wee are vrged vnto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our owne feare wee know, but wee are not ſo certaine what hope the rites and orders of our Church haue bredde in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient argument therefore to ſay, that in maintayning and vrging theſe ceremonies none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborne; this ſpeech being more hard to iuſtifie then the former, and ſo their proofe more doubtfull then the thing it ſelfe which they proue. He that were certaine that this is true, muſt haue marked who they be that ſpeake for ceremonies; he muſt haue noted who amongſt them doth ſpeake oftneſt, or is moſt earneſt; he muſt haue beene both acquainted throughly with the religion of ſuch, and alſo priuie what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret betweene them and others; which kindes of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would haue it taken as a thing that needeth no proofe, a thing which all men know and ſee. And if ſo be it were graunted them as true, what gaine they by it? Sundry of them that be Popiſh are eager in maintenance of ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to finde a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardneſſe is not therefore a bridle to ſuch as fauour the ſame cauſe with a better and ſincerer meaning? They that ſeeke, as they ſay, the remouing of all Popiſh orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe orders, do (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their owne ingenuous acknowledgement, that euen this very cauſe which they terme ſo often by an excellency, *The Lords cauſe, is gratiſſima, moſt acceptable vnto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoile by it, and that our age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very ſectaries of* Dionyſius *the famous Atheiſt.* Now if hereupon we ſhould vpbraide them with irreligious, as they do vs with ſuperſtitious fauourers; if we

T.C. l.3.p.179. Thus they conceiuing hope of hauing the reſt of their Popery in the end, it cauſeth them to bee more frozen in their wickednes, &c. For not the cauſe, but the occaſion alſo ought to be taken away, &c Although let the reader iudge, whether they haue cauſe giuen to hope that the tayle of Popery yet remayning, they ſhall the eaſilier hale in the whole body after: conſidering alſo that Maſter *Bucer* noteth, that where theſe things haue beene left, there Popery hath returned: but on the other part in places which haue beene cleanſed of theſe dregges, it hath not beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance.

Eccleſi. diſc. f. 94

ſhould follow them in their owne kinde of pleading, and ſay, that the moſt clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheiſts, or elſe proctors ſuborned by Atheiſts; the anſwer which herein they would make vnto vs, let them apply vnto themſelues, and there an end. For they muſt not forbid vs to preſume, or cauſe in defence of our Church-orders, to be as good as theirs againſt them, till the contrary be made manifeſt to the world.

The griefe which they ſay godly brethren conceiue, in regard of ſuch ceremonies as we haue common with the Church of Rome. *T. C. lib. 3. pag.* 180. There be numbers which haue Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that they cannot without griefe of minde beholde them. And afterwards, Such godly brethren are not eaſily to be grieued, which they ſeeme to be when they are thus martyred in their mindes, for ceremonies which (to ſpeake the beſt of them) are vnprofitable.

10 In the meane while ſory we are, that any good & godly mind ſhould be grieued with that which is done. But to remedy their griefe, lieth not ſo much in vs as in themſelues. They doe not wiſh to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remoue all out of the Church, wherat they ſhew themſelues to be ſorrowfull, would be as we are perſwaded hurtfull, if not pernitious therunto. Till they be able to perſwade the contrary, they muſt and will I doubt not finde out ſome other good means to cheere vp themſelues. Amongſt which means the example of *Geneua* may ſerue for one. Haue not they the olde Popiſh cuſtome of vſing Godfathers & Godmothers in Baptiſme; the old Popiſh cuſtome of adminiſtring the bleſſed Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt with Wafer-cakes? Theſe things the godly there can digeſt. Wherfore ſhould not the godly here learne to do the like, both in them, and in the reſt of the like nature? Some further meane peraduenture it might be to aſſwage their griefe, if ſo be they did conſider the reuenge they take on them, which haue bin, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in ſo great griefe ſo long. For if the maintance of ceremonies be a corroſiue to ſuch as oppugne them; vndoubtedly to ſuch as maintaine them, it can be no great pleaſure, when they behold how that which they reuerence is oppugned. And therefore they that iudge themſelues Martyrs when they are grieued, ſhould thinke withall what they are when they grieue. For we are ſtill to put them in minde that the cauſe doth make no difference; for that it muſt be preſumed as good at the leaſt on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who haue ſtood for truth and who for errour. So that till then the moſt effectuall medicine, and withall the moſt ſound to eaſe their griefe, muſt not be (in our opinion) the taking away of thoſe things whereat they are grieued, but the altering of that perſwaſion which they haue concerning the ſame. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more becauſe we are alſo perſwaded, that it is but conceit in them to thinke, that thoſe Romiſh ceremonies whereof we haue hitherto ſpoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious vnto the Church, or like ſoft and gentle poyſons, the venome whereof being inſenſibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is neuer felt working. Thus they ſay: but becauſe they ſay it onely, and the world hath not as yet had ſo great experience of their art in curing the diſeaſes of the Church, that the bare authority of their word ſhould perſwade in a cauſe ſo waighty; they may not thinke much if it be required at their handes to ſhew, firſt, by what meanes ſo deadly infection can growe from ſimilitude betweene vs and the Church of Rome in theſe things indifferent; Secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church ſhould prouide againſt euery ſuch euill as may come to paſſe, it is not ſufficient that they

T. C. l. 3. p. 171. Although the corruptions in them ſtrike not ſtraight to the heart, yet as gentle poyſons they conſume by little and little.

they ſhew poſſibilitie of dangerous euent, vnleſſe there appeare ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to follow in vs, except we preuent it. Nor is this inough, vnleſſe it be moreouer made plaine, that there is no good and ſufficient way of preuention, but by euacuating cleane, and by emptying the Church of euerie ſuch rite and Ceremonie, as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this be done, their good affection towards the ſafetie of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe vs to preſerue it by, muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leaſt hereat they take occaſion to turne vpon vs the ſpeech of the Prophet *Ieremie* vſed againſt *Babylon*, *Behold we haue done our endeuour to cure* the diſeaſes of *Babylon*, but ſhe through her wilfulneſſe doth reſt vncured: let them conſider into what ſtraights the Church might driue it ſelfe, in being guided by this their counſell. Their axiome is, that the ſound beleeuing Church of Ieſus Chriſt, may not be like Hereticall Churches in any of thoſe indifferent things, which men make choyce of, and do not take by preſcript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the vſe of bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it ſelfe, we are by this axiome of theirs to auoid the vſe of vnleauened bread in their Sacrament, becauſe ſuch bread the church of Rome being Hereticall vſeth. But doth not the ſelfe ſame axiome barre vs euen from leauened bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians vſeth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which we condemne the church of Rome; and in ſome things erroneous, where the church of *Rome* is acknowledged to be ſound; as namely in the Article proceeding of the holy Ghoſt? And leaſt heere they ſhould ſay that becauſe the Greeke Church is farther off, and the church of *Rome* nearer, we are in that reſpect rather to vſe that which the church of *Rome* vſeth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the Citie of *Venice*, where a Greeke Church and a Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equally neare, let them conſider what the third ſhall doe. Without eyther leauened or vnleauened bread, it can haue no Sacrament: the word of God doth tye it to neither; and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this conſtraine them, as it muſt, to graunt that their axiome is not to take any place, ſaue in thoſe things onely where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon then they haue as yet alleaged; otherwiſe they conſtraine not vs to thinke that the Church is tyed vnto any ſuch rule or axiome, no not then when ſhe hath the wideſt field to walke in, and the greateſt ſtore of choice.

Ier. 51. 9.

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as we haue receiued from the church of Rome, that church hauing taken them frō the Iewes.

11 Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of *England* and of *Rome*, we ſee what hath bene hitherto alleaged. Albeit therefore we do not finde the one Churches hauing of ſuch things, to be ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not haue them: neuertheleſſe in caſe it may be proued, that amongſt the number of rites and orders common vnto both, there are particulars the vſe whereof is vtterly vnlawfull, in regard of ſome ſpeciall bad and noyſome qualitie; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch rites and orders, what freedome ſoeuer we haue to retaine the other ſtill. As therefore we haue heard their generall exception againſt all thoſe things, which being not commanded in the word of God, were firſt receiued in the church of *Rome*, and

from thence haue bene deriued into ours, ſo it followeth that now we proceede vnto certaine kinds of them, as being excepted againſt not only for that they are in the church of *Rome*, but are beſides either Iewiſh, or abuſed vnto Idolatry, and ſo growne ſcandalous. The church of *Rome* they ſay, being aſhamed of the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, did almoſt out of all religions take whatſoeuer had any faire and gorgeous ſhew, borrowing in that reſpect from the *Iewes* ſundry of their aboliſhed Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, all their Maſſing furniture almoſt they tooke from the law, leaſt hauing an Altar and a Prieſt, they ſhould want veſtments for their ſtage; ſo that whatſoeuer we haue in common with the church of *Rome*, if the ſame be of this kind we ought to remoue it. *Conſtantine the Emperour ſpeaking of the keeping of the feaſt of Eaſter ſaith, That it is an vnworthy thing to haue any thing common with that moſt ſpitefull company of the Iewes. And a little after he ſaith, that it is moſt abſurd and againſt reaſon, that the Iewes ſhould vaunt and glory that the Chriſtians could not keepe thoſe things without their doctrine. And in an other place it is ſaid after this ſort; It is conuenient ſo to order the matter, that we haue nothing common with that nation. The councell of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the ſixt generall Councell, decreed that the Chriſtians ſhould not take vnleauened bread of the Iewes, or communicate with their impietie.* For the eaſier manifeſtation of truth in this point, two things there are which muſt be conſidered, namely the cauſes wherefore the Church ſhould decline from Iewiſh Ceremonies; and how farre it ought ſo to doe. One cauſe is, that the Iewes were the deadlieſt and ſpitefulleſt enemies of Chriſtianitie that were in the world, and in this reſpect their orders ſo farre forth to be ſhunned, as we haue already ſet downe in handling the matter of heatheniſh Ceremonies. For no enemies being ſo venemous againſt Chriſt as Iewes, they were of all other moſt odious, and by that meane leaſt to be vſed as fit Church paternes for imitation. An other cauſe is the ſolemne abrogation of the Iewes ordinances; which ordinances for vs to reſume, were to checke our Lord himſelfe which hath diſanulled them. But how farre this ſecond cauſe doth extend, it is not on all ſides fully agreed vpon. And touching thoſe things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be ſmall cauſe wherefore the Church ſhould frame it ſelfe to the Iewes example, in reſpect of their perſons which are moſt hatefull; yet God himſelfe hauing been the author of their lawes, herein they are (notwithſtanding the former conſideration) ſtill worthy to be honoured, and to be followed aboue others, as much as the ſtate of things will beare. Iewiſh ordinances had ſome things naturall, and of the perpetuitie of thoſe things no man doubteth. That which was poſitiue, we likewiſe know to haue beene by the comming of Chriſt partly neceſſary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind Circumciſion and ſacrifice were. For this point *Stephen* was accuſed; and the euidence which his accuſers brought againſt him in iudgement was, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeake blaſphemous words againſt this holie place and the lawe, for we haue heard him ſay that this Ieſus of Nazaret ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the ordinances that Moſes gaue vs.* True it is that this doctrine was then taught, which vnbeleeuers condemning for blaſphemie, did therein commit that which they did cõdemne. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding frõ whom *Stephen* had receiued it, did not ſo teach the abrogation, no not of thoſe things which were

Eccleſ. diſci. fol 98. And *T.C.l.3.p.181.* Many of theſe popiſh ceremonies fault by reaſon of the pomp in them; where they ſhould be agreeable to the ſimplicitie of the Goſpel of Chriſt crucified.

T.C.l.1.p.132. Euſeb.l.3.c.17. Socr.1.lib.c.9. To.1.Concil. Laod.can.38.

Act.6.13,14.

were necessarily to cease, but that euen the Iewes being Christian, might for a time continue in them. And therfore in *Ierusalem* the first Christian Bishop not circumcised was *Marke*, & he not Bishop till the daies of *Adrian* the Emperour, after the ouerthrow of *Ierusalem*, there having been fifteene Bishops before him which were all of the Circumcision. The Christian Iews did thinke at the first not only themselues, but the Christian Gentiles also bound, and that necessarily, to obserue the whole law. There went forth certaine of the sect of Pharises which did beleeue, & they comming vnto *Antioch*, taught that it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised, and to keepe the law of *Moses*. Wherupon there grew dissention, *Paul* & *Barnabas* disputing against them. The determination of the Councell held at *Ierusalem* concerning this matter, was finally this, *Touching the Gentiles which beleeue, we haue written and determined that they obserue no such thing*. Their protestation by letters is, *For as much as we haue heard that certaine which departed from vs haue troubled you with words, and cumbred your mindes, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keepe the law; know that we gaue them no such commandement*. *Paul* therfore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obserue the lawes of *Moses*, but that the obseruation of those lawes which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether vnlawfull. In which point his doctrine was misreported, as though he had euery where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Iewes. Wherefore comming vnto *Iames* and the rest of the Clergie at *Ierusalem*, they told him plainely of it, saying, *Thou seest brother how many thousand Iewes there are which beleeue, and they are all zealous of the law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Iewes which are amongst the Gentiles, to forsake Moses, and sayest that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to liue after the customes*. And hereupon they gaue him counsell to make it apparant in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were vntrue, and that himselfe being a Iew, kept the law euen as they did. In some things therfore we see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformitie betweene the Christian Iewes & Gentiles. How many things this law of inconformitie did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This generall is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable vnto the Iewes, in that wch was necessarily to cease at the comming of Christ. Touching things positiue wch might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles tendring the zeale of the Iews, thought it necessary to binde euen the Gentils for a time to abstain as the Iews did, from things offered vnto Idols, from bloud, frō strangled. These decrees were euery where deliuered vnto the Gentiles to be straightly obserued & kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, & the Iewes in their own opinion stil tied, the Apostles doctrine vnto the Iew was, *Condemne not the Gentile*; vnto the Gentile, *Despise not the Iew*: the one sort they warned to take heed that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous, in giuing vnaduised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their liberty and freedome to the offence of their weake brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therfore two conclusions there are which may euidently be drawne; the first, that whatsoeuer conformity of positiue laws the Apostles did bring in betweene the Churches of Iewes & Gentiles, it was in those things only, which might eyther cease or continue a shorter or a

Vide Niceph. l. 3. c. 25. & Sulpit Seuer. p. 149. in edit. Plant.

Act. 15.

Act. 21. 25.

Act. 15. 24.

Act. 21. 20.

Act. 15. 28.

Act. 16. 4.

Rom. 14. 10.

longer time, as occaſion did moſt require; the ſecond, that they did not impoſe vpon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Iewes ordinances with bond of neceſſary and perpetuall obſeruation, (as we all both by doctrine and practiſe acknowledge) but only in reſpect of the conueniency and fitneſſe for the preſent ſtate of the Church as then it ſtood. The words of the Councels decree concerning the Gentiles are, *It ſeemed good to the holy Ghoſt and to vs, to lay vpon you no more burden ſauing only theſe things of neceſſity, abſtinence from Idoll-offerings, from ſtrangled and bloud, and from fornication.* So that in other things poſitiue which the comming of Chriſt did not neceſſarily extinguiſh, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to ſeeme vnreaſonable, that the Gentiles ſhould neceſſarily be bound & tied to Iewiſh ordinances, ſo far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Iew, who knew that their difference from other nations which were aliens and ſtrangers from God, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that Gods people had poſitiue ordinances giuen to them of God himſelfe, it ſeemed maruelous hard, that the Chriſtian Gentils ſhould be incorporated into the ſame Cõmon-wealth with Gods owne choſen people, and be ſubiect to no part of his ſtatutes, more then onely the law of nature, which Heathens count themſelues bound vnto. It was an opinion conſtantly receiued amongſt the Iewes, that God did deliuer vnto the ſonnes of *Noah* ſeuen precepts: namely, to liue in ſome form of regiment vnder, firſt, publike laws: ſecondly, to ſerue and call vpon the name of God: thirdly, to ſhunne Idolatry: fourthly, not to ſuffer effuſion of bloud: fiftly, to abhor al vncleane knowledge in the fleſh: ſixtly, to commit no rapine: ſeuenthly, and finally, not to eate of any liuing creature whereof the bloud was not firſt let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the law of *Moyſes*, yet it might ſeeme hard they ſhould alſo caſt off euen thoſe things poſitiue which were obſerued before *Moyſes*, and which were not of the ſame kinde with lawes that were neceſſarily to ceaſe. And peraduenture hereupon the Councell ſaw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles ſhould according vnto the third, the ſeuenth, and the fift of thoſe precepts, abſtaine from things ſacrificed vnto Idols, from ſtrangled and bloud, and from fornication. Thereſt the Gentiles did of their owne accord obſerue, nature leading them thereunto. And did not nature alſo teach them to abſtaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reaſon thinke, that as the former two are poſitiue, ſo likewiſe this, being meant as the Apoſtle doth otherwiſe vſually vnderſtand it. But very marriage within a number of degrees, being not onely by the law of *Moyſes*, but alſo by the law of the ſonnes of *Noah* (for ſo they tooke it) an vnlawfull diſcouery of nakedneſſe; this diſcouery of nakednes by vnlawfull marriages, ſuch as *Moyſes* in the law reckoneth vp, I thinke it for mine owne part more probable to haue beene meant in the wordes of that Canon, then fornication according vnto the ſenſe of the law of nature. Wordes muſt be taken according to the matter whereof they are vttered. The Apoſtles commaund to abſtaine from bloud. Conſter this according to the law of nature, and it will ſeeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conſter it in reference to the law of the Iewes about which the queſtion was, and it ſhall eaſily appeare to haue a cleane other ſenſe, and in any mans iudgement a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of ſhedding bloud. So if we ſpeake of fornication, hee that knoweth no law but onely the law of nature,

Lib. qui Seder Olam inſcribitur.

1 רינין
2 ברכתחשם
3 עא
4 שפיכותדמים
5 גילוייעריות
6 חנזל
7 אבר מין חח

Heb.13.4. 1.Cor.5.11. Gal.5.19.

Leuit.18.

ture, muſt needes make thereof a narrower conſtruction, then he which meaſureth the ſame by a law, wherein ſundry kindes euen of coniugall copulation are prohibited as impure, vncleane, vnhoneſt. Saint *Paul* himſelfe doth terme inceſtuous mariage fornication. If any do rather thinke that the Chriſtian Gentiles themſelues through the looſe and corrupt cuſtome of thoſe times, tooke ſimple fornication for no ſinne, and were in that reſpect offenſiue vnto beleeuing Iewes which by the law had been better taught; our propoſing of another coniecture, is vnto theirs no preiudice. Some things therefore we ſee there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like vnto the Iewes; ſome things wherein they were commanded not to be vnlike. Againe, ſome things alſo there were, wherein no law of God did let, but that they might be eyther like or vnlike, as occaſion ſhould require. And vnto this purpoſe *Leo* ſaith, *Apoſtolicall ordinance (beloued) knowing that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt came not into this world to vndoe the law, hath in ſuch ſort diſtinguiſhed the myſteries of the old Teſtament, that certaine of them it hath choſen out to benefit Euangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpoſe appointed that thoſe things which before were Iewiſh, might now be Chriſtian cuſtomes.* The cauſe why the Apoſtles did thus conform the Chriſtians, as much as might be, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reine them in by this meane the more, and to make them cleaue the better. The Church of Chriſt hath had in no one thing ſo many and ſo contrary occaſions of dealing as about Iudaiſme; ſome hauing thought the whole Iewiſh law wicked and damnable in it ſelfe; ſome not condemning it as the former ſort abſolutely, haue notwithſtanding iudged it eyther ſooner neceſſary to be abrogated, or further vnlawfull to be obſerued then truth can beare; ſome of ſcrupulous ſimplicity vrging perpetuall and vniuerſall obſeruation of the law of *Moyſes* neceſſary, as the Chriſtian Iewes at the firſt in the Apoſtles times; ſome as heretiques, holding the ſame no leſſe euen after the contrary determination ſet downe by conſent of the Church at *Ieruſalem*; finally ſome being herein reſolute through meere infidelity, and with open profeſt enmity againſt Chriſt, as vnbeleeuing *Iewes*. To controule ſlaunderers of the law and Prophets, ſuch as *Marcionites* & *Manichees* were, the Church in her liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the new Teſtament, leſſons taken out of the law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith of the Church of Chriſt, *It intermingleth with Euangelicall and Apoſtolical writings, the law & the Prophets; and frō thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it ſealeth, clotheth with the ſpirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with martyrdom ſetteth forward.* They would haue wondered in thoſe times to heare, that any man being not a fauourer of hereſie, ſhould terme this by way of diſdain, *mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles.* They which honor the law as an image of the wiſdome of God himſelfe, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? was the law ſo aboliſhed with Chriſt, that after his aſcention the office of Prieſts became immediatly wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exerciſe of an vngodly function? No, as long as the glory of the temple continued, and till the time of that finall deſolation was accompliſhed, the very Chriſtian *Iewes* did continue with their ſacrifices and other partes of legall ſeruice. That very law therefore which our Sauiour was to aboliſh, did not *ſo ſoone* become vnlawfull to be obſerued as ſome imagine: nor was it afterwards vnlawful *ſo far*, that the very name of Altar,

1. *Cor.* 5. 1.

Leo in Epiſt. menſ. ſept. Ser. 9.

Tertul. de præſcript. aduerſ. hæret.

T. C. l. 3. p. 171. What an abuſing alſo is it to affirme, the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to haue beene brought into the Church by godly and learned men?

T. C. l. 1. p. 216. Seeing that the office and function of Prieſts was after our Sauiour Chriſts aſcenſion naught and vngodly; the name wherby they were called which did exerciſe that vngodly function, cannot be otherwiſe taken then in the euill part.

Altar, of Prieſt, of Sacrifice it ſelf, ſhould be baniſhed out of the world. For though God do now hate ſacrifice, whether it be Heathenish or Iewiſh, ſo that we cannot haue the ſame things which they had, but with impiety; yet vnleſſe there be ſome greater let then the onely euacuation of the law of *Moſes*, the names themſelues may (I hope) be retained without ſin, in reſpect of that proportion which things eſtabliſhed by our Sauiour haue vnto them which by him are abrogated. And ſo throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers we ſee that the words which were do continue, the only difference is, that wheras before they had a literall, they now haue a metaphoricall vſe, & are as ſo many notes of remembrance vnto vs, that what they did ſignifie in the letter, is accompliſhed in the truth. And as no man can depriue the Church of this liberty, to vſe names wherunto the law was accuſtomed; ſo neither are we generally forbidden the vſe of things which the law hath, though it neyther commaund vs any particularity, as it did the Iewes a number; and the waightieſt which it did command them, are vnto vs in the Goſpell prohibited. Touching ſuch as through ſimplicity of error did vrge vniuerſall and perpetual obſeruation of the law of *Moſes* at the firſt, we haue ſpoken already. Againſt Iewiſh hereticks and falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelfeſame, S. *Paul* in euery Epiſtle commonly either diſputeth or giueth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the law, but withall Infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianity, and to the name of Ieſus Chriſt moſt ſpiteful enemies, did while they floriſhed no leſſe perſecute the Church then heathens. And after their eſtate was ouerthrown, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit becauſe they had their Synagogues in euery famous Citie almoſt throughout the world, and by that meanes great opportunity to withdraw from the Chriſtian faith, which to doe they ſpared no labour; this gaue the Church occaſion to make ſundry lawes againſt them. As in the Councell of *Laodicea*, *The feſtiuall preſents which Iewes or Heretickes vſe to ſend muſt not be receiued, nor holy dayes ſolemnized in their company.* Againe, *From the Iewes men ought not to receiue their vnleauened, nor to communicate with their impieties.* Which councell was afterwards indeed confirmed by the ſixt generall councell. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning both of the one & the other? Were Chriſtians heere forbidden to communicate in vnleauened bread, becauſe the Iewes did ſo being enemies of the Church? He which attentiuely ſhall waigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid communion with *Iewes*, then imitation of them: much more, if with theſe two decrees bee compared a third in the Councell of *Conſtantinople*; *Let no man either of the Cleargie or Laitie eate the vnleauened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiaritie with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſſe, nor take Phiſicke at their hands, nor as much as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwiſe being a Clergy man, let him be depoſed; if being a lay perſon, let excommunicatiõ be his puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any argument, that they w^th^ made them did vtterly condemne ſimilitude between the Chriſtians & *Iewes*, in things indifferent appertayning vnto religion, either becauſe the *Iewes* were enemies vnto the Church, or elſe for that their ceremonies were abrogated; theſe reaſons had bin as ſtrong & effectual againſt their keeping the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day the *Iews* kept theirs, & not according to the cuſtom of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning til *Conſtantines* time. For in theſe two things the Eaſt and Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the *Iewes*, & concur with them:

Concil. Laod. Can. 37. 38. T. C. l. 1. p. 132.

T. C. l. 3. p. 176.

Concil. Conſtantinop. 6. cap. 11.

them: the Weſt church vſing vnleauened bread, as the *Iewes* in their paſſouer did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the feaſt of Eaſter; contrariwiſe the Eaſt church celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day with the *Iewes*, but not vſing the ſame kind of bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt Church in vſing leuened bread had done well, either for that the *Iewes* were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Iewiſh ceremonies were abrogated; how ſhould we thinke but that *Victor* the Biſhop of *Rome* (whom all iudicious men do in that behalfe diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the feaſt of Eaſter? Againe, if the Weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the *Iewes* in the feaſt of Eaſter, what reaſon had they to draw the Eaſterne church herein vnto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame theſelues vnto it in the ceremonie of leauened bread? Difference in rites ſhould breede no controuerſie betweene one church and an other: but if controuerſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The feaſt of Eaſter being therefore litigious in the daies of *Conſtantine*, who honored of all other churches moſt the church of *Rome*, which church was the mother from whoſe breaſts he had drawn that food, which gaue him nouriſhment to eternall life; ſith agreement was neceſſary, and yet impoſſible, vnleſſe the one part were yeelded vnto; his deſire was that of the two the Eaſterne church ſhould rather yeeld. And to this end he vſeth ſundry perſwaſiue ſpeeches. When *Stephen* the Biſhop of *Rome* going about to ſhew what the Catholique Church ſhould do, had alleaged what the heretiques themſelues did, namely that they receiued ſuch as came vnto them, and offered not to baptiſe them anew: S. *Cyprian* being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether heretikes conuerted ought to be repaptiſed yea or no*, anſwered the allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomacke, ſaying, [a] *To this degree of wretchedneſſe the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her vvayes ſhe frameth to the example of heretikes; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heauenly inſtruction hath deliuered, light it ſelfe deth borrow from darkeneſſe, and Chriſtians do that which Antichriſts doe.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* haue done that to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, the rebaptization of heretiques; and haue taken aduantage at the odiouſneſſe of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of heretiques, becauſe the Eaſterne Church kept their feaſt of Eaſter alwaies the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did, what day of the weeke ſoeuer it fell; or how ſoeuer *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe to ſay, [b] *It is vnworthie to haue any thing common with that ſpitefull Nation of the Iewes*; ſhall euery motiue argument vſed in ſuch kind of conferences, be made a rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may leade them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations ſuteable vnto it, ceaſe to barke any longer idlely againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

[a] *Cypr. ad Pompei. lib. cont. epiſt. Stephani.*

[b] *Socr. Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. lib. 5 cap. 21. Plerique in Aſiâ minore antiquitus 14. die menſis, nullâ ratione diei Sabbati habitâ hoc feſtum obſeruarunt. Quod dum faciebant, cum alijs qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, vſque eò nequaquam diſſenſerũt, quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant παροικιακὰς παροικίας appellati excommunicauerit. Ob quod factum Irenæus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per Epiſtolam, grauiter inuectus eſt. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 3. ca. 17. Quid præſtabilius, quidue auguſtius eſſe poteſt, quàm vt hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oboritam habemus, vno modo & ratione apud omnes integre ſincereque obſeruetur? At primum omnium indignum planè videbatur, vt ritum & conſuetudinem imitantes Iudæorum, (qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere pollurunt, merito, vt ſceleſtos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) illud feſtum ſanctiſſimum ageremus. In noſtrâ enim ſitam eſt poteſtate, vt illorum more reiecta, veriore ac magis ſincero inſtituto, (quod quidem vſque à primâ paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus) huius feſti celebrationem ad poſteriorum ſeculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum Iudæorum turbâ omnium odioſâ maximè.*

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as haue beene abuſed by the church of Rome, and are ſaid in that reſpect to be ſcandalous.

12 But the waightieſt exception, and of all the moſt worthie to be reſpected, is againſt ſuch kind of ceremonies, as haue beene ſo groſſely and ſhamefully abuſed in the church of *Rome*, that where they remaine they are ſcandalous, yea they cannot chooſe but be ſtumbling blocks and grieuous cauſes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are firſt to note, what properly it is to be ſcandalous or offenſiue; ſecondly what kinde of Ceremonies are ſuch; and thirdly when they are neceſſarily for remedie thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceipt of the vulgar ſort is, whenſoeuer they ſee any thing which they miſlike and are angry at, to thinke that euery ſuch thing is ſcandalous, and that themſelues in this caſe are the men concerning whom our Sauiour ſpake in ſo fearefull manner, ſaying, *Whoſoeuer ſhall ſcandalize or offend any one of theſe little ones which beleeue in me* [that is, as they conſter it, whoſoeuer ſhall anger the meaneſt and ſimpleſt Artizan which carrieth a good minde, by not remouing out of the Church ſuch rites and Ceremonies as diſpleaſe him] *better he were drowned in the bottome of the ſea.* But hard were the caſe of the Church of Chriſt if this were to ſcandalize. Men are ſcandalized when they are moued, led, and prouoked vnto ſinne. At good things euill men may take occaſion to doe euill; and ſo Chriſt himſelfe was a rock of offence in *Iſrael*, they taking occaſion at his poore eſtate, and at the ignominie of his croſſe, to thinke him vnworthie the name of that great and glorious Meſſias, whom the Prophets deſcribe in ſuch ample and ſtately termes. But that which we therefore terme offenſiue, becauſe it inuiteth men to offend, and by a dumb kind of prouocation incourageth, moueth, or any way leadeth vnto ſinne, muſt of neceſſitie be acknowledged actiuely ſcandalous. Now ſome things are ſo euen by their very eſſence and nature, ſo that whereſoeuer they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of prouocation vnto euill; of which kind all examples of ſinne and wickednes are. Thus *Dauid* was ſcandalous in that bloudie acte, whereby he cauſed the enemies of God to be blaſphemous: thus the whole ſtate of Iſraell ſcandalous, when their publique diſorders cauſed the name of God to be ill ſpoken of amongſt the nations. It is of this kind that *Tertullian* meaneth; *Offence or ſcandall, if I be not deceaued,* ſaith he, *is when the example not of a good but of an euill thing, doth ſet men forward vnto ſinne. Good things can ſcandalize none ſaue onely euill minds:* good things haue no ſcandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature either good or at leaſt not euill, may by ſome accident become ſcandalous at certaine times, and in certaine places, and to certaine men, the open vſe thereof neuertheleſſe being otherwiſe without daunger. The verie nature of ſome rites and Ceremonies therefore is ſcandalous, as it was in a number of thoſe which the Manichees did vſe, and is in all ſuch as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offenſiue only through the agreement of men to vſe them vnto euill, and not elſe; as the moſt of thoſe things indifferent which the Heathens did to the ſeruice of their falſe Gods; which another in heart condemning their idolatrie, could not doe with them in ſhew and token of approbation, without being guiltie of ſcandall giuen. Ceremonies of this kinde are either deuiſed at the firſt vnto euill; as the Eunomian Heretiques in diſhonour of the bleſſed Trinitie, brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſſe the cuſtome of the Church, which in Baptiſme did it thriſe: or elſe hauing

Matth.18.6.

1.Pet.2.8.

2.Sam.12.14.
Rom.2.24.
Ezech.36.20.

Tertul.lib.de virgin.veland.

ning had a profitable vſe, they are afterwards interpreted and wreſted to the contrary; as thoſe heretiques which held the Trinity to be three diſtinct not perſons but natures, abuſed the ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptiſme vnto the ſtrengthning of their hereſie. The element of water is in Baptiſme neceſſary: once to lay it on or twiſe is indifferent. For which cauſe *Gregory* making mention thereof, ſaith, *To diue an infant either thrice or but once in Baptiſme, can be no way a thing reproueable, ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinity of perſons: and in one, the vnity of Godhead may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two ceremonies, neither being hurtfull in it ſelfe, both may ſerue vnto good purpoſe; yet one was deuiſed, and the other conuerted vnto euill. Now whereas in the Church of *Rome* certaine ceremonies are ſaid to haue beene ſhamefully abuſed vnto euill, as the ceremony of croſſing at Baptiſme, of kneeling at the Euchariſt, of vſing Wafer-cakes, and ſuch like; the queſtion is, whether for remedy of that euill wherein ſuch ceremonies haue beene ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill vnto ſome euen amongſt our ſelues, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirme in that former errour whereto they ſerued in times paſt, they are of neceſſity to be remoued. Are theſe or any other ceremonies we haue common with the Church of *Rome*, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man obiecteth. Are any ſuch, as haue beene polluted from their very birth, and inſtituted euen at the firſt vnto that thing which is euill? That which hath beene ordeyned impiouſly at the firſt, may weare out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the vſe thereof may ſtand without offence. The names of our monethes and of our dayes, wee are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonour vnto God they are ſaid to haue beene deuiſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectuall to ſtirre hatred, then that which ſometime the auncient Fathers in this caſe ſpeake? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in vſe throughout Chriſtendome, without hurt or ſcandall to any. Cleare and manifeſt it is; that things deuiſed by Heretiques, yea deuiſed of a very hereticall purpoſe euen againſt religion, and at their firſt deuiſing worthy to haue beene withſtood, may in time grow meete to be kept; as that cuſtome, the inuentors wherof were the Eunomian Heretiques. So that cuſtomes once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long vſe, being preſently without harme, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our ceremonies, which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to auouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, then vnto good; yea ſo vſed at the firſt. It followeth then that they all are ſuch, as hauing ſerued to good purpoſe, were afterward conuerted vnto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as obiected againſt vs, that we reteine together with them the euill, wherwith they haue been infected in the Church of *Rome*: I would demand who they are whom we ſcandalize by vſing harmles things vnto that good end for which they were firſt inſtituted. Amongſt our ſelues that agree in the approbation of this kinde of good vſe, no man will ſay that one of vs is offenſiue and ſcandalous vnto another.

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

Hom. 11. de Paſch. Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occæcauerat; vt Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurij, Iouis, Veneris, Saturni, & diuerſis elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. Beda de ratione temp. cap. 4. Octauus dies idem primus eſt, ad quem redditur, indeq; rurſus hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna corpus, à Marte ſanguinem, à Mercurio ingenium & linguam, à Ioue temperantiam, à Venere voluptatem, à Saturno tarditatem. Iſid. Hiſp. lib. 5. Etymol. ca. 30. Dies dicti à Dijs, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacrauerunt.

As

As for the fauourers of the Church of *Rome*, they know how farre we herein differ and diſſent from them; which thing neyther we conceale; and they by their publike writings alſo profeſſe daily how much it grieueth them: ſo that of them there will not many riſe vp againſt vs, as witneſſes vnto the inditement of ſcandall, whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as hauing ſtrengthned them in that euill wherewith they pollute themſelues in the vſe of the ſame ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand the Church of *England* herein, and hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiently ſeeme to hate *Rome*, they (I hope) are farre enough from being by this meane drawne to any kinde of Popiſh errour. The multitude therefore of them, vnto whom we are ſcandalous through the vſe of abuſed ceremonies, is not ſo apparent, that it can iuſtly be ſaid in generall of any one ſort of men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it be ſo that now or then ſome few are eſpied, who hauing beene accuſtomed heretofore to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, are not ſo ſcowred of their former ruſt, as to forſake their auncient perſwaſion w^ch they haue had, howſoeuer they frame themſelues to outward obedience of lawes & orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our ceremonies, and ſo take them as though they were in euery ſort the ſame they haue bin, ſhal this be thought a reaſon ſufficient wheron to conclude, that ſome law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh all ſuch ceremonies? They anſwer that there is no law of God which doth binde vs to reteine them. And S^t. *Pauls* rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtaine, we ſhould frame the vſage of our liberty with regard to the weakeneſſe and imbecillity of our brethren. Wherefore vnto them which ſtood vpon their owne defence, ſaying, *All things are lawfull vnto me*; hee replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are cleane, all meates are lawfull; but euill vnto that man that eateth offenſiuely. If for thy meates ſake thy brother be grieued, thou walkeſt no longer according to charity. Deſtroy not him with thy meate for whom Chriſt dyed. Diſſolue not for foodes ſake the worke of God. We that are ſtrong muſt beare the imbecillities of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelues. It was a weakeneſſe in the Chriſtian Iewes, and a maime of iudgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meates, which themſelues were affraid to touch for feare of tranſgreſſing the law of *Moſes*; yea hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianitie, then endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no conſcience of that which was vnto them abhominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weake by meats, and of diſſoluing the worke of God, which was his Church, a part of the liuing ſtones whereof were beleeuing Iewes. Now thoſe weake brethren before mentioned are ſaid to be as the Iewes were, and our ceremonies which haue beene abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, to be as the ſcandalous meates from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtaine in the preſence of Iewes, for feare of auerting them from Chriſtian faith. Therefore as charity did binde them to refraine from that for their brethens ſake, which otherwiſe was lawful enough for them; ſo it bindeth vs for our brethrens ſake likewiſe to aboliſh ſuch ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retaine them. But betweene theſe two caſes there are great odds. For neither are our weake brethren as the Iewes, nor the

1. Cor. 6. 12.

Rom. 14.
Rom. 15. 1.

the ceremonies which we vſe as the meats which the Gentiles vſed. The Iewes were knowne to be generally weake in that reſpect; wheras contrariwiſe the imbecillity of ours is not common vnto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity that our practiſe ſhould frame it ſelfe by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Againe their vſe of meates was not like vnto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of priuate action in common life, where euery man was free to order that which himſelfe did; but this a publike conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: and we are not to looke that the Church ſhould change her publike laws and ordinances, made according to that which is iudged ordinarily and commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chance that for ſome particular men the ſame be found inconuenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconueniences. In this caſe therefore where any priuate harme doth grow, we are not to reiect inſtruction, as being an vnmeet plaſter to apply vnto it; neither can we ſay that he which appointeth teachers for Phyſitians in this kind of euill, is as if a man *would ſet one to watch a child all day long leſt he ſhould hurt himſelf with a knife, wher as by taking away the knife from him, the danger is auoyded, and the ſeruice of the man better imployed.* For a knife may be taken away from a childe, without depriuing them of the benefit thereof which haue yeares and diſcretion to vſe it. But the ceremonies which children doe abuſe, if we remoue quite and cleane, as it is by ſome required that wee ſhould; then are they not taken from children onely, but from others alſo; which is as though becauſe children may perhaps hurt themſelues with kniues, we ſhould conclude, that therefore the vſe of kniues is to be taken quite and cleane euen from men alſo. Thoſe particular ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhal in the next book haue occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publike duties of the Church wherunto each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch reaſons to be examined as haue at any time beene brought eyther againſt the one or the other. In the meane while againſt the conueniencie of curing ſuch euils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is that they ſhould obiect the multitude of other neceſſary matters, wherein Preachers may better beſtow their time, then in giuing men warning not to abuſe ceremonies; a wonder it is that they ſhould obiect this, which haue ſo many yeares together troubled the Church with quarels concerning theſe things, and are euen to this very houre ſo earneſt in them, that if they write or ſpeake publiquely but fiue wordes, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of England in reſpect of abuſed ceremonies. How much happier had it beene for this whole Church, if they which haue raiſed contention therein about the abuſe of rites and ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeede ſtore of matters fitter and better a great deale for teachers to ſpend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement aſſeuerations, more then through any ſuch experience which we haue had of our owne, that we are enforced to thinke it poſſible for one or other now and then, at leaſtwiſe

Vide Harmenop. l. 1. tit. 1. §. 28.

T.C.l. 3. p. 178.

T.C.l. 3. p. 177 It is not ſo conuenient that the Miniſter hauing ſo many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, ſhould be driuen to ſpend it in giuing warning of not abuſing them, of which (although they were vſed to the beſt) there is no profite.

wise in the prime of the reformation of our Church, to haue ſtumbled at ſome kinde of ceremonies. Wherein for as much as we are contented to take this vpon their credite, and to thinke it may be; ſith alſo they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a ſnare to their ſoules, that are at any time taken therein, they muſt giue our teachers leaue for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules (be they neuer ſo few) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, admonition concerning theſe not vnneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yealde this leaue, conſidering that hereunto we ſhall not neede to vſe the hundreth part of that time, which themſelues thinke very needefull to beſtow in making moſt bitter inuectiues againſt the ceremonies of the Church.

Our ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches reformed before ours haue caſt out thoſe things, which we notwithſtanding their example to the contrary do reteine ſtill.

13 But to come to the laſt point of all, the Church of England is grieuouſly charged with forgetfulneſſe of her duety, which duety had beene to frame her ſelfe vnto the paterne of their example, that went before her in the worke of reformation. For *as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt vnlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent ceremonies: ſo they ought to be moſt like one vnto another, and for preſeruation of vnity to haue as much as poſſible may be all the ſame ceremonies. And therfore S.* Paul *to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, That they ſhould make their gatherings for the poore vpon the firſt day of the Saboth (which is our Sunday) alleged this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Againe, *as children of one father and ſeruants of one family, ſo al Churches ſhould not only haue one diet in that they haue one word, but alſo weare as it were one liuery in vſing the ſame ceremonies.* Thirdly, *this rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, when it ordained, that where ceremonies ſhould pray ſtanding; the reaſon whereof is added, which is, that one cuſtome ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diuerſity of ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: but yet it maketh moſt to the auoyding of diſſention, that there be amongſt them an vnity, not onely in doctrine, but alſo in ceremonies. And therefore our form of ſeruice is to be amended, not only for that it commeth too neare that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the reformed Churches.* Being asked to what Churches ours ſhould conforme it ſelfe, and why other reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelues to ours; their anſwere is, *That if there be any ceremonies which we haue better then others, they ought to frame themſelues to vs: if they haue better then we, then we ought to frame our ſelues to them: if the ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the firſt, as the yonger daughter to the elder. For as S.* Paul *in the members, where al other things are equall, noteth it for a marke of honor aboue the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel: ſo is it for the ſame cauſe amongſt the Churches. And in this reſpect he preacheth the Corinths, that not being the firſt which receiued the Goſpel, yet they would haue their ſeuer all manners from other Churches. Moreouer where the ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themſelues vnto the moe. For as much therfore as all the Churches (ſo farre as they know which pleade after this manner) of our confeſſion in doctrine, agree in the abrogation of diuers things which we reteine: our Churche ought either to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that, which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.*

T.C.l.1.p.133.

1.Cor.16.1.

Can.20. The Canon of that Councell which is here cyted, doth prouide againſt kneeling at prayer on Sundaies, or for fifty dayes after Eaſter on any day, and not at the feaſt of Pentecoſt onely.

T.C.l.3.p.182. 183.

Rom.16.5.7.

1.Cor.14.37.

In

In this axiome that preſeruation of peace & vnity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good means procured, we ioyne moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither denie we but that to the auoyding of diſſention it auaileth much, that there be amongſt them an vnity as wel in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is about the maner of their vnity, how farre Churches are bound to be vniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they haue ſet downe is; that in ceremonies indifferent all Churches ought to be one of them vnto another as like as *poſsibly* they may be. Which *poſsibly* we cannot otherwiſe conſter, then that it doth require them to be euen as like as they may be, without breaking any poſitiue ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we ſpeake, being matter of poſitiue law; they are indifferent, if God haue neither himſelfe commanded nor forbidden them, but left them vnto the Churches diſcretion. So that if as great vniformity be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greateſt vnto the leaſt they muſt be in euery Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meere impoſſibility of ſo hauing it be the hindrance. To vs this opinion ſeemeth ouer extreme and violent: we rather incline to thinke it a iuſt & reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the ſtate wherof is free and independent if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not iudge it ſo fit and expedient to be framed therein by the paterne of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed then they. That of *Gregory* vnto *Leander* is a charitable ſpeech and a peaceable; *In vnâ fide nil officit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diuerſa, Where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in cuſtomes of the Church doth no harme.* That of S^t. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomwhat particular, and toucheth what kinde of ceremonies they are, wherin one Church may vary from the example of another without hurt; *Let the faith of the whole Church how wide ſoeuer it haue ſpread it ſelfe, be alwayes one, although the vnity of beliefe be famous for variety of certaine ordinances, whereby that which is rightly beleeued ſuffereth no kind of let or impediment.* *Reſpon. ad Mediol.* *Caluin* goeth further, *As concerning rites in particular let the ſentence of* Auguſtine *take place, which leaueth it free vnto all Churches to receiue their owne cuſtome. Yea ſometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference, leſt men ſhould thinke that Religion is tyed to outward ceremonies. Alwaies prouided that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches delighted with nouelty affect to haue that which others haue not.* They which grant it true that the diuerſitie of Ceremonies in this kind ought not to cauſe diſſention in Churches, muſt eyther acknowledge that they graunt in effect nothing by theſe words; or if any thing be graunted, there muſt as much be yeelded vnto, as we affirme againſt their former ſtrict aſſertion. For if Churches be vrged by way of dutie to take ſuch ceremonies as they like not of; how can diſſention be auoyded? Will they ſay that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe ſuch as are vrged ought to like of that whereunto they are vrged? If they ſay this, they ſay iuſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be vrged of duety, by ſuch as haue no authoritie or power ouer it, vnto thoſe things which being indifferent it is not of duety bound vnto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe that which Churches are not bound vnto, no man ought by way of duty to vrge vppon them; and if any man doe, hee ſtandeth in the ſight both of

God and men moſt iuſtly blameable, as a needles diſturber of the peace of Gods Church, and an authour of diſſention? In ſaying this they both condemne their owne practiſe, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of duety in theſe things, and they ouerthrow the ground of their practiſe, which is, that there ought to be in all kinde of ceremonies vniformity, vnleſſe impoſſibility hinder it. For proofe whereof it is not enough to alleage what S. *Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noble men doe in the liueries of their ſeruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of prayer on certaine dayes: becauſe though S^t. *Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth euery man to lay vp ſomewhat by him vpon the Sunday, and to reſerue it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come hither to ſend it vnto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the poore there; ſignifying withall that he had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which he yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his wordes are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (he meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I haue giuen order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe doe ye*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that is, in euery firſt of the weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerue according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by letters to carrie your beneficence vnto Ieruſalem.* Out of which wordes to conclude the duety of vniformity throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore beſt to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it ſome kinde of countenance more then the next of liuery coats affoordeth them. For neither is it any mans duety to cloth all his children, or all his ſeruants with one weede; nor theirs to cloath themſelues ſo, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as theſe ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like diuers families, then like diuers ſeruants of one family; becauſe euery Church, the ſtate whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for it ſelfe in things indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather inferre, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in Friers gray, for that another doth weare clay-colour; ſo neyther are all Churches bound to the ſelfe ſame indifferent ceremonies which it liketh ſundry to vſe. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weigh it well. The auncient vſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendome was, for fifty dayes after Eaſter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them which is Whitſunday be ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole yeare their manner was to ſtand at prayer, whereupon their meetings vnto that purpoſe on thoſe dayes had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which cuſtome *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with vs thought fit eyther to faſt on the Lords day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunity from faſting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the*

Feaſts

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. And therefore S. *Paul* to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the poore vpon the firſt day of the Saboth, (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.

1. *Cor.* 16. 1.

*T.C.l.*3.*p.*133. So that as children of one father, and ſeruants of one maſter, he will haue all the Churches not only haue one diet in that they haue one word, but alſo weare as it were one liuery in vſing the ſame ceremonies.

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. This rule did the great councell of Nice follow, &c.

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, & ieiunium ſoluere. De Cor. Militis.

Feaſts of Eaſter and Pentecoſt. This being therefore an order generally receiued in the Church; when ſome began to be ſingular and different from all others, and that in a ceremony which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale: the Councell of Nice thought good to incloſe them againe with the reſt, by a law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certaine which will needes kneele at the time of prayer on the Lords day, and in the fiftie dayes after Eaſter, the holy Synode iudging it meet that a conuenient cuſtome be obſerued throughout all Churches, hath decreede, that ſtanding we make our prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the ſame if any part doe wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrayled againe by that generall authority whereunto each particular is ſubiect, and that the ſpirit of ſingularity in a few ought to giue place vnto publique iudgement; this doth clearely enough appeare: but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in euery indifferent ceremonie to be vniforme; becauſe where the whole hath not tyed the parts vnto one and the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their owne choyce, may eyther do, as other doe or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of duety at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath beene heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould be vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to paſſe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath beene iudged, that ſeeing the law of God doth not preſcribe all particular ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may vſe, and in ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible that the law of nature and reaſon ſhould direct all Churches vnto the ſame things, each deliberating by it ſelfe what is moſt conuenient: the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all, muſt needes be the iudgement of ſome iudiciall authority drawne into one onely ſentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authority ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath beene alwayes followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way, namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet downe in the aſſembly of ſome generall councell. But to maintaine that all Chriſtian Churches ought for vnities ſake to be vniforme in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſſe muſt be by mutuall imitation, ſo that where we haue better ceremonies then others, they ſhall be bound to follow vs, and we them where theirs are better: how ſhould we thinke it agreeable and conſonant vnto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature there is ſuch variety of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better, which another Church ledde by other inducements iudgeth to be worſe: (For example, the Eaſt Church did thinke it better to keepe Eaſter day after the manet of the Iews, the Weſt Church better to do otherwiſe; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worſe to vſe vnleauened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latine Church leauened: one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receiue the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable motiues as well as on the other:) vnleſſe they adde ſomwhat elſe to define more certainely what ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort that all

Churches in the world ſhall know them to be the beſt, and ſo know them that there may not remaine any queſtion about this point, we are not a whit the neerer for that they haue hitherto ſaid. They themſelues although reſolued in their owne iudgements what ceremonies are beſt, the foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted vnto, be not all ſo clearely and ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are or may be at leaſtwiſe when all things are well conſidered as good, knew not which way ſmoothly to ridde their hands of this matter, without prouiding ſome more certaine rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of vniformity in ceremonies, when there are diuers kindes of equall goodneſſe; and therefore in this caſe they ſay, that the later Churches and the fewer ſhould conforme themſelues vnto the elder and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the reformed Churches (ſo farre as they know) which are of our confeſſion in doctrine, haue agreed already in the abrogation of diuers things which wee reteine: our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault for not conforming her ſelfe to thoſe Churches, in that which ſhe cannot denie to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe which were firſt reformed) they bring the compariſon of younger daughters conforming themſelues in attire to the example of their elder ſiſters; wherein there is iuſt as much ſtrength of reaſon as in the liuery coates before mentioned. S^t. *Paul* they ſay, noteth it for a marke of ſpeciall honour, that *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all *Achaia* which did embrace the Chriſtian faith; after the ſame ſort he toucheth it alſo as a ſpeciall preeminence of *Iunias* and *Andronicus*, that in Chriſtianity they were his auncients; the *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demaund, *Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man ſhould thinke that alacrity and forwardnes in good things doth adde nothing vnto mens commendation; the two former ſpeeches of S^t. *Paul* might leade him to reforme his iudgement. In like ſort to take downe the ſtomacke of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to ſet all others to ſchoole, there can be nothing more fit then ſome ſuch wordes as the Apoſtles third ſentence doth conteine; wherein hee teacheth the Church of *Corinth* to know, that there was no ſuch great oddes betweene them and the reſt of their brethren, that they ſhould thinke themſelues to be gold, and the reſt to be but copper. He therefore vſeth ſpeech vnto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt there both were before you, and are beſides you in the world; ye neither are the fountain from which firſt, nor yet the riuer into which alone the word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all *Achaia*, ſo *Corinth* had beene the firſt Church in the whole world that receiued Chriſt: the Apoſtle doth not ſhew that in any kind of things indifferent whatſoeuer, this ſhould haue made their example a law vnto all others. Indeed the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtill as hauing the force of an example onely, and not of a law. They are effectuall to moue any Church, vnleſſe ſome greater thing do hinder; but they binde none, no not though they be many; ſauing onely when they are the maior part of a generall aſſembly, and then their voyces being moe in number muſt ouer-ſway their iudgements who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater halfe is the whole.

T.C.l.3.p.183. If the ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the firſt, &c. And againe, The fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the moe.

Rom.16.5.

1.Cor.14.36.

whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle each of them by it ſelfe; their number can purchaſe them no ſuch authority, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquiſh as good ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weake premiſſes, that the reteining of diuers things in the Church of England, which other reformed Churches haue caſt out, muſt needs argue that we doe not well, vnleſſe we can ſhew that they haue done ill; what needed this wreſt to draw out from vs an accuſation of forraine Churches? It is not proued as yet that if they haue done well, our duety is to follow them, and to forſake our owne courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for vs euery way, as theirs for them. And if the prooſes alleaged for conformation hereof had beene ſound, yet ſeeing they leade no further then onely to ſhew, that where we can haue no better ceremonies theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſty thinke themſelues to haue found out abſolutely the beſt which the wit of men may deuiſe, ſo liking their owne ſomewhat better then other mens, euen becauſe they are their owne, they muſt in equity allow vs to be like vnto them in this affection; which if they doe, they eaſe vs of that vncourteous burden, whereby we are charged eyther to condemne them, or elſe to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our owne wayes already be better. And if our owne be but equall, the law of common indulgence alloweth vs to thinke them at the leaſt halfe a thought the better, becauſe they are our owne; which we may very well do, and neuer draw any inditement at all againſt theirs, but thinke commendably euen of them alſo.

T.C.l.3.p.183. Our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.

14 To leaue reformed Churches therefore and their actions for him to iudge of, in whoſe ſight they are as they are, and our deſire is that they may euen in his ſight be found ſuch, as we ought to endeuour by all meanes that our owne may likewiſe be: ſomewhat we are enforced to ſpeake by way of ſimple declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in theſe affairs; to the end that men whoſe minds are free from thoſe partial conſtructions, wherby the only name of difference from ſome other Churches is thought cauſe ſufficient to condemne ours, may the better diſcerne whether that we haue done be reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her receiued lawes concerning ſuch orders, rites and ceremonies, as had beene in former times an hinderance vnto piety and religious ſeruice of GOD, was to enter into conſideration firſt, that the change of lawes, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt be warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behoofefull vnto men, proueth oftentimes moſt pernicious. The wiſedome which is learned by tract of time, findeth the lawes that haue beene in former ages eſtabliſht, needefull in later to be abrogated. Beſides, that which ſometime is expedient, doth not alwayes ſo continue: and the number of needeleſſe lawes vnabroliſht, doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſary. But true withall it is, that alteration though it be from worſe to better, hath in it inconueniences and thoſe waighty; vnleſſe it be in ſuch lawes as haue beene made vpon ſpeciall occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, lawes of that kinde doe abrogate themſelues. But when we abrogate a law as being ill made, the

A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for eſtabliſhment of things as they are.

the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remayning; do we not herein reuoke our very owne deede, and vpbraid our ſelues with folly, yea all that were makers of it with ouer-ſight and with errour? Further if it be a law which the cuſtome and continuall practiſe of many ages or yeares hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it muſt needes be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt, whether any thing be in it ſelfe by nature eyther good or euill, and not all things rather ſuch as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold euen thoſe things diſproued, diſanulled, reiected, which vſe had made in a manner naturall. What haue we to induce men vnto the willing obedience and obſeruation of lawes, but the waight of ſo many mens iudgement, as haue with deliberate aduice aſſented thereunto; the waight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch law, muſt needes with the common ſort impaire and weaken the force of thoſe grounds, whereby all lawes are made effectuall. Notwithſtanding we doe not denie alteration of lawes to be ſometimes a thing neceſſary; as when they are vnnaturall, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtfull vnto the publique community of men, and againſt that good for which humane ſocieties were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Sauiour were ordained to alter the lawes of Heatheniſh Religion receiued throughout the whole world; choſen I graunt they were (*Paul* excepted) the reſt ignorant, poore, ſimple, vnſchooled altogether and vnlettered men: howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghoſtly wiſedome from aboue before they euer vndertooke this enterpriſe, yea their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainely appeare that they were the Lords Ambaſſadours, vnto whoſe Soueraigne power for all fleſh to ſtoope, for all the Kingdomes of the earth to yeeld themſelues willingly conformable in whatſoeuer ſhould be required, it was their duety. In this caſe therefore their oppoſitions in maintenance of publique ſuperſtition againſt Apoſtolique endeauours, as that they might not condemne the wayes of their auncient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keepe *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from age to age had deſcended, that the ceremonies of Religion had beene euer accounted by ſo much holyer as elder, theſe and the like allegations in this caſe were vaine and friuolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of ſuch lawes as haue beene ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the euidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we haue neither voyce from heauen that ſo pronounceth of them; neyther ſentence of men grounded vpon ſuch manifeſt and cleare proofe, that they in whoſe hands it is to alter them may likewiſe infallibly euen in heart and conſcience iudge them ſo; vpon neceſſity to vrge alteration is to trouble and diſturbe without neceſſity. As for arbitrary alterations, when lawes in themſelues not ſimply bad or vnmeete are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deuiſed be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtome of eaſineſſe to alter and change is ſo euill, no doubt but to beare a tolerable ſore is better then to venter on a dangerous remedy. Which being generally thought vpon, as a matter that touched neerely their whole enterpriſe; whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receiue by a number of things then in vſe,

vſe, wherupon a great deale of that which had bin was now to be taken away and remoued out of the Church; yet ſith there are diuers waies of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort be extinguiſhed without danger, leauing the reſt to be aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure therof, rites and ceremonies, and other externall things of like nature being hurtfull vnto the Church, eyther in reſpect of their quality, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what ſhould be done, their deliberation in the later was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did reſolue to remoue only ſuch things of that kind as the Church might beſt ſpare, reteyning the reſidue; their whole counſell is in this point vtterly condemned, as hauing eyther proceeded from the blindnes of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that ſuch things might be tollerated for a while, or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeeme moſt fauourable are content to thinke it poſſible) from a purpoſe *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts vnto the Goſpell*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeeme peace therby, the breach whereof they might feare would enſue vpon more thorow alteration*, or howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the thing they did is iudged euil. But ſuch is the lot of al that deale in publike affairs whether of Church or Common-wealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings be it good or ill, they muſt before hand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherefore to let go priuate ſurmiſes, whereby the thing in it ſelfe is not made eyther better or worſe; if iuſt and allowable reaſons might leade them to do as they did, then are al theſe cenſures fruſtrate. Touching ceremonies harmeles therſore in themſelues, and hurtful only in reſpect of number: was it amiſſe to decree, that thoſe things which were leaſt needfull & newlieſt come ſhold be the firſt that were taken away, as in the abrogating of a number of Saints daies and of other the like cuſtomes it appeareth they did, till afterwards the forme of common prayer being perfited, Articles of ſound Religion and Diſcipline agreed vpon, Catechiſmes framed for the needfull inſtruction of youth, Churches purged of things that indeede were burthenſome to the people, or to the ſimple offenſiue and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length vnto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſſe, that hauing this way eaſed the Church as they thought of ſuperfluity, they went not on till they had pluckt vp euen thoſe things alſo, which had taken a great deale ſtronger and deeper roote; thoſe things which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harme thereby ariſing, had been to alter vnneceſſarily (in their iudgements) the auncient receiued cuſtome of the whole Church, the vniuerſall practiſe of the people of God, and thoſe very decrees of our fathers, which were not only ſet downe by agreement of generall councels, but had accordingly bin put in vre, and ſo continued in vſe till that very time preſent? True it is that neither Councels nor cuſtomes, be they neuer ſo ancient and ſo generall, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtfull to be retained. Where things haue beene inſtituted, which being conuenient and good at the firſt, doe afterwards in proceſſe of time waxe otherwiſe; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea though councels or cuſtomes generall haue receiued them. And therefore it is but a needleſſe kinde

T.C.l.2.p.29. It may well be their purpoſe was by that temper of Poꝑiſh ceremonies with the Goſpell, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpell, &c. partly to redeeme peace thereby.

T.C.lib.3.p.33.

T.C.l.3.p.30. kind of oppoſition which they make who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerued of the Church, which is the cuſtome of the people of God and decree of our forefathers; then how can theſe things at any time be varied*, which heretofore haue bin once ordained in ſuch ſort? Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordained are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily any longer, then till there grow ſome vrgent cauſe to ordaine the contrary. For there is not any poſitiue law of men, whether it be generall or particular, receiued by formall expreſſe conſent, as in Councels; or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtomes it commeth to paſſe, but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerue. Euen as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like ſort generally vnkept and aboliſhed euery where. Notwithſtanding till ſuch things be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the iudgement of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, that Of things harmeleſſe whatſoeuer there is, which the whole Church doth obſerue throughout the world, to argue for any mans immunitie from obſeruing the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madnes. And ſurely odious it muſt needs haue been for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had receiued and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment vnto Religion ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of vnpartial men appeare ſufficient to cleare them from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in feruor of zeale they had remoued ſuch things. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herein vſed, hath freed vs from being deſeruedly ſubiect vnto that bitter kind of obloquy, wherby as the Church of Rome doth vnder the colour of loue towards thoſe things which be harmeleſſe, maintaine extremely moſt hurtfull corruptions; ſo we peraduenture might be vpbraided that vnder colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extreme, euen againſt moſt harmeleſſe ordinances. And as they are obſtinate to retaine that, which no man of any conſcience is able well to defend: ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to teare away that, which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our conſciences would ſtorme and repine thereat. The Romanes hauing baniſhed *Tarquinius* the proude, and taken a ſolemne oath that they neuer would permit any man more to reigne, could not herewith content themſelues, or thinke that tyrannie was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driuen one of their Conſuls to depart the Citie, againſt whom they found not in the world what to obiect, ſauing onely that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Common-wealth could not ſeeme to haue recouered perfect freedome, as long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to haue done the like, in caſting out Papall tyrannie and ſuperſtition, to haue ſhewed greater willingnes of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turke Chriſts profeſſed enemy, then of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of Rome approueth: to haue left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth giue vnto things innocent: to haue ejected whatſoeuer that Church doth make account of, be it neuer ſo harmeleſſe in it ſelfe, and of neuer ſo auncient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, then onely that it hath beene the hap thereof to be vſed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kinde of proceeding might happily haue pleaſed ſome few men, who hauing begunne ſuch a courſe themſelues,

Aug. Ep.118.

T.C.l.1.p.131. For indeed it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neare.

ſelues, muſt needes be glad to ſee their example followed by vs. But the Almighty which giueth wiſedome and inſpireth with right vnderſtanding whomſoeuer it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which mans wit had neuer beene able to reach vnto, namely what Tragedies the attempt of ſo extreme alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian world, did for the endleſſe good of his Church (as we cannot chuſe but interpret it) vſe the bridle of his prouident reſtrayning hand, to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution vpon a courſe more calme and moderate; leaſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing dominions it hath ſince fallen out, ſo likewiſe if in ours it had come to paſſe, that the aduerſe parte being enraged, and betaking it ſelfe to ſuch practiſes as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope left to ſee any other end, then onely the vtter oppreſſion and cleane extinguiſhment of one ſide; by this meane Chriſtendome flaming in all parts of greateſt importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutuall reliefe, whereby they are now for the time ſuſteyned, (and not the leaſt by this our Church which they ſo much impeach) till mutuall combuſtious bloudſheds and waſtes (becauſe no other inducement will ſerue) may enforce them through very faintneſſe, after the experience of ſo endleſſe miſeries, to enter on al ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation, as may tend to the beſt re-eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Ieſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good whereof it cannot but ſerue as a profitable direction, to teach men what is moſt likely to proue auailable, when they ſhall quietly conſider the tryall that hath beene thus long had of both kindes of reformation, as well this moderate kinde which the Churche of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certaine Churches elſewhere haue better liked. In the meane while it may be, that ſuſpence of iudgement and exerciſe of charity were ſafer and ſeemelier for Chriſtian men, then the hote purſuite of theſe controuerſies, wherein they that are more feruent to diſpute, be not alwayes the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide and who againſt him, our Lord in his good time ſhall reueale. And ſith thus farre we haue proceeded in opening the things that haue beene done, let not the principall doers themſelues be forgotten. When the ruines of the houſe of God (that houſe which conſiſting of religious ſoules is moſt immediatly the pretious temple of the holy Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world ſo exceeding great, that very ſuperſtition began euen to feele it ſelfe too farre growne: the firſt that with vs made way to repaire the decayes thereof by beheading ſuperſtition, was King *Henry* the eight. The ſonne and ſucceſſor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: in whom (for ſo by the euent we may gather) it pleaſed God righteous and iuſt to let *England* ſee, what a bleſſing ſinne and iniquity would not ſuffer it to enioy. Howbeit that which the wiſe man hath ſaid concerning *Enoch* (whoſe dayes were, though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarſe as three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whom he liued) the ſame to that admirable childe moſt worthily may be applied, *Though he departed this world ſoone, yet fulfilled he much time.* But what enſued? That worke, which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo farre proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo ouerthrowne, as if almoſt it had neuer

uer beene: till ſuch time as that God, whoſe property is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neereſt to be vtterly deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darkeneſſe a moſt glorious ſtarre to ariſe, and on her head ſetled the Crowne, whom himſelfe had kept as a lambe from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloudy times, that the experience of his goodneſſe in her owne deliuerance, might cauſe her mercifull diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſauing others, whom the like neceſſity ſhould preſſe. What in this behalfe hath beene done towards nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendome moſt afflicted can beſt teſtifie. That which eſpecially concerneth our ſelues in the preſent matter we treat of, is the ſtate of reformed religion, a thing at her comming to the crowne euen raiſed as it were by miracle from the dead, a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that euen they which beheld it done, ſcarcely beleeued their owne ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſſe, thus many yeares it hath continued, ſtanding by no other worldly meane but that one onely hand which erected it, that hand which as no kinde of imminent danger could cauſe at the firſt to with-hold it ſelfe, ſo neither haue the practiſes ſo many ſo bloudy following ſince beene euer able to make weary. Nor can we ſay in this caſe ſo iuſtly, that *Aaron* and *Hur* the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill ſtates haue ſuſtained the hand which did lift it ſelfe to heauen for them; as that heauen it ſelfe hath by this hand ſuſtained them, no aide or helpe hauing thereunto beene miniſtred for performance of the worke of reformation, other then ſuch kinde of helpe or aide as the Angell in the Prophet *Zacharie* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neyther by an army nor ſtrength, but by my ſpirit ſaith the Lord of Hoſtes.* Which grace and fauour of diuine aſſiſtance, hauing not in one thing or two ſhewed it ſelfe, nor for ſome few daies or yeares appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſinnes and tranſgreſſions ſtriuing to the contrary; what can we leſſe thereupon conclude, then that God would at leaſtwiſe by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth, ſo ſtrangely, cannot chooſe but be of him? Wherefore if any refuſe to beleeue vs diſputing for the verity of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them beleeue God himſelfe thus miraculouſly working for it, and wiſh life euen for euer and euer vnto that glorious and ſacred inſtrument whereby he worketh.

FINIS.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE,

The fifth Booke,

By RICHARD HOOKER.



LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby*, and are to bee sold by *Matthew Lownes* at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard.

Anno Dom. 1611.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE Lord Archbiſhop of Canterburie his *Grace, Primate and Metropolitane* of all ENGLAND.

MOST Reuerend in Chriſt, the long continued and more then ordinarie fauour which hitherto your Grace hath beene pleaſed to ſhew towards me, may iuſtly claime at my hands ſome thankefull acknowledgement thereof. In which conſideration, as alſo for that I imbrace willingly the auncient receiued courſe and conueniencie of that Diſcipline which teacheth inferiour degrees and orders in the Church of God to ſubmit their writings to the ſame authoritie from which their allowable dealings whatſoeuer in ſuch affaires muſt receiue approbation, I nothing feare but that your accuſtomed clemencie will take in good worth the offer of theſe my ſimple and meane labours beſtowed for the neceſſarie iuſtification of lawes heretofore made queſtionable, becauſe as I take it they were not perfectly vnderſtoode. For ſurely I cannot

finde any great cauſe of iuſt complaint that good lawes haue ſo much beene wanting vnto vs as we to them. To ſeeke reformation of euill lawes is a commendable endeuour, but for vs the more neceſſarie is a ſpeedie redreſſe of our ſelues. We haue on all ſides loſt much of our firſt feruency towards God; and therefore concerning our owne degenerated waies we haue reaſon to exhort with S. Gregorie ἀνάμνησιν ποιώμεθα, Let vs returne againe vnto that which wee ſometime were: but touching the exchange of lawes in practiſe with lawes in deuiſe, which they ſay are better for the ſtate of the Church if they might take place, the farther wee examine them the greater cauſe wee finde to conclude μένομεν ὅ ἐσμεν, although we continue the ſame we are, the harme is not great. Theſe feruent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publique authoritie are alwayes confident and bolde ſpirited men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from error. The errors which we ſeeke to reforme in this kinde of men are ſuch as both receiued at your owne hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent haue bene proceeded in with that moderation which vſeth by patience to ſuppreſſe boldnes, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherin conſidering the nature and kinde of theſe controuerſies, the dangerous ſequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many waies we haue bene thereby taught wiſdome, I may boldly auerre concerning the firſt, that as the waightieſt conflictes the CHVRCH hath had, were thoſe which touched the head, the perſon of our SAVIOVR CHRIST, and the next of importance thoſe queſtions which are at this day betweene vs and the Church of Rome

Greg. Naz.

about

about the actions of the body of the Church of God, ſo theſe which haue laſtly ſproong vp for complements, rites and ceremonies of Church actions are in truth for the greateſt part ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſineſſe doth make them hard to be diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeeme to be the cauſe why diuers of the Reuerend prelacie and other moſt iudicious men haue eſpecially beſtowed their paines about the matter of iuriſdiction. Notwithſtanding led by your Graces example, my ſelfe haue thought it conuenient, to wade thorough the whole cauſe, following that method which ſearcheth the trueth by the cauſes of trueth. Now if any maruaile how a thing in it ſelfe ſo weake could import any great daunger, they muſt conſider not ſo much how ſmall the ſpark is that flieth vp, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politique being ſubiect as much as naturall to diſſolution by diuers meanes, there are vndoubtedly moe eſtates ouerthrowne through diſeaſes bred within themſelues then through violence from abroad, becauſe our manner is alwayes to caſt a doubtfull and a more ſuſpicious eye towards that ouer which we know wee haue leaſt power, and therefore the feare of externall daungers cauſeth forces at home to bee the more vnited, it is to all ſortes a kind of bridle, it maketh vertuous mindes watchfull, it holdeth contrarie diſpoſitions in ſuſpence, and it ſetteth thoſe wits on worke in better things which could bee elſe imployed in worſe; whereas on the other ſide domeſticall euils, for that we thinke wee can maſter them at all times are often permitted to runne on forward till it bee too late to recall them. In the meane while the Commonwealth is not onely through vnſoundneſſe ſo farre

impaired as thoſe euills chaunce to preuaile, but farther alſo thorough oppoſition ariſing betweene the vnſound parts and the ſound, where each endeuoureth to draw euermore contrary waies till deſtruction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To recken vp how many cauſes there are by force whereof diuiſions may grow in a Common-wealth is not here neceſſarie. Such as riſe from varietie in matter of Religion are not onely the fartheſt ſpread, becauſe in Religion all men preſume themſelues intereſſed alike; but they are alſo for the moſt parte hotlier proſecuted and purſued then other ſtrifes, for as much as coldnes which in other contentions may be thought to proceede from moderation is not in theſe ſo fauourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrell ſtriueth againſt the current and ſtreame of lawes, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to minde how errors haue their effect many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reaſon whereupon they would ſeeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is caſt towards, them and proceedeth from other cauſes. For there are diuers motiues, drawing men to fauour mightily thoſe opinions wherein their perſwaſions are but weakely ſetled: and if the paſſions of the minde be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the vnderſtanding, they make it apt to beeleeue vpon very ſclender warrant and to imagine infallible truth where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth. Thus were thoſe poore ſeduced creatures Hacquet and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeake nor thinke of but with much commiſeration and pitie; thus were they trained by faire wayes firſt accompting their owne extraordinarie loue to this Diſci-

pline

pline a token of Gods more then ordinarie loue towardes them; from hence they grew to a ſtrong conceipt that God which had moued them to loue his Diſcipline more then the common ſort of men did, might haue a purpoſe by their meanes to bring a wonderful worke to paſſe beyond all mens expectation for the aduancement of the throne of diſcipline by ſome tragicall execution, with the particularities wherof it was not ſafe for their friends to be made acquainted, of whome they did therefore but couertly demaund what they thought of extraordinary motions of the ſpirit in theſe dayes, and withall requeſt to be commended vnto God by their Prayers whatſoeuer ſhould be vndertaken by men of God in meere zeale to his glory and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this vnuſuall and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heauieſt worldly iudgements I nothing doubt but that there may lie hidden mercie, gaue them ouer to their owne inuentions and left them made in the end an example for head-ſtrong and inconſiderate zeale no leſſe fearefull, then Achitophel *for proude and irreligious wiſedome. If a ſparke of error haue thus farre preuailed falling euen where the wood was greene, and fartheſt off to all mens thinking from any inclination vnto furious attempts, muſt not the perill thereof be greater in men whoſe minds are of themſelues as drie fewell, apt before hand vnto tumults, ſeditions and broyles? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion to how deſperate aduentures men will ſtraine themſelues for reliefe of their owne part hauing law and authoritie againſt them. Furthermore let not any man thinke that in ſuch diuiſions either part can free it ſelfe from inconueniences ſuſtained not onely*

through

through a kind of truce which vertue on both ſides doth mak with vice during warre betweene truth and errour; but alſo in that there are hereby ſo fit occaſions miniſtred for men to purchaſe to themſelues wel-willers by the colour vnder which they oftentimes proſecute quarels of enuie or inueterate malice, and eſpecially becauſe contentions were as yet neuer able to preuent two euils, the one a mutuall exchange of vnſeemely and vniuſt diſgraces offered by men whoſe tongues and paſsions are out of rule, the other a common hazard of both to be made a pray by ſuch as ſtudy how to work vpon all occurrents with moſt aduantage in priuate. I denie not therefore but that our Antagoniſts in theſe controuerſies may peraduenture haue met with ſome not vnlike to Ithacius, *who mightily bending himſelfe by all meanes againſt the hereſie of* Priſcillian, *the hatred of which one euill was all the vertue he had, became ſo wiſe in the end that euery man carefull of vertuous conuerſation, ſtudious of Scripture, and giuen vnto any abſtinence in diet, was ſet downe in his Kalender of ſuſpected Priſcillianiſts for whom it ſhould be expedient to approue their ſoundneſſe of faith by a more licentious and looſe behauiour. Such Proctors and Patrons the truth might ſpare. Yet is not their groſſeneſſe ſo intolerable as on the contraie ſide the ſcurrilous and more then Satyricall immodeſtie of Martiniſme, the firſt publiſhed ſchedules whereof being brought to the hands of a graue and a very Honourable Knight, with ſignification giuen that the Booke would refreſh his ſpirits, he tooke it, ſawe what the title was, read ouer an vnſauerie ſentence or two, and deliuered backe the Libell with this anſwere,* I am ſorie you are of the minde to bee ſolaced with theſe

Sulp. Seuer. Epi. hiſt. Eccl.

ſports,

ſports, and ſorie you haue herein thought mine affection to bee like your owne. *But as theſe ſoares on all hands lie; open ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God haue bene more ſoftly and cloſly ſtriken. It being perceiued that the plot of Diſcipline did not onely bend it ſelfe to reforme ceremonies, but ſeeke farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopall iuriſdiction together with all other ornaments and meanes whereby any difference or inequalitie is vpheld in the Eccleſiaſticall order, towards this deſtructiue parte they haue found many helping hands, diuers although peraduenture not willing to bee yoked with Eldерſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to vpholde oppoſition againſt Biſhops not without greter hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſineſſe of God and her Maieſties ſeruice then otherwiſe much more waighty aduerſaries had beene able by their owne power to haue brought to paſſe. Men are naturally better contented to haue their commendable actions ſuppreſt then the contrarie much divulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoeuer, ſundrie other in the meane time may eſcape them vnperceiued; therefore if men deſirous to haue their vertues noted, doe in this reſpect grieue at the fame of others, whoſe glorie obſcureth and darkneth theirs, it cannot be choſen but that when the eares of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church, theſe tunes come alwaies moſt acceptable to them whoſe odious and corrupt dealings in ſecular affaires both paſſe by that meane the more couertly,*

and

and whatsoeuer happen doe also the leaſt feele that ſcourge of vulgar imputation which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerue. All this conſidered as behoooueth, the ſequele of dutie on our part is only that which our Lord and Sauiour requireth, harmleſſe diſcretion, the wiſedome of Serpents tempered with the innocent meeknes of doues. For this world will teach them wiſedome that haue capacitie to apprehend it. Our wiſedome in this caſe muſt be ſuch as doth not propoſe to it ſelfe τὸ ἴδιον *our own particular, the partiall and immoderate deſire whereof poiſoneth whereſoeuer it taketh place: but the ſcope and mark which we are to aime at, is* τὸ κοινὸν *the publike and common good of all, for the eaſier procurement wherof our diligence muſt ſearch out all helps and furtherances of direction which Scriptures, Councels, Fathers, Hiſtories, the lawes and practiſes of all Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obſeruations may afford, our induſtrie muſt euen anatomize euery particle of that bodie which we are to vphold ſound, & becauſe be it neuer ſo true which we teach the world to belieue, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a ſmall thing perſwadeth them to change their opinions, it behooueth that we vigilantly note and preuent by all meanes thoſe euils whereby the harts of men are loſt, which euils for the moſt part being perſonall, do arme in ſuch ſort the aduerſaries of God and his Church againſt vs, that if through our too much neglect and ſecuritie the ſame ſhould runne on, ſoone might we feele our eſtate brought to thoſe lamentable termes whereof this hard and heauie ſentence was by one of the ancients vttered vpon like occaſions,* Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, ſacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit foris diu ſtare non poterit. *But the gracious prouidence of Almightie GOD hath*

Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421

hath I truſt put theſe thornes of contradiction in our ſides, leaſt that ſhould ſteale vpon the Church in a ſlumber, which now I doubt not but through his aſſiſtance may be turned away from vs, bending thereunto our ſelues with conſtancie, conſtancie in labour to doe all men good, conſtancie in prayer vnto God for all men, her eſpecially whoſe ſacred power matched with incomparable goodneſſe of nature hath hitherto beene Gods moſt happie inſtrument by him miraculouſly kept for workes of ſo miraculous preſeruation and ſaftie vnto others; that as, By the ſword of God and Gedeon, *was ſometime the crie of the people Iſrael, ſo it might deſeruedly be at this day the ioyfull ſong of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of ſome Eſtates and Dominions in the world, and (which muſt bee eternally confeſt euen with teares of thankefulneſſe) the true inſcription, ſtile or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this Realme,* By the goodneſſe of Almightie God and his ſeruant Elizabeth we are. *That God who is able to make mortalitie immortall, giue her ſuch future continuance as may bee no leſſe glorious vnto all poſteritie then the dayes of her regiment paſt haue beene happie vnto our ſelues, and for his moſt deare annoynteds ſake graunt them all proſperitie whoſe labours, cares and counſels vnfainedly are referred to her endleſſe welfare, through his vnſpeakeable mercie vnto whome we all owe euerlaſting praiſe. In which deſire I will heere reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace to pardon my great boldneſſe, and God to multiply his bleſſings vpon them that feare his name.* *Ind.7.20.*

Your Graces in all dutie,

Richard Hooker.

Your Graces in all duties,

Richard Hooker.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

Of their fourth Assertion, that touching the seuerall *publike dueties of Christian Religion, there is amongst vs much superstition* retained in them; and concerning persons which for performance of those *dueties are indued with the power of Ecclesiasticall order, our Lawes and proceedings according thereunto are many wayes here in also corrupted.*

The matter conteined in this fifth Booke.

1 *TRVE Religion is the roote of all true vertues, and the stay of all well ordered common wealthes:*
2 *The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheisme.*
3 *Of superstition and the roote thereof, either misguided zeale or ignorant feare of diuine glory.*
4 *Of the redresse of superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the question of this Booke.*
5 *Foure generall propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true Religion. And fiftly of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.*
6 *The first Proposition touching iudgement what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.*
7 *The second Proposition.*
8 *The third Proposition.*
9 *The fourth Proposition.*
10 *The Rule of mens priuate spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.*
11 *Places for the publique seruice of God.*
12 *The solemnitie of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the aduersary.*
13 *Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches:*
14 *Of the fashion of our Churches.*

15 The sumptuousnesse of Churches.
16 What holinesse and vertue we attribute to the Church more then other places.
17 Their pretence that would haue Churches verely vsed.
18 Of publique teaching, or preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechising.
19 Of preaching by reading, publikely the Bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed vntruths in those translations of Scripture; which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.
20 Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning Bookes Apocriphall.
21 Of Preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the onely ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the sauing knowledge of Gods truth.
22 What they attribute to Sermons onely, and what we to reading also.
23 Of Prayer.
24 Of publike Prayer.
25 Of the forme of Common Prayer.
26 Of them which like not to haue any set forme of common Prayer.
27 Of them who allowing a set forme of Prayer yet allow not ours.
28 The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
29 Attire belonging to the seruice of God.
30 Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
31 Easinesse of praying after our forme.
32 The length of our seruice.
33 Instead of such Prayers as the Primitiue Churches haue vsed and those that be reformed now vse, we haue (they say) diuers short cuts or shreddings rather wise then Prayers.
34 Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.
35 The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lords Prayer.
36 The peoples saying after the Minister.
37 Our manner of reading the Psalmes otherwise then the rest of the Scripture.
38 Of Musique with Psalmes.
39 Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common Prayer, wherein the people and the Minister answere one another by course.
40 Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.
41 Of the Letanie.
42 Of Athanasius Creede and Gloria Patri.
43 Our want of particular thanksgiuing.
44 In some things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, is vnsound.
45 When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnesse of death, thou didst open the kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers.
46 Touching Prayer for deliuerance from suddaine death.
47 Prayer for those things which we for our vnworthinesse dare not aske, God for the worthinesse of his Sonne would vouchsafe to grant.
48 Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie.
49 Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God that all men might be saued.

50 Of the name, the authour, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.
51 That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Sonne who is very God.
52 The miſinterpretations which hereſie hath made of the manner how God and man are vnited in one Chriſt.
53 That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Chriſt there groweth neither gaine nor loſſe of eſſentiall properties to either.
54 What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh by the vnion of his fleſh with deitie.
55 Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted he is euery where preſent according to the fleſh.
56 The vnion or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.
57 The neceſſitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Chriſt.
58 The ſubſtance of Baptiſme, the rites or ſolemnities therunto belonging, and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.
59 The ground in Scripture wherupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath bin built.
60 What kind of neceſſity in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeede is.
61 What things in Baptiſme haue beene diſpenſed with by the fathers reſpecting neceſſitie.
62 Whether Baptiſme by women be true Baptiſme good and effectuall to them that receiue it.
63 Of interrogatories in Baptiſme touching faith and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.
64 Interrogatories propoſed vnto infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by Godfathers.
65 Of the croſſe in Baptiſme.
66 Of confirmation after Baptiſme.
67 Of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.
98 Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.
69 Of Feſtiuall dayes and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.
70 The manner of celebrating Feſtiuall dayes.
71 Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtiuall dayes beſides the Sabboth.
72 Of dayes appointed as well for ordinary as for extraordinry faſts in the Church of God.
73 The celebration of Matrimony.
74 The Churching of women.
75 The rites of Buriall.
76 Of the nature of that Miniſtrie which ſerueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe not eternall onely but alſo temporall doth depend vpon it.
77 Of power giuen vnto men to execute that heauenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.
78 Of degres whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

79 *Of oblations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Cleargies certaine and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church liuings be made fruſtrate.*

80 *Of ordinations lawfull without title and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is that enter into holy orders.*

81 *Of the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their liuings*

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues and the ſtay of all wel ordered common-wealthes.

FEW there are of ſo weake capacity, but publique euils they eaſily eſpie; fewer ſo patient, as not to complaine, when the grieuous inconueniences thereof worke ſenſible ſmart. Howbeit to ſee wherein the harme which they feele conſiſteth, the ſeedes from which it ſprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the ſtudy whereof is ſo full of toyle, and the practiſe ſo beſet with difficulties, that wary and reſpectiue men had rather ſeeke quietly their owne, and wiſh that the world may goe well, ſo it be not long of them, then, with paine and hazard, make themſelues aduiſers for the common good. Wee which thought it at the very firſt a ſigne of colde affection towards the Church of God, to preferre priuate eaſe before the labour of appeaſing publique diſturbance, muſt now of neceſſity, referre euents to the gracious prouidence of Almightie God, and, in diſcharge of our dutie towards him, proceede with the plaine, and vnpartiall defence of a common cauſe. Wherein our endeauour is not ſo much to ouerthrow them with whom we contend, as to yeeld them iuſt and reaſonable cauſes of thoſe things, which for want of due conſideration heretofore, they miſconceiued, accuſing lawes for mens ouerſights, imputing euils growne through perſonall defects vnto that which is not euill, framing vnto ſome ſoares vnholſome plaſters, and applying other ſome where no ſoare is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is moſt acceptable, *Wee agree* that pure and vnſtained Religion ought to bee the higheſt of all cares appertaining to publique regiment: as well in regard of that [a] aide and protection, which they, who faithfully ſerue God, confeſſe they receiue at his mercifull hands; as alſo for the force which Religion hath to qualifie all ſorts of men, and to make them in publike affaires the more ſeruiceable, gouernours the apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceite, but a matter of ſound conſequence, that all duties are by ſo much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whoſe habilities the ſame proceede. For if [b] the courſe of politique affaires cannot in any good ſort goe forward without fit inſtruments, and that which fitteth them bee their vertues, let Politie acknowledge it ſelfe indebted to Religion, godlineſſe being the [c] chiefeſt top and welſpring of all true vertues, euen as God is of all good things. So naturall is the vnion of Religion with iuſtice, that wee may boldly deeme there is neither, where

a *Pſal.144.2. C.Th.lib.16. tit.2. Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus ſcientes magis religionibus quam officijs & labore corporis vel ſudore noſtram rempublicam contineri.*

b Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν ποιούντων ἐστὶν, λέγω δὲ τὸ σπουδαῖον. τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον τίνας ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Ariſt. Magn. moral li.1.cap.1.*

c Ἀρχὴ δ' ἁπάσης τῶν ὄντων θεὸς ἀγαθῶν δὲ γενεσίουργος. *Philo. de dec. præcept.*

where both are not. For how ſhould they be vnfainedly iuſt, whome religion doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they religious, which are not found ſuch by the proofe of their iuſt actions? If they, which imploy their labour and trauaile about the publique adminiſtration of iuſtice, follow it onely as a trade, with vnquenchable and vnconſcionable thirſt of gaine, beeing not in heart perſwaded that [d] iuſtice is Gods owne worke, and themſelues his agents in this buſineſſe, the ſentence of right Gods owne verdict, and themſelues his prieſts to deliuer it; formalities of iuſtice doe but ſerue to ſmother right, and that, which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhamefull abuſe made the cauſe of common miſerie. The ſame pietie, which maketh them that are in authoritie deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by iuſtice, inflameth euerie way men of action with zeale to doe good (as farre as their place will permit) vnto all. For [e] that they know, is moſt noble and diuine. Whereby, if no naturall nor caſual inhabilitie croſſe their deſires, they alwaies delighting to inure themſelues with actions moſt beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wiſedome, becauſe conſcience and the feare of ſwaruing from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſeruers of circumſtances, the looſe regarde whereof is the nurce of vulgar folly, no leſſe then *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherances the moſt effectuall to make him eminent aboue others. For he [f] gaue good heed and pierced euerie thing to the verie grounde, and by that means became the author of many parables. Concerning fortitude, ſith euils great and vnexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant minds) doe cauſe often times euen them to thinke vpon diuine power with [g] fearefulleſt ſuſpicions, which haue beene otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof, how ſhould wee looke for any conſtant reſolution of minde in ſuch caſes ſauing onely where vnfained affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to bee aſſiſted by his hand? For proofe whereof, let but the actes of the auncient Iewes bee indifferently wayed; from whoſe magnanimitie, in cauſes of moſt extreame hazard, thoſe ſtraunge and vnwonted reſolutions haue growne, which for all circumſtances no people vnder the roofe of heauen did euer hitherto match. And that which did alwaies animate them was their meere religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible that all other ornaments of minde might bee had in their full perfection, neuertheleſſe the minde that ſhould poſſeſſe them diuorced from pietie, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; euen as that body is, which adorned with ſundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-ſight, the chiefeſt grace that nature hath in that kinde to beſtowe. They which commend ſo much the felicitie of that innocent world, wherein it is ſaid, that men of their owne accord did imbrace fidelitie and honeſtie, not for feare of the Magiſtrate, or becauſe reuenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould doe otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe was the ſhame of ill doing the loue of equitie and right it ſelfe a barre againſt all oppreſſions which greatneſſe of power cauſeth, they which deſcribe vnto vs any ſuch eſtate of happineſſe amongſt men, though they ſpeake not of religion, doe notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her onely worke. For

d 2. *Chro.* 1. 9. 6.

e Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ὅτι καὶ φίλα· *Arist. Eth.* 1. *ca.* 2.

f. *Eccleſ.* 12. 10.

g *Wiſd.* 17. 13.

if religion did poſſeſſe ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all men, there would neede no other reſtraint from euill. This doth not onely giue life and perfection to all endeuours wherewith it concurreth; but what euent ſoeuer enſue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladneſſe alwayes, yet alwayes patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath beene ſet downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are [a] proſperouſly ended; becauſe whether men in the end haue that which religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, [b] they are in neither euent vnfortunate. But leaſt any man ſhould here conceiue, that it greately skilleth not of what ſort our religion bee, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to religion a great part of the ſame effects which our ſelues aſcribe thereunto, they hauing ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs: it ſhall be requiſite to obſerue well, how farre-forth there may be agreement in the effects of different religions. Firſt by the bitter ſtrife, which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalfe, and is by ſo much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; we ſee a generall agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that euery man ought to embrace the religion which is true, and to ſhun, as hurtfull, whatſoeuer diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generalitie of which perſwaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpurre to our induſtrie, in ſearching and maintaining that religion, from which as to ſwarue in the leaſt points is error, ſo the capitall enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and without repentance, children of endleſſe perdition. Such therefore touching mans immortall ſtate after this life are not likely to reape benefit by their religion, but to looke for the cleane contrary, in regard of ſo important contrariety betweene it and the true religion. Neuertheleſſe, in as much as the errors of the moſt ſeduced this way haue bene mixed with ſome truthes, we are not to maruaile that although the one did turne to their endleſſe woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects as touching the affaires of this preſent life. There were in [c] theſe quarters of the world, ſixteene hundreth yeares agoe, certaine ſpeculatiue men, whoſe authoritie diſpoſed the whole religion of thoſe times. By their meanes it became a receiued opinion, that the ſoules of men departing this life, do flit out of one body into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſoules of men doe neuer periſh, abated the feare of death in them which were ſo reſolued, and gaue them courage vnto all aduentures. The Romanes had a vaine ſuperſtitious cuſtome in moſt of their enterpriſes to coniecture before hand of the euent, by certaine tokens which they noted in birds, or in the intrailes of beaſts, or by other the like friuolous diuinations From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receiue any ſigne which they tooke to be fauourable, it gaue them ſuch hope, as if their Gods had made them more then halfe a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſſe. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did preuaile, eſpecially being men of their owne naturall inclination hopefull and ſtrongly conceipted, whatſoeuer they tooke in hand. But could their fond ſuperſtition haue furthered ſo great attempts without the

a Pſal.1.3.

b τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὄμματα πάσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας ἀνυσχήμονας φέρειν, καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπαρχέτων αἰεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Ariſt. Eth.l.1.c.10.

c Cæſ.de bell. Gall.lib.6.

the mixture of a true perſwaſion concerning the vnreſiſtable force of diuine power? Vpon the wilfull violation of oathes, execrable blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of religion euen vnto falſe Gods, fearefull tokens of diuine reuenge haue beene knowne to follow. Which occurents the deuouter ſorte did take for manifeſt argumentes, that the Gods whome they worſhipped were of power to reward ſuch as ſought vnto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the [a] wiſeman rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whome they ſware, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which punniſhed the offences of the vngodly. It was their hurt vntruly to attribute ſo great power vnto falſe Gods. Yet the right conceipt which they had, that to periurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the courſe of their liues, who feared the wilfull violation of oathes in that reſpect. And whereas we reade ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their milde and mercifull diſpoſition, ſome for their vertuous ſeueritie, ſome for integritie of life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible principles deliuered vnto vs in the word of God as the axiomes of our religion, which beeing imprinted by the God of nature in their harts alſo, and taking better roote in ſome then in moſt others, grewe, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heapes of manifold repugnant errors, which errors of corrupt religion had alſo their ſuteable effects in the liues of the ſelfeſame parties. Without all controuerſie the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely imbrace it, in others not. They that loue the religion which they profeſſe, may haue fayled in choiſe, but yet they are ſure to reape what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retayning it in that ſorte, no benefit. Dauid was a man after Gods owne heart, ſo tearmed, becauſe his affection was hartie towardes God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which liued vnder him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, [b] *O keepe this for euer in the purpoſe and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that Dauid had ended his dayes in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place for the moſt part followed him not in qualitie, when their Kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their owne and their peoples ghoſtly condition vncared for, by wofull experience they both did learne, that to forſake the true God of heauen, is to fall into all ſuch euils vpon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace diuine may commit, or vnprotected from aboue endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appeare that the ſafetie of all eſtates dependeth vpon Religion; that religion vnfainedly loued, perfecteth mens habilities vnto all kindes of vertuous ſeruices in the Common-wealth; that mens deſire is in gennerall to hold no religion but the true; and that whatſoeuer good effects doe grow out of their religion who imbrace in ſteede of the true a falſe, the roote thereof are certaine ſparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkeneſſe of error, becauſe no religion can wholie and only conſiſt of vntruthes, wee haue reaſon to thinke that all true vertues are to honor true religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to loue her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

[a] *Wiſd.* 14. 13.

[b] 1. *Chron.* 29. 17.

2 They

The most extreame opposite to true Religion, is affected Atheisme.

2 They of whome God is altogether vnaprehended, are but few in number, and for grosnesse of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seeme to holde the place of humane being. These we should Iudge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whome, whereas nature hath bestowed riper capacitie, their euill disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God as beeing not God. Whereby it commeth to passe, that of these two sorts of men, both godlesse, the one hauing vtterly no knowledge of God, the other studie how to perswade themselues that there is no such thing to be knowne. The [a] fountaine and welspring of which impietie is a resolued purpose of minde to reape in this world what sensuall profit or pleasure soeuer the world yeeldeth, and not to bee barred from any whatsoeuer meanes auaileable thereunto. And that is the very radicall cause of their Atheisme, no man I thinke will doubt, which considereth what paines they take to destroy those principall spurres and motiues vnto all vertue, the creation of the VVorld, the prouidence of God, the resurrection of the Dead, the ioyes of the kingdome of Heauen, and the endlesse paynes of the wicked, yea aboue all things the authoritie of the Scripture, because on these points it euermore beateth, and the Soules immortalitie, which graunted, draweth easilie after it the rest as a voluntarie traine. Is it not wonderfull that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their owne excellencie, as to make them willing that their soules should bee like to the soules of beasts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? till some admirable or vnusuall accident happen (as it hath in some) to worke the beginning of a better alteration in their mindes, disputation about the knowledge of God with such kinde of persons commonly preuaileth little. For how should the brightnesse of wisedome shine, where the windowes of the soule are of [b] very set purpose closed? True religion hath many things in it, the onely mention whereof gauleth and troubleth their mindes. Beeing therefore loath that inquirie into such matters should breede a perswasion in the end contrarie vnto that they embrace, it is their endeuour to banish as much as in them lyeth, quite and cleane from their cogitation whatsoeuer may sound that way. But it commeth many times to passe (which is their torment) that the thing they shunne doth follow them, truth as it were euen obtruding it selfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they woulde be. VVhereupon in as much as the nature of man is vnwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall alwayes condemne it selfe, they continuing still obstinate, to follow the course which they haue begunne, are driuen to deuise all the shifts that wit can inuent for the smothering of this light, all that may but with any the least shewe of possibilitie stay their mindes from thinking that true, which they hartily wish were false, but [c] cannot thinke it so without some scruple and feare of the contrarie. Now because that iudicious learning, for which wee commend most worthily the ancient Sages of the world, doth not in this case serue the turne, these trencher-mates (for such the most of them bee) frame to themselues a way more pleasant, a new methode they haue of turning things that are serious into mockerie, an arte of Contradicton by way of scorne, a learning wherewith wee were

a *Wisd.2.21.* Such things they imagine, and go astray, because their owne wickednesse hath blinded them. *Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία ἀρχῆς. Arist. Eth.l.6.c.5.*

b *Susan.vers.9.* They turned away their minde, and cast downe their eyes, that they might not see heauen, nor remember iust iudgments

c *Hæc est summa delicti nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis. Cypr. de Idol. vanit.*

were [b] long ſithence forewarned, that the miſerable times whereinto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudie, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluitie of wit, too much inſulting ouer the patience of more vertuouſly diſpoſed mindes. For towards theſe ſo forlorne creatures wee are (it muſt be confeſt) too patient. In Zeale to the glory of God Babylon hath excelled Sion. We want that [c] decree of Nabuchodonoſor, the furie of this wicked broode hath the reines too much at libertie, their tongues walke at large, the ſpit-venom of their poiſoned harts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their vntamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licencious mouthes doe euery where ſet abroch. With our contentions their irreligious humor alſo is much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better, then theſe manifold oppoſitions about the matter of religion, as well for that they haue hereby the more opportunitie to learne on one ſide how an other may bee oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credite of all vnto themſelues; as alſo becauſe by this hote purſute of lower controuerſies amongſt men profeſſing religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations thereof, they conceiue hope that about the higher principles themſelues time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſticke not ſometime in other mens perſons, yea ſometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out touching things which generally are receiued, that although in themſelues they be moſt certaine, yet becauſe men preſume them graunted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch prooſe of their certaintie as may ſatisfie gainſayers, when ſuddainely and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and vnreadines when they finde in vs, they turne it to the ſoothing vp of themſelues in that curſed phanſie, whereby they would faine beleiue that the hartie deuotion of ſuch as indeede feare God, is nothing elſe but a kinde of hatmeleſſe error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlights of wiſer men. For a politique vſe of religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather, that religion it ſelfe is a meere politique deuice, forged purpoſely to ſerue for that vſe. Men fearing God are thereby a great deale more effectually then by poſitiue lawes reſtrayned from doing euill, in as much as thoſe lawes haue no farther power then ouer our outward actions only, whereas vnto mens [d] inward cogitations, vnto the priuie intents and motions of their harts, religion ſerueth for a bridle. What more ſauage, wilde, and cruell, then man if he ſee himſelfe able either by fraude to ouerreach, or by power to ouerbeare, the lawes whereunto hee ſhould bee ſubiect? wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend, it behoueth that the world ſhould bee held in aw, not by a vaine furmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. This is the politique vſe of religion. In which reſpect there are of theſe wiſe malignants [a] ſome, who haue vouchſafed in their marueilous fauourable countenaunce and ſpeech, very gravely affirming that religion honoured, addeth greatnes, and contemned, bringeth ruine vnto Common-weales; that Princes and States, which will continue, are aboue all things to vphold the reuerend regard of religion, and to prouide for the ſame by all meanes in the making of their lawes.

b 2. *Pet.* 3. 2. *Iud. verſe* 18.

c *Dan* 3. 29.

d *Vos ſcitote admiſſa peniti, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt, vos conſcientiam timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus Minut. Fel. in Octau. Summum præſidium regni eſt iuſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos.* Carda. de Sapien. li. 3.

lawes. But when they ſhould define what meanes are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extoll the wiſedome of Paganiſme, they giue it out as a myſticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are vnder them in moſt authoritie or credite with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare euents, and from what cauſe ſoeuer the ſame doe proceede, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their religion, & not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to vſe, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they ſtudie how to bring to paſſe that Religion may ſeeme but a matter made, they looſe themſelues in the very maze of their owne diſcourſes, as if reaſon did euen purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the authour thereof. For ſurely a ſtrange kinde of madneſſe it is, that thoſe men who though they be voyd of piety, yet, becauſe they haue wit, cannot chooſe but know, that treachery, guile and deceipt are things, which may for a while, but doe not vſe long to goe vneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honour to a ſtate is perpetuity; and grant, that alterations in the Seruice of God, for that they impaire the credite of Religion, are therefore perillous in Common-weales, which haue no continuance longer then Religion hath reuerence done vnto it; and withall acknowledge (for ſo they doe) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentilitie was built, their hearts were vtterly auerted from it; and notwithſtanding counſell Princes, in ſober earneſt for the ſtrengthning of their ſtates, to maintaine Religion, and, for the maintenance of Religion not to make choiſe of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choiſe of by thoſe falſe and fraudulent meanes, which in the end muſt needes ouerthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſſe, when they would ſhew themſelues politique deuiſers able to create God in man by arte.

Of ſuperſtition and the roote thereof, either miſguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine glory

3 Wherefore to let goe this execrable crue, and to come to extremities on the contrarie hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or leſſer ſway in mans hart, frame accordingly to the ſtampe and character of his Religion, the one zeale, the other feare. Zeale, vnleſſe it be rightly guided, when it endeuoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth vpon him thoſe vnſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwarue bee compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound and diſcreete as Abraham was in matter of Religion, the ſeruice of the one, is like vnto flatterie, the other like the faithfull ſedulitie of [a] friendſhip. Zeale, except it bee ordered right, when it bendeth it ſelfe vnto conflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to bee oppoſite vnto Religion, vſeth the razor many times with ſuch eagernes, that the very life of Religion it ſelfe is thereby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corne in the field of God is pluckt vp. So that Zeale needeth both wayes a ſober guide. Feare on the other ſide, if it haue not the light of true vnderſtanding concerning God, wherewith to bee moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therefore daungerous that in things diuine, we ſhould worke too much vpon the ſpurre either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good ſolicitor to deuotion. Howbeit, ſith feare in this kinde doth grow from an apprehenſion of deitie indued with irreſiſtable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the vnapteſt to admit any conference with reaſon, for which cauſe the [b] wiſeman doth ſay of feare, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable

a 2 Chro. 20.7. Abraham thy friend.

b Wiſd. 17.11.

ſonable vnderſtanding, therefore except men know before hand what manner of ſeruice pleaſeth God, while they are fearefull they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who neuer thinke on God but when they are in extremitie of feare: and then becauſe, what to thinke, or what to doe they are vncertaine, perplexitie not ſuffering them to be idle, they thinke and doe as it were in a phrenſie they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kinde, nor obſerueth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſeruice of God, but is alwayes ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things diuine. Superſtition is when things are either abhorred or obſerued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erroneous relation to God. By meanes whereof, the ſuperſtitious doe ſometimes ſerue, though the true God, yet with needleſſe offices, and defraude him of duties neceſſary, ſometime loade others then him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one their ouerſight, who miſſe in the choice of that wherewith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whom they ſhew deuotion: this the crime of Idolatrie, that the fault of voluntary either niceneſſe, or ſuperfluitie in Religion. The Chriſtian world it ſelfe being deuided into two graund parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of hereſie the Weſt hath beene often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part neuer quiet, till the deluge of miſery wherein now they are, ouerwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeeme to haue lien in the reſtleſſe wits of the Græcians, euermore proude of their owne curious and ſubtile inuentions, which when at any time they had continued, the great facilitie of their language ſerued them readily to make all things faire and plauſible to mens vnderſtanding. Thoſe graund hereticall impieties therefore which moſt highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinitie, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deale, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more neerely and directly concerned rather men then God, the Latines being alwayes to capitall hereſies leſſe inclined, yet vnto groſſe ſuperſtition more. Superſtition ſuch as that of the [b] Phariſies was, by whom diuine things in deede were leſſe becauſe other things were more diuinely eſteemed of then reaſon would; the ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingleth it ſelfe with the rites euen of very diuine ſeruice done to the onely true God, muſt be conſidered of as a creeping and inchroching euill, an euill the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmeleſſe, ſo that it proouedh only then to be an euill when ſome farther accident doth grow vnto it, or it ſelfe come vnto farther growth. For in the Church of God ſometimes it commeth to paſſe as in ouer battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankeneſſe, things leſſe profitable, whereby that which principally it ſhould yeeld being either preuented in place, or defrauded of nourishment faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſary) might be exemplified euen by heapes of rites and cuſtomes now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world, which in their firſt originall beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous deuout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iuſtly haue condemned as euill.

b *Marke 7. 9.*

4 But

Of the redreſſe of ſuperſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this booke.

4 But howſoeuer ſuperſtition doe grow, that wherein vnſounder times haue done amiſſe, the better ages enſuing muſt rectifie, as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt vs by pretenders of reformation, the firſt in the ranke whereof is ſuch, that if ſo be the Church of England did at this day therewith as iuſtly deſerue to bee touched, as they in this cauſe haue imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeeke pardon euen with teares at the hands of God, then meditate wordes of defenſe for our doings, to the end that men might thinke fauourably of them. For as the caſe of this world, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour haue wee to leane vnto, ſauing the teſtimony of our conſcience, and the comfort we take in this, that wee ſerue the liuing God (as neere as our wits can reach vnto the knowlege thereof) euen according to his owne will, and doe therefore truſt that his mercy ſhall be our ſafegard againſt thoſe enraged powers abroad, which principally in that reſpect are become our enemies? But ſith no man can doe ill with a good conſcience, the conſolation which wee herein ſeeme to finde, is but a meere deceiptfull pleaſing of our ſelues in error, which at the length muſt needes turne to our greater griefe, if that which wee doe to pleaſe God, muſt be for the manifold defects thereof offenſiue vnto him. For ſo it is iudged, our prayers, our Sacraments, our faſts, our times and places of publique meeting together for the worſhip and ſeruice of God, our mariages, our burials, our functions, elections and ordinations Eccleſiaſticall, almoſt whatſoeuer we doe in the exerciſe of our Religion according to lawes for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faultie, all things ſtained with ſuperſtition. Now although it may bee the wiſer ſort of men are not greatly mooued hereat, conſidering how ſubiect the very beſt things haue beene alwayes vnto cauill, when wits poſſeſſed either with diſdaine or diſlike thereof haue ſet them vp as their marke to ſhoote at: ſafe notwithſtanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerue God as they ought, but being not ſo skilfull as in euery point to vnwinde themſelues where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech doe lye to intangle them, are in minde not a little troubled, when they heare ſo bitter inuectiues againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reuerence as holie, to approoue as lawfull, and to obſerue as behouefull for the exerciſe of Chriſtian dutie. It ſeemeth therefore at the leaſt for their ſakes very meete, that ſuch as blame vs in this behalfe be directly anſwered, and they which follow vs informed plainely in the reaſons of that wee doe. On both ſides the end intended betweene vs, is to haue lawes and ordinances ſuch as may rightly ſerue to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſeruice of God with all things thereunto appertaining in ſome perfect forme. There is an inward [a] reaſonable, and there is a [b] ſolemne outward ſeruiceable worſhip belonging vnto God. Of the former kinde are all manner vertuous duties that each man in reaſon and conſcience to God-ward oweth. Solemne and ſeruiceable worſhip wee name for diſtinction ſake, whatſoeuer belongeth to the Church or publique ſocietie of God by way of externall adoration. It is the later of theſe two whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but precepts

a *Rom.*12.1.
b *Luc.*1.23.

precepts diuine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well humane as diuine: about the ſubſtance of religion wherein Gods onely lawe muſt be kept, there is heere no controuerſie, the crime now intended againſt vs is, that our lawes haue not ordered thoſe inferior things as behoueth, and that our cuſtomes are either ſuperſtitious, or otherwiſe amiſſe, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of publique duties in religion, or the functions of perſons authoriſed thereunto.

Four generall propoſitions, demaunding that which may reaſonably bee graunted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true religion. And fiftly, of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

5. It is with teachers of Mathematicall ſciences vſuall, for vs in this preſent queſtion neceſſarie, to lay downe firſt certaine reaſonable demaunds, which in moſt particulars following are to ſerue as principles whereby to worke, and therefore muſt be before hand conſidered. The men whome we labor to informe in the truth, perceiue that ſo to proceede is requiſite. For to this end they alſo propoſe touching cuſtomes and rites indifferent their generall axiomes, ſome of them ſubiect vnto iuſt exceptions, and, as we thinke, more meete by them to be farther conſidered, then aſſented vnto by vs. As that, *In outward things belonging to the ſeruice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to ſhunne conformitie with the Church of Rome*; that, *The firſt reformed ſhould be a paterne whereunto all that come after ought to conforme themſelues*; that *Sound religion may not vſe the things which being not commanded of God haue bene either deuiſed or abuſed vnto ſuperſtition*. Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we haue in the booke going before examined. Other Canons they alleadge, and rules not vnworthie of approbation, as *That in all ſuch things the glory of God and the edification or ghoſtly good of his people muſt be ſought*; *that nothing ſhould be vndecently or vnorderly done*. But for as much as all the difficultie is in diſcerning what things do glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not, when we ſhould thinke them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe rules being too generall, come not neere enough vnto the matter which we haue in hand; and the former principles being neerer the purpoſe, are too farre from truth, we muſt propoſe vnto all men certaine petitions incident, and very materiall in cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate iudgement hath cauſe to thinke vniuſt or vnreaſonable.

The firſt propoſition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publique ordering of Church affaires.

6. The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch cuſtomes or rites as publiquely are eſtabliſht, is when there riſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe cuſtomes and rites in them ſelues apparent reaſon, although not alwayes to proue them better, then any other that might poſſibly be deuiſed, (for who did euer require this in mans ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conueniencie and fitneſſe, in regard of the vſe for which they ſhould ſerue. Now touching the nature of religious ſeruices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt cleere, that whereas the greatnes and dignitie of all manner actions is meaſured by the worthineſſe of the ſubiect from which they proceede, and of the obiect whereabout they are conuerſant, we muſt of neceſſitie in both reſpects acknowledge, that this preſent world affordeth not any thing comparable vnto the publique duties of religion. For if the beſt things haue the perfecteſt and beſt operations, it will follow, that ſeeing man is the worthieſt creature vpon earth, and euery ſocietie of men more worthie then

any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no worke performed equall to the exerciſe of true religion the proper operation of the Church of God. Againe, for as much as religion worketh vpon him who in maieſtie and power is infinite, as we ought we accompt not of it, vnleſſe we eſteeme it euen [a] according to that very height of excellencie which our hearts conceiue when diuine ſublimitie it ſelfe is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſoules God requireth the vttermoſt which our vnfained affection towards him is able to yeeld. So that if wee affect him not farre aboue and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould haue, neither do we indeede worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the duties of our religion which are ſeene muſt be ſuch as that affection which is vnſeene ought to be. Signes muſt reſemble the things they ſignifie. If religion beare the greateſt ſway in our hearts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as farre as the Church hath outward habilitie. Duties of religion performed by whole ſocieties of men, ought to haue in them according to our power a ſenſible excellencie, [b] correſpondent to the maieſtie of him whome we worſhip. Yea then are the publique duties of religion beſt ordered, when the militant Church doth [c] reſemble by ſenſible meanes, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden dignitie and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heauen is beautified. Howbeit, euen as the very heate of the Sunne it ſelfe which is the life of the whole world was to the people of God in the Deſert a grieuous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinarie prouidence ordayned a cloudie piller to ouerſhadow them: So things of generall vſe and benefit (for in this world what is ſo perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a fewe. In which caſe, for ſuch priuate euils remedies there are of like condition, though publique ordinances, wherein the common good is reſpected, be not ſtird. Let our firſt demaund be therefore, that in the externall forme of religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proued effectuall and generally fit to ſet forward godlineſſe, either as betokening the greatneſſe of God, or as beſeeming the dignitie of religion, or as concurring with celeſtiall impreſſions in the mindes of men, may be reuerently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſuall, and tollerable, or otherwiſe curable inconueniences notwithſtanding.

[a] *Iohn 4. 24. Wiſd. 6. 10. 1. Chro. 29. 17.*

[b] *2. Chro. 2. 5.*

[c] *Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. σκιὰ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων. Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt, Eccleſia verò eſt imago cœleſtium. Ambr. de interpel. Dan. Facit in terris opera cœlorum. Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib. 6.*

The ſeeond propoſition.

7 Neither may wee in this caſe lightly eſteeme what hath beene allowed as fit in the iudgement of antiquitie, and by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church, from which vnneceſſarily to ſwarue, experience hath neuer as yet found it ſafe. For wiſedomes ſake we reuerence them no leſſe that are young, or not much leſſe, then if they were ſtricken in yeares. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, that their ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding is [d] *gray haire*, and their vertues *olde age*. But becauſe wiſedome and youth are ſeldome ioyned in one, and the ordinarie courſe of the world is more according to Iobs obſeruation, who giueth men aduiſe to ſeeke wiſedome [e] *amongſt the ancient*, and in the *length of dayes* vnderſtanding, therefore if the compariſon doe ſtand betweene man and man, which ſhall harken vnto other, ſith the aged for the moſt

[d] *Wiſd. 4. 9.*

[e] *Iob 10. 12.*

moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubiect to raſh and vnaduiſed paſſions, it hath bene euer iudged reaſonable that their ſentence in matter of counſell ſhould be better truſted and more relied vpon then other mens. The goodneſſe of God hauing furniſhed man with two chiefe inſtruments both neceſſarie for this life, hands to execute, and a minde to deuiſe great things; the one is not profitable longer then the vigor of youth doth ſtrengthen it, nor the other greatly till age and experience haue brought it to perfection. In whome therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt be contented to follow them in whome it hath. For this cauſe none is more attentiuely heard then they whoſe ſpeeches are as Dauids were, *I haue beene young and now am old*, much I haue ſeene and obſerued in the world. Sharp and ſubtile diſcourſes of wit procure many times very great applauſe, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainely deliuereth they are ouerweighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with vnderſtanding as it pleaſeth him. But let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or deſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith he, whoſe gift wiſedome is hath ſaid, [a] *Aske thy father and he will ſhew thee, thine Ancients and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voyce both of God and nature not of learning onely, that eſpecially in matters of action and policie, [b] *The ſentences and iudgements of men experienced, aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeake without any proofe or demonſtration are no leſſe to be harkened vnto, then as being demonſtrations in them ſelues, becauſe ſuch mens long obſeruation is as an eye wherewith they preſently and plainely behold thoſe principles which ſway ouer all actions.* Whereby we are taught both the cauſe wherefore wiſe mens iudgements ſhould be credited, and the meane how to vſe their iudgements to the increaſe of our owne wiſedome. That which ſheweth them to be wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles ſhall make vs ſuch as they are. If therefore euen at the firſt ſo great accompt ſhould be made of wiſe mens counſels touching things that are publiquely done, as time ſhall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credit and authoritie muſt needes be greater. They, which do nothing but that which men of accompt did before them, are, although they do amiſſe, yet the leſſe faultie, becauſe they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of noueltie. To the beſt and wiſeſt, [c] while they liue, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſeruer of their defects and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe many times that which moſt deſerueth approbation would hardly be able to finde fauor, if they which propoſe it were not content to profeſſe themſelues therein ſchollers and followers of the auncient. For the world will not indure to heare that we are wiſer then any haue beene which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why we ſhould be ſlow and vnwilling to change without very vrgent neceſſitie the auncient ordinances, rites, and long approued cuſtomes of our venerable predeceſſors. The loue of things auncient doth argue [d] ſtayedneſſe, but leuitie and want of experience maketh apt vnto innouations. That which wiſedome did firſt begin, and

[a] Deut. 32. 7.

[b] Ariſt. Eth. 6. ca. 11.

[c] Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμήσαντας. *Philo.* Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ συμπιτλώσεται. *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐπὶ πολὺν αὐτῶν ἀπιστίστθαι καὶ τετιμῆσθαι ἀρχαίους. *Grego. Naz. in Στιχ.*

[d] Δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμπαθείαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τὸ καινοποιοῦν

προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραπόλητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τε χώραν καὶ φύλην ταύτῃ κέχρωται τῇ φωνῇ. Baſ. de Sp.Sa.cap.7.

and hath beene with good men long continued, chalengeth allowance of them that ſucceede, although it pleade for it ſelfe nothing. That which is new, if it promiſe not much, doth feare condemnation before triall; till triall, no man doth acquite or truſt it, what good ſoeuer it pretend and promiſe. So that in this kind there are few things knowne to be good, till ſuch time as they grow to be auncient. The vaine pretence of thoſe glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reaſon ought to haue bin ſo much alleaged, hath wrought ſuch a preiudice againſt them in the mindes of the common ſort, as if they had vtterly no force at all, whereas (eſpecially for theſe obſeruances which concerne our preſent queſtion) antiquitie, cuſtome, and conſent in the Church of God, making with that which law doth eſtabliſh, are themſelues moſt ſufficient reaſons to vphold the ſame, vnleſſe ſome notable publique inconuenience inforce the contrary. For a [a] ſmall thing in the eye of law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our ſecond petition this, that in things the fitneſſe whereof is not of it ſelfe apparent nor eaſie to be made ſufficiently manifeſt vnto all, yet the iudgement of antiquitie concurring with that which is receiued, may induce them to thinke it not vnfit, who are not able to alleage any knowne waightie inconuenience which it hath, or to take any ſtrong exception againſt.

[a] ὁ μὲν μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν παρεκβαίνων τοῦ ψέγεται. Ariſt. Ethic.2. cap.9. Modici nulla fere ratio haberi ſolet. Tiraquel. de iud. in retr. exig.cap.10.

8 All things cannot be of auncient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of ſpirituall affaires: but the Church being a body which dyeth not hath alwaies power, as occaſion requireth, no leſſe to ordeine that which neuer was, then to ratifie what hath bin before. To preſcribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogatiue which [b] *Wiſedome* hath as Queene or ſoueraigne commandreſſe ouer other vertues. This in euery ſeuerall mans actions of common life apperteineth vnto *Morall*; in publique and politique ſecular affaires vnto *Ciuill* wiſedome. In like manner, to deuiſe any certaine forme for the outward adminiſtration of publique duties in the ſeruice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to finde out the moſt conuenient for that vſe, is a point of wiſedome *Eccleſiaſticall*. It is not for a man which doth know or ſhould know what order is, and what peaceable gouernment requireth to aske, *why we ſhould hang our iudgement vpon the Churches ſleeue*, and *why in matters of order more then in matters of doctrine*. The Church hath authority to eſtabliſh that for an order at one time, which at an other time it may aboliſh, and in both do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliuer rightly as a truth, no man will ſay that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly auouch the contrary. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not ſo. We reade often in the writings of catholique & holy men touching matters of doctrine, *This wee beleeue, this wee holde, this the Prophets and Euangeliſts haue declared, this the Apoſtles haue deliuered, this Martyrs haue ſealed with their blond, and confeſſed in the midſt of torments, to this we cleaue as to the ancre of our ſoules, againſt this, though an Angell from heauen ſhould preach vnto vs, wee would not beleeue.* But did wee euer in any of them reade touching matters of meere comelineſſe, order, and decencie, neither commaunded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Euangeliſt, any Apoſtle, *Although the Church wherein wee liue*

The third propoſition.

[b] ἡ μὲν φρόνησις αἰεὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo.p.35.

T.C. lib.3. pag.171.

do ordaine them to be kept, although they be neuer ſo generally obſerued, though all the Churches in the world ſhould commaund them, though Angels from heauen ſhould require our ſubiection thereunto, I would hold him accurſed that *doth obay?* Be it in matter of the one kinde or of the other, what Scripture doth plainely deliuer, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatſoeuer any man can neceſſarily conclude by force of reaſon; after theſe the voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her eccleſiaſticall authoritie ſhall probably thinke and define to be true or good, muſt in congruitie of reaſon ouerrule all other inferior iudgements whatſoeuer. To them which aske why wee thus hang our iudgement on the Churches ſleeue, I anſwere with Salomon, becauſe [a] *two are better then one. Yea ſimply* (ſaith [b] Baſill) *and vniuerſally, vvhether it be in vvorks of nature, or of voluntarie choice and counſell, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould be, if it be vvrought by an agent ſingling it ſelfe from conſorts.* The Iewes haue a ſentence of good aduiſe, [c] *Take not vpon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no ſole Iudge but one onely; ſay not to others receiue my ſentence, vvhen their authoritie is aboue thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelfe in theſe things ſtop their mouthes, who liuing vnder it, dare preſume to barke againſt it. *There is* (ſaith [d] Caſſianus) *no place of audience left for them, by vvhome obedience is not yeelded to that vvhich all haue agreed vpon.* Might wee not thinke it more then wonderfull, that nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant iudgement to ſway and ouerrule in ſo many things; or that God himſelfe ſhould allow ſo much authoritie and power vnto euery poore family for the ordering of all which are in it; and the Cittie of the liuing God, which is his Church, be able neither to commaund, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authorities ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that euill, the grieuous inconuenience whereof we feele. Our diſlike of them, by whome too much heeretofore hath beene attributed vnto the Church, is growne to an error on the contrary hand, ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which remouall of one extremitie with an other, the world ſeeking to procure a remedie, hath purchaſed a meere exchange of the euill which before was felt. Suppoſe we that the ſacred word of God can at their hands receiue dũe honor, by whoſe incitement the holie ordinances of the Church indure euery where open contempt? No it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerue as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw vnneceſſarily their owne or their brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſineſſe is neither of capacitie, I truſt, ſo weake, nor ſo vnſtrengthned, I know, with authority from aboue, but that her lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and inioyne gainſayers ſilence, giuing them roundly to vnderſtand, that where our dutie is ſubmiſſion, weake oppoſitions betoken pride. Wee therefore craue thirdly to haue it graunted, that where neither the euidence of any lawe diuine, nor the ſtrength of any inuincible argument otherwiſe found out by the light of reaſon, nor any notable publique inconuenience doth make againſt that which our owne lawes Eccleſiaſticall haue, although but newly inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe affaires,

[a] *Eccleſ.4.9.*
[b] *Baſil. epiſt. 68.d.8.c. que contra. Turpis eſt omnis pars vniuerſo ſuo non congruens.*
[c] *R.Iſmael in Cap.Patr.*
[d] *Caſſian. de incarn.lib.1. cap.6.*

the very authority of the Church it ſelfe, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may giue ſo much credit to her owne lawes, as to make their ſentence touching fitneſſe and conueniencie waightier then any bare and naked conceipt to the contrary; eſpecially in them who can owe no leſſe then childlike obedience to her that hath more then motherly power.

The fourth propoſition.

9 There are ancient ordinances, lawes which on all ſides are allowed to be iuſt and good, yea diuine and Apoſtolique Conſtitutions, which the Church it may be doth not alwayes keepe, nor alwayes iuſtly deſerue blame in that reſpect. For in euils that cannot be remoued without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceede in their roomes, wiſedome, of neceſſitie, muſt giue place to neceſſitie. All it can do, in thoſe caſes, is to deuiſe, how that, which muſt be endured, may be mitigated, and the inconueniences thereof counteruailed as neere as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of thoſe that are. Nature then which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more vniforme in all her wayes, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did commaund, he doth at any time by neceſſitie countermaund. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelfe ſometime to vnlooſe the very toungs euen of dumb creatures, and to teach them to pleade this in their owne defence, leſt the crueltie of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their woonted courſe, when ſome inuincible impediment hath hindered. If we leaue nature, and looke into arte, the workeman hath in his heart a purpoſe, he carrieth in minde the whole forme which his worke ſhould haue, there wanteth not in him skill and deſire to bring his labor to the beſt effect, onely the matter which he hath to worke on is vnframeable. This neceſſitie excuſeth him, ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his works perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more fauourably heard then theirs, who alleage ſincerely for them ſelues, that they did as neceſſitie conſtrained them. For when the minde is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome externall impediment croſſing well aduiſed deſires ſhall potentlie draw men to leaue what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not if their choice were free; what neceſſitie forceth men vnto, the ſame in this caſe it [a] maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelfe euill, nothing abſolutely ſinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law whereby whatſoeuer is condemned as euill, can neuer any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of mans life, is an vnthankefull abuſe of the fruites of Gods good prouidence towards mankinde. Which conſideration for all that did not hinder [b] S. Paule from throwing corne into the ſea, when care of ſauing mens liues made it neceſſary, to looſe that which elſe had bene better ſaued. Neither was this to do euill, to the end that good might come of it. For of two ſuch euils being not both euitable, the choice of the leſſe is not euill. And euils muſt be in our conſtruction iudged ineuitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to auoid them, becauſe where counſell and aduice beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant we cannot preſume. In ciuill affaires to declare what ſway neceſsity hath euer bene accuſtomed to beare,

Num. 22. 28.

[a] *Neceſſitas quicquid coegit defendit. Senec. controu. lib. 9.*

[b] *Act. 27. 38.*

were

were labor infinite. The lawes of all States and kingdomes in the world haue ſcarſly of any thing more common vſe. Should then only the Church ſhew it ſelfe inhumane and ſterne, abſolutely vrging a rigorous obſeruation of ſpirituall ordinances, without relaxation or exception what neceſsitie ſoeuer happen? We know the [a] contrarie practiſe to haue beene commended by him, vpon the warrant of whoſe iudgement, the Church moſt of all delighted with merciſull and moderate courſes, doth the ofner condeſcend vnto like equitie, permitting in caſes of neceſsitie that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſsitie being ſometime but vrgent, ſometime extreme, the conſideration of [b] publique vtilitie is with very good aduice iudged at the leaſt equiualent with the eaſier kinde of neceſsitie. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorme againſt ſome neceſſarie tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſſe with ſilence, conſidering that in politie as well Eccleſiaſticall as Ciuill, there are and will be alwaies euils which no arte of man can cure, breaches and leakes moe then mans wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious vnto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is that very iuſt regard hath bene had of the publique good; that which in a great part of the waightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent controuerſie hath inſnared the iudgements both of ſundry good, and of ſome well learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certaine generall principles, whereupon the ordinances that ſerue for vſuall practiſe in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinarie practiſe accordingly framed is good, whatſoeuer is ouer and beſides that ordinarie, the ſame they iudge repugnant to thoſe true principles. The cauſe of which error is ignorance what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch principles haue, in regard of ſo manifold varieties as the [c] *matter* whereunto they are appliable doth commonly affoord. Theſe varieties are not knowne but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to diſcerne how farre-forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees and meanes they leade to the practiſe of things in ſhow, though not indeed repugnant and contrarie one to another, requireth more ſharpneſſe of wit, more intricate circuitions of diſcourſe, more induſtrie and depth of iudgement then common habilitie doth yeeld. So that generall rules till their limits be fully knowne (eſpecially in matter of publique and eccleſiaſticall affaires) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans vnderſtanding then cloudie miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walke in darkeneſſe know not whither they goe. And euen as little is their certaintie whoſe opinions generalities only do guide. With groſſe and popular capacities nothing doth more preuaile then vnlimited generalities, becauſe of their plaineneſſe at the firſt ſight; nothing leſſe with men of exact iudgement, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted ouer-farre. Generall lawes are like generall rules of phiſicke, according whereunto as no wiſe man will deſire himſelfe to be cured, if there be ioyned with his diſeaſe ſome ſpeciall accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the ſame infirmitie, but without the like accident, recouer health, would be to him either hurtfull, or at the leaſt vnprofitable: So we muſt not, vnder a colourable commendation of holy

[a] *Luc.6.4.*

[b] *Cauſa neceſſitatis & vtilitatis aquiparantur in iure. Ab.Panor.ad c. vt ſuper. nu.15. de reb. eccleſ.non alien.*

[c] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις ὁ μὲν καθόλου κατὼτερος ἐστιν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθεύτερος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὰ πρᾶξις ἐστὶ καὶ αἱ πράξεις. *Ariſt. Eth.lib.1. ca.7.*

holy ordinances in the Church, and of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they haue beene grounded for the common good, imagine that all mens caſes ought to haue one meaſure. Not without ſingular wiſedome therefore it hath bin prouided, that as the ordinarie courſe of common affaires is diſpoſed of by generall lawes, ſo likewiſe mens rarer incident neceſſities and vtilities ſhould be with ſpeciall equitie conſidered. From hence it is, that ſo many priuiledges, immunities, exceptions, and diſpenſations haue beene alwaies with great equitie and reaſon graunted, not to turne the edge of iuſtice, or to make voyd at certaine times, and in certaine men through meere voluntarie grace or beneuolence, that which continually and vniuerſally ſhould be of force (as ſome vnderſtand it) but in very truth to practiſe generall lawes according to their right meaning. Wee ſee in contracts and other dealings which dayly paſſe betweene man and man, that, to the vtter vndoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictneſſe of law may be done, which equitie and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the lawe is vniuſt, but vnperfect; nor equitie againſt, but aboue the lawe; binding mens conſciences in things which law cannot reach vnto. Will any man ſay, that the virtue of priuate equitie is oppoſite and repugnant to that law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch priuate dealing? No more is publique equitie againſt the lawe of publique affaires, albeit the one permit vnto ſome in ſpeciall conſiderations, that which the other agreeablie with generall rules of iuſtice doth in generall ſort forbid. For ſith all good lawes are the voyces of right reaſon, which is the inſtrument wherewith God will haue the world guided; and impoſſible it is that right ſhould withſtand right, it muſt follow that principles and rules of iuſtice, be they neuer ſo generally vttered, do no leſſe effectually intend, then if they did plainely expreſſe an exception of all particulars, wherein their literall practiſe might any way preiudice equitie. And becauſe it is naturall vnto all men to wiſh their owne extraordinarie benefit, when they thinke they haue reaſonable inducements ſo to do; and no man can be preſumed a competent iudge what equitie doth require in his owne caſe, the likelieſt meane whereby the wit of man can prouide, that he which vſeth the benefit of any ſpecial benignitie aboue the common courſe of others, may inioy it with good conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of lawes, which in outward ſhew are contrarie, muſt needes be to arme with authoritie ſome fit both for qualitie and place to adminiſter that, which in euery ſuch particular ſhall appeare agreeable with equitie. Wherein as it cannot be denied, but that ſometimes the practiſe of ſuch iuriſdiction may ſwarue through error euen in the very beſt, and for other reſpects, where leſſe integritie is: So the watchfulleſt obſeruers of inconueniences that way growing, and the readieſt to vrge them in diſgrace of authoriſed proceedings, do very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who liue in no worldly awe or ſubiection, but is committed to them whome law may at all times bridle, and ſuperior power controll; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that law it ſelfe hath ſet downe to what perſons, in what cauſes, with what circumſtances, almoſt euery facultie or fauor ſhall be graunted, leauing in a manner nothing vnto them, more then onely to deliuer what is already giuen by law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſſe reaſonable, that vnder pretenſe of inconue-

inconueniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well preuented that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the libertie that law with equitie and reaſon graunteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require that it may not ſeeme hard, if in caſes of neceſſitie, or for common vtilities ſake, certaine profitable ordinances ſometime be releaſed, rather then all men alwaies ſtrictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

10 Now where the word of God leaueth the Church to make choice of her owne ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which haue beene receiued with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practiſe of the Church hath continued time out of minde, or againſt ſuch ordinances as the power and authoritie of that Church vnder which wee liue hath in it ſelfe deuiſed for the pulique good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with fauourable equitie that rigor which otherwiſe the literall generalitie of Eccleſiaſticall lawes hath iudged to be more conuenient and meete, if againſt all this it ſhould be free for men to reproue, to diſgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet downe, if in ſo great varietie of waies as the wit of man is eaſily able to finde out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially haue vnto thoſe inuentions whereby ſome one ſhall ſeeme to haue beene more enlightned from aboue then many thouſands, the Church did giue euery man licenſe to follow what himſelfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reueale* vnto him, or what he ſuppoſeth that God is likely to haue reuealed to ſome ſpeciall perſon whoſe vertues deſerue to be highly eſteemed; what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the vtter confuſion of his Church vnder pretenſe of being taught, led, and guided by his ſpirit: the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend vnto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularitie is, they whoſe harts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe preuaile with others, the ſame God which reuealeth it to them, would alſo giue them power of confirming it vnto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and inuincible remonſtrance of ſound reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appeare that God would in deede haue all mens iudgements giue place vnto it; whereas now the error and vnſufficiencie of their arguments doth make it on the contrary ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moued their harts to thinke ſuch things, as he hath not inabled them to proue. And ſo from rules of generall direction it reſteth that now wee deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of particulars, wherein thoſe rules haue their ſpeciall efficacie.

The rule of mens priuate ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.

11 Solemne dueties of pulique ſeruice to be done vnto GOD, muſt haue their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. Adam euen during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had[a] where to preſent himſelfe before the Lord. Adams ſonnes had out of Paradiſe in like ſort[b] whither to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarks vſed[c] altars, and[d] mountaines and[e] groues to the ſelfe ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt wilderneſſe when the people of God had themſelues no ſetled habitation, yet a moueable[f] tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge

Places for the pulique ſeruice of God.

[a] *Gen.* 3. 8.
[b] *Gen.* 4. 3.
[c] *Gen.* 13. 4.
[d] 22. 1.
[e] 21. 33.
[f] *Exod.* 26.

charge was giuen them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelues
a *Deut.*12.5. in the land which had beene promiſed vnto their fathers, a *Yee ſhall ſeeke that place which the Lord your God ſhall chooſe.* When God had choſen Ieruſalem, and
b 2.*Chro.*3.1. in Ieruſalem mount b *Moria*, there to haue his ſtanding habitation made, it was
c 2.*Chro.*6.7. *Pſal.*132.5. in the chiefeſt of c Dauids deſires to haue performed ſo good a worke. His griefe was no leſſe that he could not haue the honor to build God a Temple, then their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they haue not as yet the power to pull downe the Temples which they neuer built, and to leuell them with the ground. It was no meane thing which he purpoſed. To performe a worke ſo maieſticall and ſtately was no
d 2.*Chro.*25.9. ſmall charge. Therefore d he incited all men vnto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gould, ſiluer, braſſe, iron, wood,
e 1.*Chro.*29.3. precious ſtones in great aboundance. Yea moreouer e *becauſe I haue* (ſaith Dauid) *a ioy in the houſe of my God, I haue of mine owne gould and ſiluer, beſides all that I haue prepared for the houſe of the Sanctuarie, giuen to the houſe of my God three thouſand talents of gould euen the gould of Ophir, ſeauen thouſand talents of fined ſiluer.* After the ouerthrow of this firſt houſe of God, a ſecond was in ſtead
f *Ezr.*3.12. *Agge.*2.4. thereof erected, but with ſo great oddes, that f they wept which had ſeene the former, and beheld how much this later came behinde it, the beautie whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that euen this was alſo the wonder of the whole world. Beſides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and euen in Ieruſalem by proceſſe of time no ſmall number of Synagogues for men to reſort vnto. Our Sauiour himſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in Ieruſalem, and held that profeſſion which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authoritie, could not ſo long vſe the exerciſe of
g *Act.*1.19. & 2.1. & 2.46. Chriſtian religion but in g priuate only. So that as Iewes they had acceſſe to the Temple and Synagogues where God was ſerued after the cuſtome of the Law; but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſitie forced otherwhere to aſſemble themſelues. And as God gaue increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroade for that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſſe of time ſomewhiles by ſufferance, ſomewhiles by ſpeciall leaue and fauor, they began to erect to themſelues Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner, which neither was poſſible by reaſon of the poore eſtate of the Church, and had bene perilous in regard of the worlds enuie towards them. At the length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe vp Kings and Emperors fauouring ſincerely the Chriſtian truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not do, was with all alacritie performed. Temples were in all places erected. No coſt was ſpared, nothing iudged too deere which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole world did ſeeme to exult, that it had occaſion of powring out gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That cheerefull deuotion which
h 1.*Chro.*29. 17.18. Dauid this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and h wiſh that the ſame in the Iewiſh people might be perpetuall, was then in Chriſtian people euerie where to be ſeene. Their actions till this day alwayes accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honor, are now called openly into queſtion. They and as many

as

as haue beene followers of their example in that thing; wee eſpecially that worſhip God either in temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence haue framed by the like patterne are in that reſpect charged no leſſe then with the very ſinne of Idolatry. Our Churches in the foame of that good ſpirit which directeth ſuch fierie tongues, they terme ſpitefully the temples of Baal, idoll ſynagogues, abhominable ſtyes.

12 Wherein the firſt thing which moueth them thus to caſt vp their poyſon, are certaine ſolemnities vſuall at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthie, yet this age (thanks be to God) hath reaſonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid to many mens charge at this day liuing either that they haue beene ſo curious as to trouble Biſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them to make any great adoe for their dedication. In which kind notwithſtanding as we doe neither allow vnmeete, nor purpoſe the ſtiffe defence of any vnneceſſary cuſtome [a] heretofore receiued: So we know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are deliuered as it were into Gods owne poſſeſſion, and when the vſe whereunto they ſhall euer ſerue is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompanie ſuch actions be vſuall, as [b] in the pureſt times they haue bene. When [c] Conſtantine had finiſhed an houſe for the ſeruice of God at Ieruſalem, the dedication he iudged a matter not vnworthie, about the ſolemne performance whereof the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendome ſhould meete together. Which thing they did at the Emperors motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power; ſome with orations, ſome with ſermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of prayers vnto God for the peace of the world, for the Churches ſafetie, for the Emperors and his childrens good. [d] By Athanaſius the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a worke of the like deuout magnificence. So that whether Emperors or Biſhops in thoſe dayes were Church-founders, the ſolemne dedication of Churches they thought not to be a worke in it ſelfe either vaine, or ſuperſtitious. Can we iudge it a thing ſeemely for any man to go about the building of an houſe to the God of heauen with no other apparance, than if his end were to reare vp a kitchen, or a parlor for his owne vſe? Or when a worke of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remayneth there nothing but preſently to vſe it, and ſo an end? It behooueth that the place where God ſhall be ſerued by the whole Church, be a publique place, for the auoyding of priuie conuenticles, which couered with pretenſe of religion, may ſerue vnto dangerous practiſes. Yea, although ſuch aſſemblies be had indeed for religions ſake, hurtfull neuertheleſſe they may eaſily proue, as well in regard of their fitneſſe to ſerue the turne of heretiques, and ſuch as priuily will ſooneſt aduenture to inſtill their poyſon into mens minds; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is giuē to malitious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, & of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in thēſelues being holie, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no man might probablie otherwiſe thinke of them. Which conſiderations haue by ſo much the greater waight, for that of theſe incōueniences the Church heretofore

The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches, condemned by Bar. pag. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned. pag. 141.

[a] *Durand. rational. lib. 1. ca. 6. & de conſecra. d. 1. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. 10. epiſt. 12. & lib. 7. epiſt. 71. & lib. 8. epiſt. 63.*

[b] Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι πάλαι νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' εὐχαριστίαν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἕκαστος τῶν ἐπισκόπων περὶ τροπῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης ἵνα μὴ ἐξίστηται τῷ χρόνῳ γίνηται τὰ καλά. *Gregor. Nazian. orat. εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην.*

[c] *Vide Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 4. ca. 41. 43. 44. 45.*

[d] *Athanaſ. Apolog. ad Conſtantium.*

heretofore had ſo plaine experience, when Chriſtian men were driuen to vſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the libertie of publique places was not graunted them. There are which holde, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongſt them, doe make the place of their aſſemblie publique, euen as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any mans houſe a Court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place publique, is the publique aſſignement thereof vnto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled, or the duties which they performe, it doth not appeare how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch prerogatiue. Nor doth the ſolemne dedication of Churches ſerue onely to make them publique, but farther alſo to ſurrender vp that right which otherwiſe their founders might haue in them, and to make God himſelfe their owner. For which cauſe at the erection and conſecration as well of the [a] Tabernacle as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almightie to giue a manifeſt ſigne that he tooke poſſeſſion of both. Finally, [b] it notifieth in ſolemne manner the holie and religious vſe whereunto it is intended ſuch houſes ſhall be put. [c] Theſe things the wiſedome of Salomon did not accompt ſuperfluous. He knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould be holie and ſacred, might be drawne from the vſe whereunto it was firſt prouided; he knew how bold men are to take euen from God himſelfe; how hardly that houſe would be kept from impious profanation, he knew, and right wiſely therefore endeuored by ſuch ſolemnities to leaue in the mindes of men that [d] impreſſion which might ſomewhat reſtraine their boldeneſſe, and nouriſh a reuerend affection towards the houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the children of Iſrael after their returne from captiuitie, they kept the [e] dedication euen of this houſe alſo with ioy. The [f] argument which our Sauiour vſeth againſt prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the vſe whereunto it was with ſolemnitie conſecrated. And as the Prophet Ieremy forbiddeth the carrying of [g] burthens on the Saboth becauſe that was a ſanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no [h] not the carriage of a veſſell through the Temple. Theſe two commandements therefore are in the lawe conioyned, [i] *Yee ſhall keepe my Sabboths, and reuerence my ſanctuarie.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words [k] *Haue yee not houſes to eate and drinke?* albeit Temples ſuch as now were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, [l] it hath beene neuertheleſſe not abſurdly conceiued that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made betweene houſe and houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans habitation he ſheweth; requireth that Chriſtian men at their owne home take common foode, and in the houſe of the Lord none but that foode which is heauenly; he inſtructeth them that as in the one place they vſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learne to ſeeke the nouriſhment of their ſoules, and as there they ſuſtaine temporall life, ſo here they would learne to make prouiſion for eternall. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the temple ſhould ſerue for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould bee made an Inne. When therefore wee ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that which

a *Exod.40.34. 1.Reg.8.11.*
b *Exod.40.9.*
c *1 Reg.8.*
d *Leuit.16.2* The place named Holy.
e *Ezr.6.16.*
f *Mat.21.13.*
g *Ier.17.24.*
h *Mark.11.16.*
i *Leuit.26.2.*
k *1. Cor.11.22.*
l *Petr. Cluniac.*

which wee doe is only to teſtifie that wee make them places of publique reſort, that wee inueſt God himſelfe with them, that wee ſeuer them from common vſes. In which action, other ſolemnities then ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approue none. Indeede wee condemne not all as vnmeete, the like whereunto haue beene either deuiſed or vſed happily amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawfull when they thinke that which is true, if in action when they do that which is meete, it be not lawfull to be like vnto them? Are we to forſake any true opinion, becauſe Idolaters haue maintained it? Nor to ſhun any requiſite action onely becauſe wee haue in the practiſe thereof bin preuented dy Idolaters. It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſomtimes they may iudge as rightly what is decent about ſuch external affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoeuer Idolaters haue either thought or done, but let whatſoeuer they haue either thought or done *idolatrouſly, be ſo farreforth* abhorred. For of that which is good euen in euill things God is author.

Of the names whereby wee diſtinguiſh our Churches.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the vſe and continuance with vs at this preſent hurtfull. That Churches were conſecrated vnto none but the Lord onely, the very generall name it ſelfe doth ſufficiently ſhew, in as much as by plaine grammaticall conſtruction, [a] *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing then *The Lords houſe*. And becauſe the multitude as of perſons, ſo of things particular cauſeth varietie of proper names to be deuiſed for diſtinctions ſake, founders of *Churches* did herein that which beſt liked their owne conceipt at the preſent time; yet each intending that as oft as thoſe buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put men in minde of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it commeth to paſſe, that all Churches haue had their names [b] ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdome, ſome in memorie of the Trinitie it ſelfe; ſome of Chriſt vnder ſundrie titles; of the bleſſed virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of euery one vnderſtood, they haue beene in later ages conſtrued, as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saincts ſhould ſerue for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defence protection and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the auncients doe vtterly diſclaime. [c] To them ſaith S. Auguſtine wee appoynt no Churches becauſe they are not to vs as Gods, Againe, *The nations to their Gods erected Temples; we not Temples vnto our Martyrs as vnto Gods, but memorialls as vnto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill liuing.* Diuers conſiderations there are, for which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saincts: as either becauſe by the miniſterie of Saincts it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death which thoſe Saincts hauing ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to giue ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their perſons might cauſe inquirie to bee made, and meditation to bee had of their

a From Κυριακὸν, *Kyric*, and by adding letters of aſpiration *Church*.

b *Vide Socr. lib.1.cap.16. Euagr.lib.4. cap.30. Hiſt.Trip.lib.4. cap.18.*

c *Vide Aug. lib.8.de Ciui. Dei cap.27. lib.22.ca.10. Epiſt.49.ad Deo gra.*

The duetie which Chriſtian men performed in keeping feſtiuall dedications.

S. *Baſil* termeth λατρείαν τῶν θεῶν acknowledging the ſame to haue beene withall, τιμὴν τοῖς τῶν μάρτυρας. *Baſil.in Pſal.114*

vertues. Wherefore ſeeing that wee cannot iuſtly accompt it ſuperſtition to giue vnto Churches thoſe forerehearſed names, as memorials either of holie perſons or things, if it bee plaine that their founders did with ſuch meaning name them, ſhall not wee in otherwiſe taking them offer them iniurie? Or if it bee obſcure or vncertaine what they meant, yet this conſtruction being more fauourable, charitie I hope conſtraineth no man which ſtandeth doubtfull of their mindes, to leane to the hardeſt and worſt interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea although it were cleare that they all (for the error of ſome is manifeſt in this behalfe) had therein a ſuperſtitious intent, wherefore ſhould their fault preiudice vs, who (as all men know) do vſe but by way of meere diſtinction the names which they of ſuperſtition gaue? In the vſe of thoſe names whereby we diſtinguiſh both dayes and moneths are we culpable of ſuperſtition, becauſe they were, who firſt inuented them? The ſigne of [a] *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſuperſtitiouſly giuen vnto that ſhip wherein the Apoſtle ſayled, polluteth not the euangeliſts penne, who thereby doth but diſtinguiſh that ſhip from others. If to Daniel there had beene giuen no other name but onely [b] *Beltſhazzar*, giuen him in honor of the Babylonian Idol *Belti*, ſhould their idolatrie which were authors of that name cleaue vnto euery man which had ſo tearmed him by way of perſonall difference onely? were it not to ſatiſfie the mindes of the ſimpler ſort of men, theſe nice curioſities are not worthie the labour which wee beſtow to anſwere them.

a *Act.28.11.*

b *Dan.4.5. Vide Scal. de emendat.temp. lib.6.pa.377.*

Of the faſhion of our Churches.

14 The like vnto this is a fancie, which they haue againſt the faſhion of our Churches, as being framed according to the paterne of the Iewiſh temple. A fault no leſſe grieuous, if ſo be it were true, then if ſome King ſhould build his manſion houſe by the modell of Salomons palace. So farre-forth as our Churches and their Temple haue one end, what ſhould let but that they may lawfully haue one forme? The Temple was for ſacrifice and therefore had roomes to that purpoſe, ſuch as ours haue none. Our Churches are places prouided, that the people might there aſſemble themſelues in due and decent manner, according to their ſeuerall degrees and orders. Which thing beeing common vnto vs with Iewes, wee haue in this reſpect our Churches deuided by certaine partitions, although not ſo many in number as theirs. They had their ſeuerall for heathen nations, their ſeuerall for the people of their owne nation, their ſeuerall for men, their ſeuerall for women, their ſeuerall for the Prieſts, and for the high Prieſt alone their ſeuerall. There being in ours for locall diſtinction betweene the Cleargie and the reſt (which yet wee doe not with any great ſtrictneſſe or curioſitie obſerue neither) but one partition, the cauſe whereof at the firſt (as it ſeemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holie myſteries, might there aſſemble themſelues and no other creepe in amongſt them, this is now made a matter ſo hainous, as if our religion thereby were become euen playne Iudaiſme, and as though we retained a moſt holy place, whereinto there might not any but the high Prieſt alone enter, according to the cuſtome of the Iewes.

The ſumptuouſnes of Churches.

15 Some it highly diſpleaſeth, that ſo great expenſes this way are imployed. *The mother of ſuch magnificence* (they thinke) *is but onely a proude ambitious deſire to be ſpoken of farre and wide. Suppoſe we that God himſelfe delighteth to dwell ſumptuouſly*

tuouſly, or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pompe? No, then was the Lord moſt acceptablie ſerued, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houſes of poore men. This was ſutable vnto the nakednes of Ieſus Chriſt and the ſimplicitie of his Goſpell. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the vſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended vnto our ſelues, as wee do not know, ſo wee neede not ſearch. It commeth (we graunt) many times to paſſe, that the workes of men beeing the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are diuers. The charge of Herod about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet Salomons vertuous, Conſtantines holie. But howſoeuer their hearts are diſpoſed by whome any ſuch thing is done in the world, ſhall wee thinke that it baneth the worke which they leaue behinde them, or taketh away from others the vſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelfe, hath he any where reuealed that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that hee taketh no pleaſure to bee worſhipped ſauing only in poore cottages? Euen then was the Lord as acceptablie honoured as of his people as euer, when the ſtatelieſt places and things in the whole world were ſought out to adorne his Temple. This moſt * ſuteable, decent and fit for the greatenteſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for the ſublimitie of his Goſpell, except wee thinke of Chriſt and his Goſpell as [a] the officers of Iulian did. As therefore the ſonne of Syrach giueth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought [b] *A man needs not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for in their ſeaſon they are all worthie praiſe*: the like wee may alſo conclude as touching theſe two ſo contrary wayes of prouiding in meaner or in coſtlier ſorte for the honor of almighty God, *A man needs not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*, the one when the ſtate of the Church is poore, the other when God hath inriched it with plentie. When they, which had ſeene the beautie of the firſt Temple built by Salomon in the dayes of his greate proſperitie and peace, beheld how farre it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like abilitie, the teares of their grieued eyes the Prophets [c] indeuoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is leſſe, they ſhould haue done better to reioyce then weepe, their Prophets better to reproue then comfort. It being obiected againſt the Church in the times of vniuerſall perſecution, that her ſeruice done to God was not ſolemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of diuine Maieſtie, their moſt conuenient anſwere was, that [d] *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God are our ſanctified ſoules and bodies.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, how the fathers, when they were vpbraided with that defect, comforted themſelues with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and mercifull nature, who did not therefore the leſſe accept of their hartie affection and zeale rather, then tooke any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of externall Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of habilitie; habilitie ſeruing, they wanted them not. Before the [e] Emperour Conſtantines time, vnder Seuerus, Gordian, Philip, and Gallienus, the ſtate of Chriſtian affaires being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of meane and ſmall eſtate contented them not, ſpatious and ample Churches they erected throughout euery Citie. No enuie was able to bee

* ἔστιν τὰ μὲν μεγαλεῖα τίμιον· τὰ δὲ τοιοῦτα ἴσως θαυμαστά. *Ariſt. Eth. 4. c. 2.*

τὰ δὲ διδόναι καλὰ καὶ τοῖς καλῶς ἱεροῖς. *Philo. Iud.*

a Felix theſaurū imperialis quæſtor conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia, Eu inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio. Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.

b *Eccleſ.* 39. 34

c *Agg.* 2. 5. 10.

d *Minut. Fel. in Octau.*

e *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

their hinderance, no practiſe of Sathan or fraude of men auaileable againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthie to feele the aide of the arme of God extended ouer them for their ſafetie. Theſe Churches Diocleſian [a] cauſed by ſolemne Edict to bee afterwards ouerthrowne. Maximinus with like authoritie giuing leaue to erect them, the hearts of all men were euen rapt with diuine ioy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyranous impietie had laide waſt, recouered as it were out of mortall calamitie, Churches [b] *reared vp to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with farre more beautie in their reſtauration, then their founders before had giuen them.* Whereby wee ſee how moſt Chriſtian mindes ſtood then affected, we ſee how ioyfull they were to beholde the ſumptuous ſtatelines of houſes built vnto Gods glory. If we ſhould, ouer and beſides this, alleadge the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of Moſes might bee as beautifull, gorgeous and rich, as art could make them, or what trauaile and coſt was beſtowed that the goodlineſſe of the Temple might bee a ſpectacle of admiration to all the world; this they will ſay was figurative and ſerued by Gods appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true euerlaſting glorie of a more diuine Sanctuarie, whereinto Chriſt beeing long ſithence entred, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing wee alſo our ſelues would graunt, if the vſe thereof had beene meerely and onely myſticall. But ſith the prophet Dauid doth mention a naturall conueniencie which ſuch kinde of bounteous expences haue, as well for that wee doe thereby giue vnto God a teſtimonie of our [c] cheerefull affection which thinketh nothing too deere to bee beſtowed about the furniture of his ſeruice; as alſo becauſe it ſerueth to the world for a witneſſe of his [d] almightineſſe, whome wee outwardly honor with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things himſelfe incomparablie the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould haue made ſuch ſtore of glorious creatures on earth, and leaue them all to bee conſumed in ſecular vanitie, allowing none but the baſer ſorte to bee imployed in his owne ſeruice? To ſet forth the [e] maieſtie of Kings his Vicegerents in this world, the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath are procured. Wee thinke [f] belike that hee will accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdaine. If there bee great care to build and beautifie theſe corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the liuing Temples of the holie Ghoſt, the deerely redeemed ſoules of the people of God may bee edified; huge expences vpon Timber and ſtone, but towards the reliefe of the poore ſmall deuotion; Coſt this way infinite, and in the meane while Charitie cold; wee haue in ſuch caſe iuſt occaſion to make complaint as [g] S. Ierome did, *The walles of the Church there are now contented to builde, and to vnderſet it with goodly pillers, the marbles are poliſhed, the roofes ſhine with golde, the altar hath precious ſtones to adorne it: and of Chriſts Miniſters no choice at all.* The ſame Ierome both in that place and [h] elſe where debaſeth with like intent the glory of ſuch magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affection in thoſe times needed no ſpurre) thereby to extoll the neceſſitie ſometimes of charitie and almes, ſometimes of other the moſt principall duties belonging vnto Chriſtian men, which duties were neither ſo highlie eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the directeſt

a *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 8.*

b *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 2.*

c *1. Chro. 28. 14.*

d *2. Chro. 2. 5.*

e *Math. 6. 29.*

f *Mala. 1. 8.*

g *Ad Nepotian. de vita cleric.*

h *Ad Demetriad. epiſt. 12. ad Gaudentium.*

directeſt ſentence wee can giue of them both, as vnto me it ſeemeth, is this, *God who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honorable worke.*

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which ſuch places haue, is I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtaine of hereſie. Churches receiue as euery thing els their chiefe perfection from the end whereunto they ſerue. Which end being the publique worſhip of God, they are in this conſideration houſes of greater dignitie, then any prouided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeeme after a ſort euen to mourne, as being iniuried and defrauded of their right, when places not ſanctified as they are, preuent them *vnneceſſarily* in that preeminence and honor. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſſe, that the ſeruice of God hath not then it ſelfe, *ſuch perfection of grace and comelines*, as when the dignitie of place which it wiſheth for doth concurre. Againe albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in it ſelfe acceptable; who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place as with what affection he is ſerued; and therefore Moſes in the midſt of the Sea, Iob on the dunghill, Ezechias in bed, Ieremy in mire, Ionas in the Whale, Daniel in the denne, the Children in the fornace, the thiefe on the Croſſe, Peter and Paul in priſon calling vnto God were heard, as [a] S. Baſil noteth: manifeſt not withſtanding it is, that the very maieſtie and holineſſe of the place, where God is worſhipped, hath *in regard of vs* great vertue, force and efficacie, for that it ſerueth as a ſenſible helpe to ſtirre vp deuotion, and *in that reſpect* no doubt *bettereth* euen our holieſt and beſt actions in this kinde. As therefore we euery where exhort all men to worſhip God, euen ſo for peformance of this ſeruice by the people of God aſſembled, wee thinke not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of Dauid, [b] *O worſhip the Lord in the bewtie of holines.*

What holineſſe and vertue we aſcribe to the Church more then other places.

a *Exhort ad bapt. & penitct.*

b *Pſal.96.9.*

17 For of our Churches thus it becometh vs to eſteeme, howſoeuer others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale do powre out againſt them deuout blaſphemies, crying [c] *Downe with them, downe with them, euen to the very ground, For to idolatry they haue bene abuſed. And the places where idols haue bene worſhipped are by* [d] *the Law of God deuote to vtter deſtruction. For execution of which Law the* [e] *Kings that were godly, as Aſa, Iehoſaphat, Ezechia, Ioſia deſtroyed all the high places, altars, groues which had bene erected in Iuda and Iſrael. He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt vtterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Synagogues and places where ſuch idols haue bin worſhipped. This Law conteineth the temporall puniſhment which God hath ſet downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other law. They which ſpare them therfore do but reſerue, as the hypocrite Saul did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerueth God, and loueth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely loue God, and not extremely abhor that ſinne, which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the ſupreme guide and monarch of the whole world, with whoſe diuine authoritie and power it inueſteth others. By meanes whereof the ſtate of idolaters is two wayes miſerable. First in that which they worſhip [f] they finde no ſuccor; and ſecondly at his hands whome they ought to ſerue, there is no other thing to bee looked for but the effects of moſt iuſt diſpleaſure, the [g] withdrawing of grace, [h] dereliction in this world, and in the world to come [i] confuſion

Their pretenſe that would haue Churches vtterly razed.

c *Pſal.137.7.*
d *Deut.12.2.*
e *2.Chro.17.6. 2.Chro.29. 2.Chro.3.*
f *Iſa.8.21. 45.20. Hoſ.14.4. Iſa.41.24..*
g *Pſal.115.8. 81.13. Rom.1.24.*
h *Iudic.6.13.*
i *Apoc.21.8. Iſa.2.21.*

k *Act.*14.14.

sion k Paul and Barnabas, when Infidels admiring their vertues went about to sacrifice vnto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted persons ranne crying through the preasse of the people, *O men, wherefore doe ye these things?* They knew the force of that dreadfull l curse wherevnto idolatrie maketh subiect. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustaining the same, should grudge or complaine of iniustice. For whatsoeuer euill befalleth in that respect, m themselues haue made themselues worthie to suffer it. As for those things, either *whereon*, or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and depriued of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieue, and as it were, euen loath it selfe whensoeuer iniquitie causeth it to serue vnto vile purposes. Idolatrie therefore maketh whatsoeuer it toucheth the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which haue no vnderstanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sinne; and onely that which sinneth is subiect to *punishment*; which way should any such reature be *punishable* by the law of God? There may be cause sometimes to *abolish*, or to *extinguish* them. But surely neuer by way of punishment *to the thinges themselues*. Yea farther howsoeuer the law of Moses did punish Idolaters wee finde not that God hath appointed for vs any definite or *certaine temporall iudgement* which the Christian Magistrate *is of necessitie for euer* bound to execute vpon *offendors* in that kinde, much lesse vpon *things* that way *abused* as meere *instruments*. For what God did commaund touching Canaan, the same concerneth not vs any otherwise then onely as a fearefull patterne of his iust displeasure and wrath against sinfull nations. It teacheth vs how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them. It doth not appoint in what forme and manner *we ought* to punish the sinne of Idolatrie *in all others*. Vnlesse they will say, that because the Israelites were commaunded to make no couenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made betweene superstitious persons and such as serue God aright are vnlawfull altogether; or because God commaunded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas a *Commaundement* was also giuen to destroy all *places* where the Cananites had serued their Gods, and not to conuert any one of them to the honor of the true God: *this precept had reference vnto a speciall intent* and purpose, which was, that there should bee *but one onely place* in the whole land, wherevnto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their *Leuiticall* law did require. By which law, seuere charge was giuen them in that respect not to conuert *those places* to the worship of the liuing God, where Nations before them had serued idols, b *But to seeke the place which the Lord their God should choose out of all their tribes*. Besides, it is reason wee should likewise consider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to haue neither people nor law; neither regiment nor religion the same that was, and theirs, who only reforme a decayed estate by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swarued. In this case wee are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as wee may. Sith therefore examples haue not *generally* the force of lawes which all men ought to keepe, but of counsels onely and perswasions not amisse to be followed

l *Deut.*28.20.

m *Hier.*2.17.

a *Deut.*12.2.

b *Deut.*12.4.5

followed by them whoſe caſe is the like, ſurely where caſes are ſo vnlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did ſhould induce, much leſſe any way enforce vs to the ſame practiſe, eſpecially conſidering, that *groues* and *hill altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regarde of the ſecret acceſſe which people ſuperſtitiouſly giuen might haue alwayes thereunto with eaſe, neither could they remaining ſerue with any fitneſſe vnto better purpoſe: whereas our Temples (their former abuſe beeing by order of law remoued) are not onely free from ſuch perill, but withall ſo conueniently framed for the people of God to ſerue and honor him therein, that no man beholding them, can chooſe but thinke it exceeding great pittie they ſhould bee euer any otherwiſe imployed. Yea but the Cattell of Amaleck you will ſay were *fit* for ſacrifice, and this was the very conceipt which ſometime deceiued Saul. It was ſo. Nor doe I any thing doubt but that Saul vpon this conceipt might euen lawfully haue offered to God thoſe reſerued ſpoiles, had not the Lord *in that particular caſe* giuen *ſpeciall charge* to the contrarie. As therefore notwithſtanding the commaundement of Iſraell to deſtroy Cananites, Idolaters may bee conuerted and liue: So the Temples which haue ſerued Idolatrie as inſtruments may bee ſanctified againe and continue, albeit to Iſraell commaundement haue beene giuen that *they* ſhould deſtroy all Idolatrous places *in their land*; and to the good Kings of Iſrael commendation for fulfilling, to the euill for diſobaying the ſame commaundement ſometimes puniſhment, alwayes ſharp and ſeuere reproofe hath euen from the Lord him ſelfe befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to haue written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian oratories, the ouerthrow and ruine whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turkes but by a ſpeciall refined ſect of Chriſtian beleeuers; pretending themſelues exceedingly grieued at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which wee ſuffer them to holde, at their forme and faſhion, at the ſtatelines of them and coſtlineſſe, at the opinion which wee haue of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they haue beene put.

Of publique teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kinde thereof, catechiſing.

18 Places of publique reſort being thus prouided for our repaire thither is eſpecially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to bee had betweene God and vs. Becauſe therefore want [a] of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquitie amongſt men, as contrarie wiſe the very ground of all our happineſſe and the ſeede of whatſoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine, this kinde of knowledg we may iuſtly ſet downe for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth vnto his people, and our dutie of receiuing this at his mercifull hands for the firſt of thoſe religious offices wherewith we publiquely honor him on earth. For the inſtruction therfore of all ſorts of men to eternall life it is neceſſary, that the ſacred and ſauing truth of God be openly publiſhed vnto them. Which open publication of *heauenly myſteries* is by an excellencie termed *preaching*. For otherwiſe there is not any thing *publiquely notified*, but wee may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is [b] *preached*. So that when the ſchoole of God doth vſe it as *a word of arte*, we are accordingly to vnderſtand it with reſtraint to ſuch ſpeciall mat-

[a] *Contraria ſortia in quibus homines ſibi inuicem oppugnantur ſecundum exercitia & deſideria & opiniones omnia prouenunt ex ignorãtia: ſicut cæcus ex priuatione ſui viſus vagatur vbique & læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominũ inimicitiã & diuiſum. Hoc promiſit ſancta theologia dicens Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, Repleta eſt terra ſapientia Domini. Moſes Aegypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. c. 12.* [b] *Luc. 8. 39. 12. 3.*

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ter as that schoole is accustomed to publish. We finde not in the world any people that hath liued altogether without religion. And yet this dutie of religion, which prouideth that publiquely all sorts of men may bee instructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God, and hath beene alwayes so peculiar, that none of the Heathens how [a] curious soeuer in searching out all kindes of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could euer once so much as endeuour to resemble *herein* the Churches care for the endlesse good of her children. Waies of teaching there haue beene sundry alwayes vsuall in Gods Church. For the first introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, [b] the Iewes euen till this day haue their Catechismes, With religion it fareth as with other Sciences, The first deliuerie of the elements thereof must, for [c] like consideration, be framed according to the weake and slender capacitie of young beginners: vnto which maner of teaching principles in Christianitie, the Apostle in the sixt to the Hebrewes is himselfe vnderstood to allude. For this cause therefore, as the Decalogue of Moses declareth summarily those things which wee ought to doe; the Praier of our Lord whatsoeuer we should request or desire: so either by the [d] Apostles, or at the least wise out of their writings, we haue the substance of Christian beliefe compendiously drawne into few and short articles, to the end that the weakenes of no mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuse the vtter ignorance of needefull things. Such as were trained vp in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterward by baptisme receiued into the Church, the Fathers vsually in their writings doe terme [e] *Hearers*, as hauing no farther communion or fellowship with the Church then onely this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Christian faith made plaine vnto them. Catechising may be in schooles, it may bee in priuate families. But when wee make it a kinde of preaching, we meane alwayes the publique performance thereof in the open hearing of men, because things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

a *Vide Tertul. de præscr. aduersus her.*

b The Iewes Catech called *Lekach* Tob.

c *Incipientibus breuius ac simplicius tradi præcepta magis conuenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosa atque perplexa deterreri solent; aut eo tempore quo præcipua alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur.* Fab procem. lib. 8. *Incipientibus nobis exponere iura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissimè, si primò leui ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atq; exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum obruerimus duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorū efficiemus, aut cum magno labore eius, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque imbecilles auertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leuiore via ductus sine magno labore & sine vlla diffidentia maturius perduci potuisset* Institu. Imper. lib. 1. tit. 1.

d *Vide Ruff. in Symb.*

e *Tertul. de peniten. An alius est timidus Christus, alius Audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præsumere oportet.* Cypri Epist. 17. lib. 3. *Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit.* Rupert. de diuin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Audiens quisque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

Of Preaching by reading publiquely the Bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed vntruthes in those translations of Scripture which we allow to bee read; as also of the choyce which wemake in reading.

19 Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles were in their times all preachers of Gods truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly as faithfull *witnesses*, making meere *relation* what God himselfe had *reuealed* vnto them; and partly as carefull *expounders*, teachers, perswaders thereof. The Church in like case *preacheth* still, first publishing by way of *testimonie* or relation the truth which from them shee hath receiued, euen in such sort as it was receiued *written in the sacred volumes of Scripture*; secondly by way of *explication*, discouering the mysteries which lye hid therein. The Church as a witnesse preacheth his meere reuealed truth by *reading* publiquely the sacred Scripture. So that a second kind of preaching is the reading of holy writ. For thus wee may the boldlier speake, being strengthened [d] with the example

d *Act.* 15. 21.

example of ſo reuerend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of ancient generations and ages long ſince paſt had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* he was ready euery Sabboth day. For ſo of neceſſitie it muſt be meant, in as much as we know that the Iewes haue alwayes had their weekly readings of the *law of Moſes*; but that they alwayes had in like manner their weekly *ſermons vpon ſome part of the law of Moſes*, we no where finde. Howbeit ſtill wee muſt heere remember, that the Church by her publike reading of the Booke of God preacheth only *as a witneſſe*. Now the principall thing required in a witneſſe is fidelitie. Wherefore as wee cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture deliuereth in ſtead of diuine ſpeeches any thing repugnant vnto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame which in both theſe reſpects hath beene laid vpon the Church of England, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching tranſlations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painefull trauailes herein, who ſtrictly haue tied themſelues to the very originall letter, yet the iudgement of the Church, as wee ſee by the practiſe of all nations, *Greekes*, *Latines*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, hath beene euer that the fitteſt for publique audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe betweene the rigor of literall tranſlators and the libertie of paraphraſts, doe with greateſt ſhortneſſe and plainneſſe deliuer the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficultie, the exact performance thereof we may rather wiſh then looke for. So that, except betweene the *words of tranſlation* and the *minde of Scripture* it ſelfe, there bee *Contradiction*, euery little difference ſhould not ſeeme an intollerable blemiſh neceſſarily to bee ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the [a] Prophet *Dauid* in a certaine Pſalme doth ſay concerning *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that they *were* obedient to the word of God, and in the ſelfe ſame place our allowed tranſlation ſaith they *were not* obedient; we are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt gainſayers of Scripture, euen in that which wee read for Scripture vnto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the minde of the ſpeaker conceiueth, and conceipts are images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, ſhould haue recourſe to the things themſelues from whence they riſe. In ſetting downe that miracle at the ſight whereof *Peter* fell downe aſtonied before the feete of Ieſus and cryed *Depart Lord I am a ſinner*, the [b] Euangeliſt Saint *Luke* ſayth, the ſtore of the fiſh which they tooke was ſuch that the net they tooke it in *brake*, and the ſhippes which they loaded therewith ſunke; [c] Saint *Iohn* recording the like miracle ſaith, that albeit the fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the net with ſo great a waight was *not broken*. Suppoſe they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifeſt ſhew of iarre; yet none, if we looke vpon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both haue ſpoken euen of one miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of diuers, the one intending thereby to ſignifie that the greatneſſe of the burthen exceeded the naturall habilitie of the inſtruments which they had to beare it; the other that the weakneſſe thereof was ſupported by a ſupernaturall and miraculous addi-

[a] *Pſal.* 105.28.

[b] *Luc.* 5.6.7.

[c] *Iohn* 21.11.

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tion of ſtrength. The nets as touching themſelues *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the [a] Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the leaſt? And doth not the very [b] Euangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, Thou *Bethleem not the leaſt*? the one regarding the quantitie of the place, the other the dignitie. *Micheas* attributeth vnto it ſmalneſſe in reſpect of circuit; *Mathew* greatneſſe, in regard of honor and eſtimation, by being the natiue ſoile of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt. Sith therefore ſpeeches, which gaineſay one another muſt of neceſſitie bee applied both vnto one and the ſame ſubiect; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirme, the other denie the ſelfeſame thing: what neceſſity of contradiction can there be betweene the letter of the Prophet *Dauid*, and our authorized tranſlation thereof, if he vnderſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron* doe ſay, *They* were not *diſobedient*; wee applying our ſpeech to *Pharao* and the *Ægyptians*, doe ſay of them, *They* were not *obedient*? Or (which the matter it ſelfe will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the *Ægyptians* being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they*, in regard of [c] their offer to let go the people, when they ſaw the fearefull darkeneſſe, *diſobeyed not* the word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his word, in as much as the ſheepe and Cattle at the ſelfeſame time they withheld. Of both tranſlations the better I willingly acknowledge that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the originall verity: yet ſo that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any perill at all of gaineſaying as much as the leaſt iot or ſyllable of Gods moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this wee doe not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gaineſayed or croſt, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certaine readings, wherein the ſteps of the Latine Seruice Booke haue beene ſomewhat too neerely followed. As when we ſay Chriſt ſpake [d] *to his Diſciples* that which the Goſpell declareth he ſpake [e] *vnto the Phariſes*. For doth the Goſpell affirme he ſpake to the *Phariſes only*? doth it meane that they and beſides them no man els was at that time ſpoken vnto by our Sauiour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diuerſitie no contrarietie. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Mathew*, which haue recorded thoſe Sermons heard them, and being hearers did thinke themſelues as well reſpected as the *Phariſees*, in that which their Lord and Maſter taught, concerning the Paſtorall care he had ouer his own flocke, and his offer of grace made to the whole world, which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we reade for the word of God that which may bee condemned as repugnant vnto his word. Furthermore ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed in that we follow not the method of reading, which [f] in their iudgement is moſt commendable, the method vſed in ſome forreine Churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of diuine ſeruice, and without either *choice* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinate* order. Neuertheleſſe, till ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe vs ſome iuſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, we muſt by their patience, if not allowance, retaine the ſ ancient receiued cuſtome which we now obſerue. For with vs the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgie, a ſpeciall portion of the ſeruice which wee doe to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth waite for an others comming, till the aſſembly of them that ſhall afterward worſhip him be complete. Where-

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a *Matth.*5.2.
b *Matth.*2 6.
c *Exod.*10.24.
d The Goſpel on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinitie.
e *Iohn* 10.11. *Matth.*22.1.
f *T.C.l.*2.*p.*381. Although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches; where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare publique reading in the Church neceſſarie.h.d.
g *Aug.de Ciuit. Dei.lib.*22 *ca.*8. *Facto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt feſta diuina ſolennia.* That for ſeuerall times ſeuerall pieces of ſcripture were read as parts of the ſeruice of the Greek church, the Fathers therof in their ſundry Homilies and other writings doe all teſtifie. The like order in the Syrian Churches is cleere by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the new Teſtament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerpe.

fore as the forme of our publique ſeruice is not voluntarie, ſo neither are the parts thereof left vncertaine, but they are all ſet downe in ſuch order, and with ſuch choice, as hath in the wiſedome of the Church ſeemed beſt to concurre as well with the ſpeciall occaſions, as with the generall purpoſe which we haue to glorifie God.

Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning bookes Apocryphall.

20 Other publique readings there are of bookes and writings not Canonicall, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make known the doctrine of vertuous conuerſation; whereupon beſides thoſe things in regarde whereof we are thought to reade the ſcriptures of God amiſſe, it is thought amiſſe that we reade in our Churches any thing at all beſides the ſcriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction as the Church hath deuiſed for the better vnderſtanding of ſcripture, or for the eaſier trayning vp of the people in holines and righteouſnes of life they [a] pleade that God in the law would haue *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither beſoms, nor fleſhhookes, nor trumpets, but thoſe onely which were ſanctified; that for the expounding of darker places we *ought* to follow the Iewes* politie, who vnder Antiochus where they had not the Commoditie of Sermons, appoynted alwayes at their meetings ſomewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the law, and ſo by the one made the other plainer to be vnderſtood; that before and after our ſauiours comming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Ionathans* paraphraſe though hauing both, but contented themſelues [b] with the reading onely of ſcriptures; that if in the Primitiue Church there had bene any thing read beſides the monuments of the Prophets and Apoſtles, [c] Iuſtin Martyr and Origen who mention theſe, would haue ſpoken of the other likewiſe; that [d] the moſt auncient and beſt councels forbid any thing to be read in Churches ſauing Canonicall ſcripture onely; that when [e] other things were afterwards permitted, [f] fault was found with it it ſucceeded but ill, the Bible it ſelfe was thereby in time quite and cleane thruſt out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the authors good-will and meaning towards the cauſe which they would ſet forward, muſt accordingly bee accepted of by them who already are perſwaded the ſame way. But if their drift and purpoſe be to perſwade others, it would be demaunded, by what rule the legall *hallowing* of beſomes and fleſhhookes muſt needes exclude all other readings in the Church ſaue Scripture. Things ſanctified were thereby in ſuch ſorte appropriated vnto God, as that they might neuer afterwards againe be made common. For which cauſe the Lord to ſigne and marke them as his owne, [g] appoynted oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinary and daily vſes. Thus the [h] annoynting of Aaron and his ſonnes tyed them to the office of the prieſthood for euer; the annointing not of thoſe ſiluer trumpets (which [i] Moſes as well for ſecular as ſacred vſes was commaunded to make, not to ſanctifie) but the vnction of the [k] tabernacle, the table, the laner, the altar of God, with all the inſtruments appertayning thereunto, this made them for euer holie vnto him in whoſe ſeruice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow that all things

a *T.C.lib.1.pa.196.* Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to bee read in the Church Wherein firſt it is good to conſider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times paſt: when he commanded *Exod.* 30. 29. that no veſſell nor no inſtrument, either beſome or fleſhhooke or pan ſhould once come into the Temple, but thoſe only which were ſanctified and ſet apart for that vſe. And in the booke of Numbers, hee will haue no other trumpets blowne to call the people together, but thoſe only which were ſet apart for that purpoſe. *Numb.* 10. 2.

* *T.C.l.1.p.197.* Beſides this, the politie of the Church of God in times paſt is to be followed. &c.

b *Act.* 13. 15. *Act.* 15. 21.

c *Iuſtin. Apol.* 2. *Origen. Hom.* 1. *ſuper Exod. & in Iudic.*

d *Concil. Laod. cap.* 59.

e *Concil. Vas. ſeſſ.* 2.

f *Concil. Colon. par.* 2.

g *Exod.* 30. 25. 32.

h *Exod.* 4. 15.

i *Numb.* 10. 2

k *Exod.* 27. 3. & 30. 26. 27. 28

things now in the Church from the greateſt *to the leaſt* are vnholy, which the Lord hath not himſelfe preciſely inſtituted? For ſo[l] thoſe rudiments they ſay doe import. Then is there nothing holy which the Church by her authoritie hath appointed, and conſequently all poſitiue ordinances that euer were made by Eccleſiaſticall power touching ſpirituall affaires are prophane, they are vnholy. I would not wiſh them to vndertake a worke ſo deſperate as to prooue, that for the peoples inſtruction no kind of reading is good, but onely that which the Iewes deuiſed vnder Antiochus, although euen that bee alſo miſtaken. For according to [m] Elias the Leuite (out of whom it doth ſeeme borrowed) the thing which Antiochus forbad was the publique *reading* of the law, and not *Sermons* vpon the law. Neither did the Iewes reade a portion of the Prophets together with the law to ſerue for an interpretation thereof, becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; but in ſtead of the law which they might not reade openly, they reade of the Prophets that which in likeneſſe of matter came neereſt to each ſection of their law. Whereupon when afterwards the libertie of reading the [a] law was reſtored, the ſelfeſame cuſtome [b] as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Iewes haue vſed publiquely to reade their Paraphraſts, [c] nor the Primitiue Church for a long time any other writings then Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it were ſome lawe of God or reaſon forbidding them to doe that which wee doe, why ſhould the latter ages of the Church be depriued of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the world ſtandeth to put nothing in practiſe but onely that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonicall, ſo it maketh [d] ſome things not Canonicall which are. Their iudgement in this we may not, and in that we neede not follow. We haue by thus many yeares experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconuenience, hath growne by the cuſtome which we now obſerue. As for the harme whereof iudicious men haue complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo euill choice was made. With vs there is neuer any time beſtowed in diuine ſeruice without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we accompt a thing moſt neceſſary. Wee dare not admit any ſuch forme of Liturgie as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to bee read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the houſe of God is rather there to bee feared where men eſteeme it a matter [e] ſo indifferent, whether the ſame bee by ſolemne appointment read publiquely, or not read, the bare text excepted which the Preacher happily chooſeth out to expound. But let vs heere conſider what the practiſe of our Fathers before vs hath beene, and how farre-foorth the ſame may bee followed. Wee finde that in ancient times there was publiquely read firſt the [f] Scripture, as namely, ſome thing out of the bookes of the [g] Prophets of God which were of old, ſomthing out of

l *T.C.li.1 p.197* The Lord would by theſe rudiments and pædagogie teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the Church but that which he had appointed.

m *Elias Theſh in verbo Patar.*

a *Act.15.21.*

b *Act.13.15.*

c *T.C.l.1.p.197* This practiſe continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appeare by the ſecond Apologie of Iuſtin Martyr. Idem. Pa.198. it was decreed in the councel of Laodicea, that nothing ſhold be read in the Church but the canonicall bookes of the olde and new Teſtament. Afterward, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs liues was permitted. But beſides the euill ſucceſſe thereof, that vſe and cuſtome was controld, as may appeare by the councell of Colen, albeit otherwiſe a Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies & Martyrs liues, hath thruſt the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner.

d The Apocalips.

e *T.C.l.2.p.381.* It is vntrue that *ſimple reading* is neceſſarie in the Church. A number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandment, which they might be if ſimple reding were *neceſſary*. [By ſimple reading, he meaneth the cuſtome of bare reading more then the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth vnto the people.]

f *Coimus ad diuinarum literarum commemorationem.* Tertul. Apologet p.692.

g *Iudaicarum hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſijs.* Orig. in Ioſ. ho.15.

the

[a] the Apoſtles writings; and laſtly out of the holy [b] Euangeliſts, ſomethings which touched the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the new, and alwaies ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to haue bene that which Iuſtin Martyr and S. Auguſtine obſerue in comparing the two Teſtaments. [c] *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *haue taught vs as themſelues did learne firſt the precepts of the law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law but the Goſpell foreſhewed? What other the Goſpell then the Law fulfild?* In like ſort the other, [d] *what the old Teſtament hath the very ſame the new conteineth, but that which lieth there as vnder a ſhadow, is heere brought foorth into the open ſunne. Things there prefigured, are heere performed.* Againe, *In the old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the new, in the new an open diſcouerie of the old.* To be ſhort, the method of their publique readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerue, [e] *That from ſmaller things the minde of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees clime vp frō the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the bookes which they called *Eccleſiaſticall*, were thought not vnworthie ſometime to be brought into publique audiēce, and with that name they entituled the Bookes which we terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the ſelfe ſame name they alſo compriſed certaine no otherwiſe annexed vnto the new, then the former to the old Teſtament, as a booke of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the phraſe of Antiquitie, theſe wee may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Eccleſiaſticall* bookes or writings. For we being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of S. *Ierome*, who ſaith that [f] *All writings not Canonicall are Apocryphall*, vſe not now the title *Apocryphall* as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily haue done, whoſe cuſtome is ſo to name for the moſt part only ſuch as might not publiquely be read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore hauing rehearſed the ſelfe ſame bookes of Canonicall Scripture, which with vs are held to be alone Canonicall, addeth immediately by way of caution, [g] *Wee muſt know that other bookes there are alſo which our forefathers haue vſed to name not Canonicall but Eccleſiaſticall bookes as the booke of Wiſedome, Eccleſiaſticus, Tobie, Iudith, the Macabies in the old Teſtament; in the new the booke of Hermes, and ſuch others. All which bookes and writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleaged as if their authoritie did binde vs to build vpon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not haue read in Churches. Theſe things deliuered vnto vs from the Fathers, we haue in this place thought good to ſet downe.* So far *Ruffinus*. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged writings dangerous vnto Chriſtian beliefe, and yet bearing [h] glorious inſcriptions, began ſoone vpon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honored as if they had bene indeede Apoſtolique, ſhall eaſily perceiue what cauſe the Prouinciall Synod of [i] *Laodicea* might haue *as then* to preuent eſpecially the danger of bookes made newly Eccleſiaſticall, and for feare of the fraude of Heretiques to prouide, that ſuch publique readings might be altogether taken out of Canonicall ſcripture. Which ordi-

[a] Παντων χρη πρωτον ἀπο των ἀποστολων μαθειν τα ἀκριβη, ἐπειτα μυηθεντων δη τὸ αὐτὸ φωτισθηναι, γενεσθαι ἐν τοις ἀπομνημονευμασι των ἀποστολων, ἢ τοις συγγραμμασι των προφητων ἀναγινωσκεται. *Iuſtin. apol. 2. pa. 162.*

Factum eſt vt illa die Dominica prophetica lectione iam lecta, ante altare adſtante, qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius &c. Sulpit. Seuer. lib. 3. de vita S. Mart.

[b] *Vide Concil. Vaſen. 2. habitum an. D. 444. to. Concil. 2. pag. 19. Item Synod. Laod. cap. 16. Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 5. & lib. 4. epiſt. 5. Ambroſ. lib. 1. Offic. ca. 8. & epiſt. 75. & lib. de Helia atque ieiunio ca. 20.* [c] *Iuſt. queſt. 101.* [d] *Auguſt. queſt. 33. in Numer.*

[e] *Walfr. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.*

[f] *Hieron. in prolog. Galeat.*

[g] *Ruffin. in ſymbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.*

[h] *Vide Geleſ. in Decret. to. Concil. 2. pa. 462.*

[i] *Circa an. D. 366.*

nance reſpecting but that abuſe that grew through the intermingling of leſſons humane with ſacred, at ſuch time as the one both affected the credit, and vſurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of [a] a later Councill prouiding remedie for the ſelfe ſame euill, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſticall bookes to be read, it doth more plainely and cleerely appeare) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be vrged vtterly to preiudice our vſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſticall writings; much leſſe of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings vſuall in former times, a moſt commendable inſtitution as well then [b] to ſupplie the caſuall, as now the neceſſarie defect of Sermons. In the heate of generall perſecution whereunto Chriſtian beliefe was ſubiect, vpon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancie of weaker mindes, when publique relation was made vnto them after what manner God had beene glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for holineſſe during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous euidence of grace diuine aſſiſting them from aboue. For which cauſe the vertues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance aboue the reſt, this brought in [c] a fourth kinde of publique reading, whereby the liues of ſuch Saincts and Martyrs had at the time of their yearely memorials ſolemne recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable cuſtome being in later ages reſumed, when there was neither the like cauſe to do as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conſcience, or wit in ſuch as vndertooke to performe that worke, ſome braineleſſe men haue by great labour and trauaile brought to paſſe, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more then of Saincts. If therefore Pope [d] Gelaſius did ſo long ſithence ſee thoſe defects of iudgement euen then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs ſhould be and was at that time forborne in the church of Rome; we are not to maruaile that afterwards legends being growne in a manner to be nothing elſe but heapes of friuolous and ſcandalous vanities, they haue beene euen with diſdaine throwne out, the [e] very neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſute, as if they who aboliſh legends could not without incongruitie reteine in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe old *Eccleſiaſtical bookes:* Which bookes in caſe my ſelfe did thinke, as ſome others do, ſafer and better to be left publiquely vnread; neuertheleſſe as in other things of like nature, euen ſo in this, [f] my priuate iudgement I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their reuerend authoritie, who rather conſidering the diuine excellencie of ſome things in all, and of all things in certaine of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publiquely reade, haue thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginall border vnto the old Teſtament, and, though with diuine, yet as humane compoſitions to graunt at the leaſt vnto certaine of them publique audience in the houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heauenly truth dependeth wholie vpon the knowne and approued authoritie of thoſe famous oracles of God, it greatly behoueth the Church to haue alwayes moſt eſpeciall care, leaſt through confuſed mixture at any time humane vſurp the roome and title of diuine writings. Wherefore albeit for the peoples

[a] more

a *Concil. Carthag.3.ca.47. Præter ſcripturas canonicas nihil in Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine diuinarum ſcripturarum.Circa.an. D.401.*

b *Concil.Vaſen.2. habitum an.D.444.to. Concil.2.p.19. Si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare, ſanctorum patrum homilia à Diaconibus recitentur.*

c *Concil.Carthag.3.can.13. & Greg. Turon.de gloria mart.ca.86. & Hadria.epiſt. ad Carol.magn.*

d *Gelaſ.circa an.D.492.to. Concil.2.pa.461.*

e *Concil.Colonien.celebrat. an.D.1536. part.2.cap.6. Melch. Can. locor.theol. lib.11.Viu.de trad.diſc.lib.5.*

f *In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt.c. vn.de relig.do. in Extra.*

a more plaine inſtruction (as the ancient vſe hath beene) we reade in our Churches certaine bookes beſides the ſcripture, yet as the ſcripture we reade them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſeuer them from the ſcripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome or other will happily miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in euery mans eye, there is no let but that as often as thoſe bookes are read, and neede ſo requireth, the ſtile of their difference may expreſſely be mentioned, to barre euen all poſſibilitie of error. It being then knowne that we hold not the Apocrypha for ſacred (as we do the holy ſcripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubiect whereof are ſundrie diuine matters, let there be reaſon ſhewed why to reade any part of them publiquely it ſhould be vnlawfull or hurtfull vnto the Church of God. I heare it ſaid that b *many things* in them are very *friuolous*, and vnworthy of publique audience; yea many contrary, *plainely contrary to the holy ſcripture.* Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proued by him who ſaith it, and if the proofes thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelfe is weake. Let vs therefore ſuppoſe (for I will not demaund to what purpoſe it is that againſt our cuſtome of reading bookes not Canonicall they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe bookes which we neuer vſe to reade) ſuppoſe I ſay that what faults ſoeuer they haue obſerued throughout the paſſages of all thoſe bookes, the ſame in euery reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe then euen as themſelues pretend: Yet as men through too much haſt oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould go: So heere it appeareth that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoeuer might preiudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphall bookes, hath cauſed the Collectors pen ſo to runne as it were on wheeles, that the minde which ſhould guide it had no leaſure to thinke, whether that which might happily ſerue to withhold from giuing them the authoritie which belongeth vnto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerue to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from graunting vnto them that publique vſe wherein they are only held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged that thoſe bookes are c *holie*, that they are *eccleſiaſticall* and *ſacred*, that to terme them *diuine* as being for their excellencie next vnto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honor them aboue deſert; yea euen that the whole Church of Chriſt as well *at the firſt* as *ſithence* hath moſt worthily approued their fitneſſe for the publique information of life and manners; is not thus much I ſay acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receiue not the ſame for *any part of canonicall ſcripture*, by them who denie not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are readie enough to giue inſtances wherein they ſeeme to conteyne matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy ſcripture?* So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultineſſe in moderate mens iudgement inforce the remouall of them out of the houſe of God, that ſtill they are iudged to reteine worthily thoſe very titles of commendation, then which there cannot greater be giuen to writings the authors whereof are men. As in truth if the ſcripture it ſelfe aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſneſſe in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be conſtrued as though it did thereby cleere them and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we ſhould

a *Hierom. præfa ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 14. Præfat. gloſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hierom. in Tob.*

b T.C. *lib. 1. pag. 400. 401.*

c *Harm. Confeſ. Sect. 1. Belg. con. art. 6. Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. lib. 1. c. 5.*

iudge it abſurd to commend their writings as reuerend, holie and ſound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular perfections, only for that the exquiſite wits of ſome few peraduenture are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence which may be more probablie ſuſpected then eaſily cleered of error by vs which haue but coniecturall knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt inuectiues therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with [a] *outragious lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will preuaile, who without ſo paſſionate termes of diſgrace, do note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other writings, a difference ſuch as [b] Ioſephus and Epiphanius obſerue: the one declaring that amongſt the Iewes bookes written after the dayes of Artaxerxes, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of Prophets; the [c] other acknowledging that they are *profitable*, although denying them to be *diuine* in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the ſcripture it ſelfe is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed, thoſe words of the [d] nephew of Ieſus do plainely enough ſignifie, *After that my grandfather Ieſus had giuen himſelfe to the reading of the* Law *and the* Prophets, *and* other bookes of our fathers, *and had* gotten therein *ſufficient iudgement, he* purpoſed *alſo to write ſomething* pertaining to learning and wiſedome, *to the intent* that they which were deſirous to learne, *and would giue themſelues to theſe things* might profit *much more in liuing according to the Law.* Their end in writing and ours in reading them is the ſame. The bookes of Iudith, Tobie, Baruk, Wiſdome, and Eccleſiaſticus, we reade as ſeruing moſt vnto that end. The reſt we leaue vnto men in priuat. Neither can it be reaſonablie thought becauſe vpon certaine ſolemne occaſions ſome leſſons are choſen out of thoſe bookes, and of ſcripture it ſelfe ſome Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer diſgrace to the word of God, or lift vp the writings of men aboue it. For in ſuch choice we do not thinke but that *fitneſſe* of ſpeech may be more reſpected then *worthineſſe*. If in that which we vſe to reade there happen by the way any clauſe, ſentence or ſpeech, that ſoundeth towards errour, ſhould the mixture of a little droſſe conſtraine the Church to depriue her ſelfe of ſo much gold rather then learne how by arte and iudgement to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly from the counſell that S. Ierome giueth Læta of taking heed *how* ſhe read the *Apocrypha*, as alſo by the help of other learned mens iudgements deliuered in like caſe, we may take direction. But ſurely the arguments that ſhould binde vs not to reade them, or any part of them publiquely at all, muſt be ſtronger then as yet we haue heard any.

Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods truth.

21 We maruaile the leſſe that our reading of bookes not Canonicall is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed vnto the reading of Canonicall ſcripture it ſelfe, that now it hath growne to be a queſtion, whether the *word of God* be any *ordinarie* meane to ſaue the ſoules of men, in that it is either priuately ſtudyed or publiquely read and ſo made knowne, or elſe only as the ſame is *preached*, that is to ſay, *explaned by liuely voice*, and *applied* to the peoples vſe *as the ſpeaker in his wiſedome* thinketh meete. For this alone is it which they vſe to call *preaching*. The publique reading of the Apocrypha they condemne altogether

a The libel of *Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art.* 34.

b *Ioſeph. cont. App. lib.* 1.

c *Epiph. in Anc yrot.* χρήσιμοί εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν γνησίων οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

d *Præf. ad libr. Eccleſ.*

altogether as a thing effectuall vnto euill; the *bare* reading *in like ſort* of whatſoeuer, yea euen of Scriptures themſelues, they miſlike, as a thing *vneffectuall* to do *that good*, which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controuerſie, as in the reſt, not to be carried vp and downe with the waues of vncertaine arguments, but rather poſitiuely to leade on the mindes of the ſimpler ſort by plaine and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelfe do make manifeſt what is truth. Firſt therefore becauſe whatſoeuer is ſpoken concerning the efficacie or neceſſitie of *Gods word*, the ſame they tye and reſtraine only vnto *Sermons*, howbeit not ſermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhorre in the Church) but ſermons without booke, ſermons which ſpend their life in their birth and may haue publique audience but once: for this cauſe to auoid ambiguities wherewith they often intangle themſelues, not marking what doth agree to the word of God in it ſelfe, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the word of God is his heauenly truth touching matters of eternall life reuealed and vttered vnto men, vnto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate diuine inſpiration, from them to vs by their bookes and writings. We therefore haue no *word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtolique Sermons were vnto ſuch as heard them his word euen as properly as to vs their writings are. Howbeit not ſo our owne ſermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of wit doth gather and miniſter out of the word of God. For which cauſe in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *word of God*, alwaies to meane the *ſcripture only*. The end of the word of God is *to ſaue*, and therefore we terme it *the word of life*. The way for all men to be ſaued is by the knowledge of that truth which the word hath taught. And ſith eternall life is a thing of it ſelfe communicable vnto all, it behoueth that the word of God the neceſſarie meane thereunto be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the word of life hath beene alwaies a treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attaine, as to finde, leaſt any man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficultie of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwiſe ſerueth then only in the nature of a doctrinall inſtrument. It ſaueth becauſe it maketh *wiſe to ſaluation*. Wherefore the ignorant it ſaueth not, they which liue by the word muſt know it. And being it ſelfe the inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to worke the knowledge of ſaluation in the harts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelfe be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely meane to leaue an *apprehenſion* of things diuine in our vnderſtanding, and in the minde an *aſſent* thereunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his owne wiſedome, hath by deliuering his word made choice of the Scriptures, as the moſt effectuall meanes, whereby thoſe treaſures might be imparted vnto the world, it followeth that to mans vnderſtanding the Scripture muſt needes be euen of it ſelfe intended as a full and perfect diſcouerie, ſufficient to imprint in vs the liuely character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainement of eternall life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heauenly truth, ſeeing that the word of God for the Authors ſake hath credit with all that confeſſe it (as wee all do) to be his word, euery propoſition of holy Scripture, euery ſentence being to vs a principle, if the principles of all kindes of knowledge elſe haue

2. Tim. 3. 15.

that vertue in themſelues whereby they are able to procure our aſſent vnto ſuch concluſions, as the induſtrie of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we haue no reaſon to thinke the principles of that truth which tendeth vnto mans euerlaſting happineſſe leſſe foreible then any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certaintie the moſt infallible. But as euery thing of price, ſo this doth require trauaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with vs into the world. And the leſſe our owne oportunitie or habilitie is that way, the more we neede the helpe of other mens iudgements to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man euer beleeue, into whome the doctrine of beliefe is not inſtilled by inſtruction ſome way receiued at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoeuer fit meanes there are to notifie the myſteries of the word of God, whether publiquely (which we call *preaching*) or in priuat howſoeuer, the word by *euery ſuch meane* euen *ordinarily* doth ſaue, and not only by being deliuered vnto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the onely preaching* which doth ſaue ſoules. For concerning the vſe and ſenſe of this word *preaching* which they ſhut vp in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more then enough haue already beene ſpoken to redeeme the libertie thereof, yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their eares with hearing how others whome they more regard are in this caſe accuſtomed to vſe the ſelfe ſame language with vs whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. [a] Iuſtin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Græcians, that euen in certaine of their *writings* the very iudgement to come is preached; nor the [b] Councell of Vaus to inſinuate that Presbyters abſent through infirmitie from their Churches might be ſayd to preach by thoſe deputies who in their ſtead did but reade *Homilies*; nor the [c] Councell of Toledo to call the vſuall publique reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church preaching; nor [d] others long before theſe our dayes to write, that by him who but readeth *a leſſon* in the ſolemne aſſemblie as part of diuine ſeruice, the very office of preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kinde of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would haue maruelled to heare the [e] outcries which we do, becauſe we thinke that the Apoſtles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church thoſe bookes which the Apoſtles wrote are neither vntruly nor vnfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although mens *toongs* and their *pennes* differ, yet to one and the ſelfe *ſame* generall, if not particular *effect*, they may both ſerue. It is no good argument, S. Paul could not *write with his toong*, therefore neither could he *preach with his penne*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and ſpeaking do both ſerue. Men ſpeake not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech, and yet things *recorded* with the one and *vttered* with the other may be [f] *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpell of Chriſt, and our vſuall *publique reading* of the word of God for the peoples inſtruction *is preaching*. Nor about words would we euer contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame iniurious to Gods moſt ſacred word and ſpirit. It is on both ſides confeſt that the word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his [g] ſpirit inwardly concurring therewith) conuerteth, edifieth, and ſaueth ſoules. Now whereas the externall

admini-

a *Parænet. ad Gent. pag.* 17.
b *Concil. Vaſen.* 2. *ca.* 2.
c *Concil. Tol.* 4. *ca.* 11.
d *Rupert. de diuin. Offic. lib.* 1. *ca.* 12, 13. *Iſidor. de eccleſ. Offic. lib.* 1. *ca.* 10.
e The libell of Schoolp. *art.* 11. T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 388. S. Pauls writing is no more preaching, then his pen or his hand is his toong: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame which cannot be made by the ſame inſtruments.
f *Euangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Rainol. de Rom. eccleſ. Idololat. præf. ad Co. Eſſix.*
g *Iohn* 6. 46. *Math.* 16. 17. 2. *Cor.* 4. 6. 1. *Cor.* 12. 3. *Act.* 16. 14.

administration of his word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaning the same when Sermons thereon be made, in the one they denye that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certaine *principall operations*, which we most stedfastly hold and beleeue that it hath in both.

So worthie a part of diuine seruice we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteeme preaching as the blessed ordinance of God, Sermons as keyes to the kingdome of heauen, as wings to the soule, as spurres to the good affections of man, vnto the sound and healthie as foode, as phisicke vnto diseased mindes. Wherefore how highly soeuer it may please them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they shall not herein offend vs. We seeke not to derogate from any thing which they can iustly esteeme, but our desire is to vphold the iust estimation of that from which it seemeth vnto vs they derogate more then becommeth them. That which offendeth vs is, first the great disgrace which they offer vnto *our custome* of bare reading the word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifesting it selfe for the endlesse good of mens soules, euen the vertue which it hath to *conuert*, to *edifie*, to *saue* soules, this they mightily striue to obscure; and secondly the shifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *sauing* power of the holy Ghost, they seperate from all *apparent* hope of life and saluation thousands whome the goodnes of Almightie God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the vse of Scripture, euen in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very meane hath reaped, there was, we may very well thinke, some cause, which moued the Apostle S. Paule to [a] require, that those things which any one Churches affaires gaue particular occasion to write, might for the instruction of all be published and that by *reading*. 1. When the very hauing of the bookes of God was a matter of no small charge and difficultie, in as much as they could not be had otherwise then only in written copies, it was the necessitie not of preaching things agreeable with the word, but of reading the word it selfe at large to the people, which caused Churches throughout the world to haue publique care that the sacred oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great sedulitie be kept both intire and sincere. If then we admire the prouidence of God in the same continuance of scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeuors of infidels to abolish, and the fraudulent of heretiques alwaies to depraue the same, shall we set light by that custome of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath growne. 2. The voice and testimonie of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the liuing God, is for the truth and certaintie thereof no meane euidence. For if with reason we may presume vpon things which a few mens depositions do testifie, suppose we that the mindes of men are not both at their first accesse to the schoole of Christ exceedingly moued, yea and for euer afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the maine consent of all the Churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authoritie of Scriptures, euer sithence the first publication thereof euen till this present day and houre? And that they all haue alwayes so testified, I see not how we should possiblie wish a proofe more palpable then this manifest receiued and euery where

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading also.

[a] 1. *Thes.* 5. 27. *Coloss.* 4. 16.

continued

continued cuſtome of reading them publiquely as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the word of God, as the vſe hath euer bene, in open audience, is the plaineſt euidence we haue of the Churches *aſſent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his word. 3. A further commoditie this cuſtome hath, which is to furniſh the very *ſimpleſt* and *rudeſt* ſort with ſuch infallible *axiomes* and *precepts* of ſacred truth, deliuered euen in the *very letter* of the law of God, as may
a Iohn 5.39. Iſa.8.20. ſerue them for a *rules* whereby to iudge the better *all other doctrines* and inſtructions which they heare. For which end and purpoſe I ſee not how the ſcripture could be poſſibly made familiar vnto all, vnleſſe farre more ſhould be read in the peoples hearing, then by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a maner the whole booke of God is by reading euery yeare publiſhed, a ſmall part thereof in compariſon of the whole may hold very well the readieſt interpreter of ſcripture occupied many yeares. 4. Beſides, wherefore ſhould any mā thinke, but that reading it ſelfe is one of the *ordinarie* meanes, whereby it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodnes to inſtill that celeſtiall veritie, which being *but ſo* receiued, is neuertheleſſe effectuall to *ſaue* ſoules? Thus much therefore we aſcribe to the reading of the word of God as the maner is in our Churches. And becauſe it were odious if they on their part ſhould altogether deſpiſe the ſame, they yeeld that reading may *ſet forward*, but not begin the worke of ſaluation; that b faith may be *nouriſhed* therewith, but not bred; that c herein mens attention to the ſcriptures, and their ſpeculation of the creatures of God haue like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if d any *believe* by reading alone, we are to accompt it a miracle, an *extraordinarie* worke of God. Wherin that which they graunt we gladly accept at their hands, and wiſh that patiently they would examine how little cauſe they haue to denie that which as yet they graunt not. The e Scripture witneſſeth that when the booke of the Law of God had beene ſometime miſſing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with teares confeſſed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord vpon vs, becauſe our Fathers haue not kept his word to do after all things which are written in this booke.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the harts of ſuch as feare God, and yet incurre his diſpleaſure, the deſerued effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their firſt entrance) is notwithſtanding the firſt ſtep of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the word only read vnto them. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God would haue no man ſtand in doubt but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall, as well *to lay euen the firſt foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the feare of God. And therefore the f law ſaith, Thou ſhalt *reade* this law before all Iſrael, that men, women and *children* may heare, yea euen that their children which as yet *haue not knowne* it may heare it, and by hearing it ſo read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our g Lord and Sauiour was himſelfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawne to amendment of life by the teſtimonie which Moſes and the Prophets haue giuen concerning the miſeries that follow ſinners after death, were not likely to be perſwaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead ſhould haue rayſed them vp Preachers. Many

b T.C.lib.2. pag.376.377. 395.
c Pag. 378.
d Pag.383.
e 2.Chro.34. 18.
2.Chro.34.3.
f Deut.31.13.
g Luc.16.29.

heare

heare the bookes of God and beleiue them not. Howbeit their vnbeliefe in that caſe we may not impute vnto any weakenes or vnſufficiencie in the meane which is vſed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obſtinate harts againſt it. With mindes obdurate nothing preuaileth. As well they that preach, as they that reade vnto ſuch, ſhall ſtill haue cauſe to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will giue credit vnto our teaching?* But with whome ordinarie meanes will preuaile, ſurely the power of the word of God, euen without the help of interpreters *in Gods Church* worketh mightily, not vnto their confirmation alone which are conuerted, but alſo to their conuerſion which are not. It ſhall not boote them who derogate from reading to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedie, as if their intent were only to denye, that *aliens* and ſtrangers from the familie of God are woon, or that beliefe doth vſe to be wrought at the firſt in *them* without Sermons. For they know it is our cuſtome of ſimple reading *not for conuerſion of infidels* eſtranged from the houſe of God, but for *inſtruction of men baptiſed*, bred and brought vp *in the* boſome of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing vneffectuall to ſaue *ſuch* ſoules. In *ſuch* they imagin that God hath no ordinarie meane to worke faith without Sermons. The reaſon, why no man can attaine beliefe by the bare contemplation of heauen and earth, is for that they neither are ſufficient to giue vs as much as the leaſt ſparke of light concerning the very principall myſteries of our faith; and whatſoeuer we may learne by them, the ſame we can only attaine to know according to the maner of naturall ſciences, which meere diſcourſe of wit and reaſon findeth out, whereas the things which we properly beleiue, be only ſuch, as are receiued vpon the credit of diuine teſtimonie. Seeing therefore that he which conſidereth the creatures of God findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in ſcriptures, becauſe he that readeth vnto vs the ſcriptures, deliuereth all the myſteries of faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more then the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in thoſe two reſpects that our conſideration of creatures and attention vnto ſcriptures are not in themſelues, and without ſermons, things of like diſabilitie to *breede* or *beget* faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinarie worke, if without ſermons reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpeciall inſtance, what one article of Chriſtian faith, or what dutie required neceſſarily vnto all mens ſaluation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange when they grow by vnlikely meanes. But did we euer heare it accompted for a wonder, that he which doth reade, ſhould beleiue and liue according to the will of almightie God? [a] Reading doth conuey to the minde that truth without addition or diminution, which ſcripture hath deriued from the holy Ghoſt. And the end of all ſcripture is the ſame which [b] S. Iohn propoſeth in the writing of that moſt diuine Goſpell, namely *faith*, and through faith *ſaluation*. Yea all ſcripture is to this effect [c] *in it ſelfe* auaileable, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; vnleſſe wee ſuppoſe that the Euangeliſt or others in ſpeaking of their owne intent to inſtruct and to ſaue by writing, had a ſecret conceipt which they neuer opened vnto any, a conceipt that no man

a *Exod.*24.7.

b *Iohn* 20.31.

c *Prou.*1.2.3.4. *Rom.*1.16. 2.*Tim.*3.15.

in

in the world ſhould euer be that way the better for any ſentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached vpon or alleaged at the leaſt in a Sermon. Otherwiſe if he which writeth do that which is forceable in it ſelfe, how ſhould he which readeth be thought to do that which in it ſelfe is of no force to worke beliefe and to ſaue beleeuers? Now although we haue very iuſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome iealouſie and feare, leaſt by thus ouervaluing their Sermons, they make the price and eſtimation of Scripture otherwiſe notified to fall, neuertheleſſe ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let vs know what cauſes they leaue for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to ſaue euery one which beleeueth; that which we moue for our better learning and inſtructions ſake, turneth vnto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietneſſe with it, they anſwere fumingly that they are [a] *aſhamed to defile their pennes with making anſwere to ſuch idle queſtions:* yet in this their moode they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith vnder paine of greater diſpleaſure wee muſt reſt contented. They tell vs the profit of reading is ſingular, in that it ſerueth for a preparatiue vnto Sermons; it helpeth pretilie towards the nouriſhment of faith which Sermons haue once ingendered; it is ſome ſtay to his minde which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the ſame things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiueth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; beſides it keepeth Sermons in memorie, and doth in that reſpect, although not feede the ſoule of man, yet help the retentiue force of that ſtomacke of the minde which receiueth ghoſtlie foode at the preachers hand. But the principall cauſe of *writing* the Goſpell was, *that it might be preached* vpon or interpreted by publique Miniſters apt and authoriſed thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceipt (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their eyes, and yet ſharpen their wits withall, that the only true and waightie cauſe why Scripture was written, the cauſe which in Scripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all men haue euer till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould cleane exclude as being no cauſe at all, and loade vs with ſo great ſtore of ſtrange concealed cauſes which did neuer ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needes be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the ſacred word of God vnto bookes, is ſurmiſed to haue beene, leaſt the Preacher ſhould want a text whereupon to ſcholie. Men of learning hold it for a ſlip in iudgement, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing which reaſon findeth common vnto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kindes of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had beene their part to yeeld directly ſome ſtrong reaſon why betwene *Sermons alone* and *faith*, there ſhould be *ordinarily* that coherence which cauſes haue with their vſuall effects, why a Chriſtian mans beliefe ſhould ſo naturally grow from Sermons, and not poſſiblie from any other kinde of teaching. In beliefe there being but theſe two operations, *apprehenſion* and *aſſent*, do only Sermons cauſe beliefe in that no other way is able to explane the myſteries of God that the minde may rightly apprehend or conceiue them as behoueth? We all know that many things are beleeued, although they be intricate, obſcure and darke, although they exceede

[a] T.C. *lib.* 2. *pa.* 376.

ceede the reach and capacitie of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way poſſible to be vnderſtood. Many things belieued are likewiſe ſo plaine, that euery common perſon may therein be vnto himſelfe a ſufficient expounder. Finally, to explane euen thoſe things which neede and admit explication, many other vſuall wayes there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinarie meanes whereby we *firſt* come to *apprehend* the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpell of Chriſt we yeeld thereunto our vnfaigned aſſent as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the hart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſitie acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authoritie* whoſe words they are. This is in mans conuerſion vnto God τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards heauen beginneth. Vnleſſe therefore, cleane contrary to our owne experience, we ſhall thinke it a miracle if any man acknowledge the diuine authoritie of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon haue perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither conuerſation in the boſome of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens bookes, nor information receiued by conference, nor whatſoeuer paine and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the law is ſo farre bleſt of God as to worke this effect in any man, how would they haue vs to graunt that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons?* [a] Faine they would haue vs to belieue the Apoſtle S. Paul himſelfe to be the author of this their paradox, only becauſe he hath ſayd that it pleaſeth God by the [b] *fooliſhneſſe of preaching*, to ſaue them which belieue; and againe, [c] *How ſhall they call on him in whome they haue not belieued? how ſhall they belieue in him of whome they haue not heard? how ſhall they heare without a preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwere therefore both allegations at once, the very ſubſtance of that they contayne is in few but this. Life and ſaluation God will haue *offered vnto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* ſhould be ſaued as well as *Iewes*. Saluation belongeth vnto none but ſuch *as call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*. Which *nations as yet vnconuerted* neither do *nor poſſiblie can do till they belieue*. What they are to belieue, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they *heare it*. Their hearing requireth *our preaching* vnto them. [d] Tertullian to draw euen Painimes themſelues vnto Chriſtian beliefe, willeth *the bookes* of the old Teſtament to be *ſearched* which were at that time in *Ptolomeies* Librarie. And if men did not liſt to trauell ſo farre though it were for their endleſſe good, he addeth that *in Rome* and other places the Iewes had *Synagogues* whereunto euery one which would might reſort, that this kinde of libertie they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding tribute, that there they did openly [e] *reade* the Scriptures; and whoſoeuer *will heare* (ſaith Tertullian) *he ſhall finde God, whoſoeuer will ſtudie to know, ſhall be alſo faine to belieue*. But ſith there is no likelihood that euer voluntarily they will ſeeke inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that vnleſſe we will ſuffer them to periſh, ſaluation it ſelfe muſt ſeeke them, it behoueth God to *ſend* them Preachers as he did *his elect Apoſtles* throughout the world. There is *a knowledge* which God hath alwayes reuealed vnto them in the *works of nature*. This they honor and eſteeme highly as profound *wiſedome*; howbeit this wiſedome ſa-

[a] T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 375.

[b] 1. *Cor.* 1. 21.

[c] *Rom.* 10. 14.

[d] *Apologet. ca.* 18. *in fine.*

[e] This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens and to a great part of the ſimpleſt was familiarly knowne: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered vnto the Emperour Iuſtinian, wherein the Iewes make requeſt that it might be lawfull for them to reade the Greeke tranſlation of the 70. interpreters in their Synagues as their cuſtome before had beene. *Authent.* 146. *coll.* 10. *incipit Aequum ſane.*

ueth

ueth them not. That which muſt ſaue belieuers is *the knowledge of the croſſe of Chriſt* the *only ſubiect* of *all our preaching*. And in their eyes what doth this ſeeme as yet but *follie*? It pleaſeth God by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching* to ſaue. Theſe words declare how admirable force thoſe myſteries haue which the world doth deride as follies; they ſhew that the *fooliſhneſſe of the croſſe of Chriſt* is the *wiſdome of true belieuers*; they concerne the *obiect* of our faith, *the* [a] *matter preached of* and belieued in by Chriſtian men. This we know that the Græcians or Gentiles did accompt fooliſhneſſe; but that they euer did thinke it *a fond* or vnlikely *way* to ſeeke mens conuerſion by *Sermons* we haue not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is that the Apoſtle applying the name of *fooliſhneſſe* in ſuch ſort as they did muſt needs by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching* meane the doctrine of Chriſt which we learne that we may be ſaued, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſaue he could not meane. In like ſort where the ſame Apoſtle proueth that as well the *ſending of the Apoſtles* as their preaching *to the Gentiles* was neceſſarie, dare we affirme it was euer his meaning, that vnto their ſaluation who euen from their tender infancie neuer knew any other faith or religion then only Chriſtian, *no kind of teaching* can be auaileable *ſauing that* which was ſo needfull for the firſt vniuerſall conuerſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianitie; neither the *ſending* of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except only of ſuch as had beene in the other alſo moſt fit and worthie inſtruments? *Beliefe in all ſorts* doth come by harkning and *attending to the word of life*. Which word ſometime propoſeth and preacheth it ſelfe to the hearer; ſometime they deliuer it whome priuatly zeale and pietie moueth to be inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught whome the Church hath called to the publique either reading thereof or interpreting. All theſe tend vnto one effect, neither doth that which S. Paule or other Apoſtles teach, concerning the neceſſitie of *ſuch teaching* as theirs was, or of *ſending ſuch* as they were for *that purpoſe vnto the Gentiles*, preiudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publique inſtruction, or inforce the vtter diſabilitie of any other mens vocation thought requiſite in this Church for the ſauing of ſoules, where meanes more effectuall are wanting. Their only proper and direct proofe of the thing in queſtion had beene to ſhew, in what ſort, and how farre mans ſaluation doth neceſſarily depend vpon the knowledge of the word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby Sermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kindes of adminiſtring the word vnto that purpoſe; and what ſpeciall propertie or qualitie that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectuall to ſaue ſoules, and leaueth all other doctrinall meanes beſides deſtitute of vitall efficacie. Theſe pertinent inſtructions, whereby they might ſatisfie vs and obtaine the cauſe it ſelfe for which they contend, theſe things which only would ſerue they leaue, and (which needeth not) ſometime they trouble themſelues with fretting at the ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their opinion; ſometime they [b] fall vpon their poore brethren which can but reade and againſt *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If we alleadge what the Scriptures themſelues do vſually ſpeake for the ſauing force of the word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certaine kinde of deliuerie, but howſoeuer the ſame ſhall chance to be made knowne, yet

[a] The Apoſtle vſeth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

[b] *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 373.* This taile of Readers. The Biſhops more then beggerly preſents. Thoſe raskall Miniſters.

yet by one tricke or other they alwayes [a] reſtraine it vnto Sermons. Our Lord and Sauiour hath ſaid [b] *Search the Scriptures, in them ye thinke to haue eternall life.* But they tell vs, hee ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peraduenture it was his minde they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſhould happen to bee alleaged in Sermons. Furthermore hauing receiued Apoſtolique doctrine, [c] the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught vs to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupreme rule whereby all other doctrines muſt for euer bee examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of *that hee had preached, hee flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirme) *his preachings* or Sermons *the rule* whereby to examine all. And then I beſeech you what rule haue we whereby to iudge or examine any? For if Sermons muſt bee our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurdity) no rule at all be remaining for triall, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heauenly truth. Againe, let [d] the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſnes. Still notwithſtanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather that Scripture read will auaile vnto any one of all theſe vſes; they teach vs the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can doe if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they neuer heare ſentence which mentioneth the word or Scripture, but forthwith their gloſes vpon it are, the word preached, the Scripture explaned or deliuered vnto vs in Sermons. Sermons they euermore vnderſtand to bee that word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequele of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentiuely waigh. For ſith ſpeech is the very image whereby the minde and ſoule of the ſpeaker conueyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the word that proceedeth from God, who is him ſelfe very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the [e] Hebrues noteth) liuely and mighty in operation, ſharper then any two edged ſword. Now if in this and the like places wee did conceiue, that our owne Sermons are that ſtrong and forcible word, ſhould we not hereby impart euen the moſt peculiar glory of the word of God vnto that which is not his word? For touching our Sermons, that which giueth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that ouer-corrupt fountaine from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affections many times are bewrayed. Wherfore when we reade or recite the Scripture, we then deliuer to the people properly the word of God. As for our Sermons, be they neuer ſo ſound & perfect, his word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were, no they are but ambiguouſly termed his word, becauſe his word is commonly the ſubiect whereof they treate, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding by theſe and the like ſhifts they deriue vnto Sermons alone whatſoeuer is generally ſpoken concerning the word. Againe, what ſeemeth to haue beene vttered concerning Sermons and their efficacie or neceſſitie, *in regard of*

a *T.C.l.2.p.37.*

b *John.5.39.*

c *Gal.1.9.*

d *1.Tim.3.16.*

e *Heb.4.12.*

diuine matter, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundry other kindes of teaching, if *the matter* be the ſame in all, their vſe is to faſten euery ſuch ſpeech vnto that one only manner of teaching which is by Sermons, that ſtill Sermons may be all in all. [a] Thus becauſe *Salomon* declareth that the people decay or *periſh* for want of knowledge, where [b] no *prophecying* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and ſaluation is cut off, where preachers are not which *prophecie by Sermons*, how many ſoeuer they bee in number that reade daily the word of God, and deliuer, though in other ſort, the ſelfe ſame matter which Sermons doe. The people which haue no way to come to the knowledge of God, no *prophecying*, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſitie periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of *Salomon* import. [c] Another vſuall point of their arte in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentifull diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by Sermons [d] lifted vp *higher* and made more [e] apparent to the eye of faith; how the [f] ſauour of the word is more ſweet being brayed, and more able to nouriſh being deuided by preaching, then by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the keyes of the kingdome of heauen and doe open the Scriptures, which being but read, remaine *in compariſon* ſtill claſped; how God [g] giueth richer increaſe of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, then by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainment vnto life is eaſier where Sermons are, they conclude an [h] *impoſſibility* thereof where Sermons are not. *Alcidimas* the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to proue that voluntary and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto and in part the ſame are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as hauing (which all men I thinke will acckowledge) ſundry [i] peculiar and proper vertues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptnes to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to preuaile mightily in the ſuddaine affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof leſſons are happely deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconueniences whereunto Sermons are more ſubiect, they may in this reſpect no leſſe take, then in other they muſt giue the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way exceld euen by that which it doth excell. Sermons therefore and leſſons may each excell other in ſome reſpects, without any preiudice vnto either, as touching that vitall force which they both haue in the worke of our ſaluation. To which effect when wee haue endeuoured as much as in vs doth lye to finde out the ſtrongeſt cauſes wherefore they ſhould imagine that reading is it ſelfe ſo vnauaileable, the moſt wee can learne at their hands is, that Sermons are [k] *the ordinance of God*; the Scriptures *darke*; and the labour of reading *eaſie*. Firſt therefore as we know that God doth aide with his grace, and by his ſpeciall prouidence euermore bleſſe with happy ſucceſſe thoſe things which himſelfe appointeth, ſo his Church wee perſwade our ſelues he hath not in ſuch ſort giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe, that whatſoeuer it deuiſeth for the good of the ſoules of men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if he alwayes did defeate the ordinances of his Church, [l] is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould we thinke

[a] *T.C.lib.2. pag.381.*
[b] *Prou.29.18.*
[c] *T.C.lib.2.pag. 379.*
[d] *2.Cor.2.16.*
[e] *2.Tim.2.15.*
[f] *Math.16.19.*
[g] *1.Cor.3.6.*
[h] *T.C.lib.2.pag. 380.* No ſaluation to bee looked for where no preaching is.
[i] *T.C.lib.2.pag. 395.*
[k] *T.C.lib.2.pag 396.*
[l] *Deut.31.13.*

thinke that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſſe the labour of diuiding his word according vnto each mans priuate diſcretion in publique Sermons, and to withdraw it ſelfe from concurring with the publique deliuerie thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath ſolemnely appointed to bee read for the peoples good, either by ordinary courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpeciall occaſions? Reading (ſaith [a] *Iſidore*) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe [b] delight and meditation is in the law, ſeeing that happineſſe and bliſſe belongeth, it is not in vs to denie them the benefit of heauenly grace. And I hope wee may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, euen for that very word which is read to be both preſently their [c] ioy, and afterwards their ſtudie that heare it. [d] S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of deuout men, noteth how they daily frequented the Church, how attentiue eare they gaue vnto the leſſons and Chapters read, how careſull they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelues. [e] S. *Cyprian* obſerueth that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their ioy and alacrity was to him an argument, that there is in this ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompanie the adminiſtration of the word of life. It were much if there ſhould bee ſuch a difference betweene the hearing of Sermons preached and of leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelfe at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet [f] *Dauid, Teach me O Lord the way of thy ſtatutes, direct me in the path of thy commandements*, might haue the ground of vſuall experience, whereupon to build his hope of preuailing with God, and obtaining the grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who craue the like aſſiſtance of his ſpirit, when they giue eare to the reading of the other. In this therefore preaching and reading are equall, that both are approoued as his ordinances, both aſſiſted with his grace. And if his grace doe aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of faith already bred, we cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yeelded, imagine that in breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleaue to the one and vtterly forſake the other. Touching [g] *hardneſſe* which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies being plaine and popular inſtructions it is no barre, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacie no not of Scriptures although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoeuer they would haue it, muſt of neceſſitie bee granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plaine or eaſie to bee vnderſtood. And of things neceſſary to all mens ſaluation wee haue beene hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt hauing now a key vnto knowledge which the [h] *Eunuch* in the Acts did want, our children may of themſelues by reading vnderſtand that, which he without an interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plaine and eaſie to be vnderſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and daily, when memory hath laid them vp for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaneth them. Scripture therefore is not *ſo hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may giue life vnto willing hearers. The eaſie performance of which holy labour is in like ſort a very cold obiection to preiudice the vertue thereof. For what though an *infidel*, yea though *a childe* may bee able to reade; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the people vnder the

a *De Eccleſ. offic lib.1.ca.10*
b *Pſal.1.2.*
c *Pſal.119.16.*
d *Aug. in Pſal. 65.*
e *Cypr.lib.2. Epiſt.5.Lector perſonat verba ſublimia, Euangelium Chriſti legis, a fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.*
f *Pſa.119.33.35*
g *T.C.l.1.pag. 383.384.392.*
h *Act.8.31.*

law had beene as able as the Priests themselues were to offer sacrifice. Did this make sacrifice of no effect vnto that purpose for which it was instituted? In religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardnesse of their execution, as by the worthinesse and dignitie of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodnesse of God in nature, when we consider how he hath prouided that things most needfull to preserue this life should bee most prompt and easie for all liuing creatures to come by. Is it not as euident a signe of his wonderfull prouidence ouer vs, when that foode of eternall life, vpon the *vtter want* whereof our endlesse death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and alwayes set in such a readinesse, that those very meanes then which nothing is more easie may suffice to procure the same? Surely if we perish, it is not the lacke of Scribes and learned expounders that can bee our iust excuse. The word which saueth our soules is neere vs, we need for know-
a *Act.1.3.* ledge but [a] to reade and liue. The man which readeth the word of God the word it selfe doth pronounce blessed, if hee also obserue the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall bee no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferencie on which part the good of the Church is most conueniently sought; whether on ours whose opinion is such as hath beene
b *T.C.l.2.p.363 Pag.373.* shewed, or else on [b] theirs, who leauing no ordinary way of saluation for them vnto whom the word of God is but onely read, doe seldome name them but with great disdaine and contempt who execute that seruice in the Church of Christ. By meanes wherof it hath come to passe, that Churches, which cannot enioy the benefit of vsuall preaching, are iudged as it were euen forsaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwise those places which euery day for the most part are at Sermons as the flowing Sea, doe both by their emptinesse at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens shew to the voice of the liuing God this way sounding in the eares of men a great deale lesse reuerence then were meet. But if no other euil were knowne to grow thereby, who can chuse but thinke them cruell which doth heare them
c *Pag.364.375 380.383.384.* so boldly teach, that [c] if God (as to him there is nothing impossible) doe happily saue any such as continue where they haue all other meanes of instruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more then the fitnesse of so poore instruments can giue any man cause to hope for;
d *Pag.392.* that [d] Sacraments are not effectuall to saluation, except men be instructed by
e *Pag.364.* *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both [e] Sacraments and prayers also, where Sermons are not, *doe not only not feed but are ordinarily to further condemnation?* What mans heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true that the weaknesse of our wits and the dulnesse of our affections do make vs for the most part, euen as our Lords owne disciples were for a certaine time, hard and slow to belieue what is written. For helpe whereof expositions and exhortations are needfull, and that in the most effectuall manner. The principall Churches throughout the land, and no small part of the rest being in this respect by the goodnesse of God so abundantly prouided for, they which want the like furtherance vnto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet wee hope not left in so extreme destitution, that iustly any man should thinke the ordinary meanes of

of eternall life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publique for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe amongeſt whom there are not thoſe helpes that others haue to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſheartten with fearefull ſentences, as though their ſaluation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our vnderſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charitie. We hold it ſafer a great deale and better to giue them [a] incouragement; to put them in minde that it is not the deepneſſe of their knowledge, but the [b] ſingleneſſe of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which [c] hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, ſhall be ſatisfied; that no [d] imbecilitie of meanes can preiudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helpes are, the more their neede is to ſharpen the edge of their owne [e] induſtrie; and that [f] paynefulneſſe by feeble meanes ſhall bee able to gayne that, which in the plentie of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whome wee haue thus farre taken paynes to conferre, about the force of the word of God, either read by it ſelfe, or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might giue vs very iuſt cauſe to thinke, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoeuer they haue beene driuen to deuiſe ſome odde kindes of blinde vſes, whereunto they may anſwere that reading doth ſerue, yet the reading of the word of God in publique more then their preachers bare text, who will not iudge that they deeme needleſſe, when if wee chance at any time to terme it neceſſary, as being a thing which God himſelfe did inſtitute amongſt the Iewes for purpoſes that touch as well vs as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend vnder the old, and ordaine vnder the new Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath euer ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular commoditie; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit; they only are the men that euer wee heard of, by whom this hath beene croſt and gaineſaid, they only the men which haue giuen their peremptory ſentence to the contrary, [g] *It is vntrue that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why vntrue? Becauſe *although it bee very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeare runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading cannot be in ths point charged with breach of Gods commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were neceſſary.* A poore, a cold, and an hungry cauill. Shall we therefore to pleaſe them change the word *Neceſſary*, and ſay that it hath beene a commendable order, a cuſtome very expedient, or an ordinance moſt profitable (wherby they know right well that wee meane exceedingly behoofull) to reade the word of God at large in the Church, whether it bee as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they preferre before vs? It is not this that will content or ſatisfie their mindes. They haue againſt it a maruellous deepe and profound axiome [h] that *Two things to one and the ſame ende cannot but very improperly bee ſayd moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be moſt *profitable* to mans ſaluation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not. Are they reſolued then at the leaſtwiſe if preaching bee the only ordinary meane whereby it pleaſeth

a *Eccleſ.*51. 26.27. *Math.*11.20.
b 1.*Tim.*1.5. *Rom.*14.1. 1.*Theſ.*3.10.
c *Math.*5.6.
d *Phil.*1.6. 1.*Pet.*5.10. *Math.*3.9.
e 1.*Theſ.*4.18. *Heb.*10.24. *Iud.verſ.*20. 1.*Pet.*4.10.
f *Luc.*11.31.
g *T.C.lib.*2. *pag.*381.
h *T.C.lib.*2. *pag.*372.

God to ſaue our ſoules, what kind of preaching it is which doth ſaue? Vnderſtand they how or in what reſpect there is that force and vertue in preaching? We haue reaſon wherefore to make theſe demaunds, for that although their pennes runne all vpon *preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themſelues doe practiſe that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and thoſe words they ſhunne as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they *preach*, or to giue to their owne inſtructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the paine they take themſelues in this kinde is either *opening* or lecturing, or reading, or exerciſing, but in no caſe *preaching*. [a] And in this preſent queſtion they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the vertue of preaching, they ſtill meane it of good preaching: Now one of them ſaith that a good Sermon [b] muſt expound and apply a large portion of the text of Scripture at one time. Another giueth vs to vnderſtand, that ſound preaching [c] *is not to doe as one did at London, who ſpent moſt of his time in inuectiues againſt good men, and tould his audience how the Magiſtrate ſhould haue an eye to ſuch as troubled the peace of the Church*, The [d] beſt of them holde it for no good preaching *when a man endeauoureth to make a glorious ſhew of eloquence and learning rather then to applie himſelfe to the capacitie of the ſimple.* But let them ſhape vs out a good Preacher by what patterne ſoeuer pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whom they will with their definitions, wee are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceipt they haue of their owne wayes, ſo that when once wee are agreed what Sermons ſhall currantly paſſe for good, wee may at the length vnderſtand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the word of life vnto ſuch as heare. If ſubſtance of matter, euidence of things, ſtrength and validitie of argumens and prooſes, or if any other vertue elſe which wordes and ſentences may containe, of all this what is there in the beſt Sermons being vttered, which they looſe by being lead? But they vtterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures or Homilies and Sermons can euer by the ordinarie grace of God ſaue any ſoule. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which *Iames*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which Sermons was of power to conuert thouſands of the hearers vnto Chriſtian faith; yea although wee had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, and ſhould reade them tenne thouſand times ouer, to faith and ſaluation no man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſitie follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacie of Sermons doth grow from certaine accidents which are not in them but in their maker; his vertue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his bodie, and the inflection of his voice who firſt vttereth them as his owne, is that which giueth them the formę, the nature, the very eſſence of inſtuments auaileable to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their finall concluſion bee, *Sermons wee know are the only ordinary meanes to ſaluation, but why or how wee cannot tell.* Wherefore to end this tedious controuerſie, wherein the too great importunity of our ouer eager aduerſaries hath conſtrayned vs much longer to dwell, then the barreneſſe of ſo poore a cauſe could haue

a *T.C.lib.2 pag.* 385.

b Complaint of the comminaltie.

c *Doct.Somes.* Painter. pa.21.

d *T.C.lib.2. pag.*385.

ſeemed

ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to giue their ſentence, ſhall heere ſit downe to receiue our audit, and to caſt vp the whole reckning on both ſides, the ſumme which truth amounteth vnto will appeare to bee but this, that as medicines prouided of nature and applied by arte for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſome time vnder and ſometime aboue the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancie of the patient doth more or leſſe concurre with them: So whether wee barely reade vnto men the Scriptures of God, or by Homilies concerning matter of beleefe and conuerſation ſeeke to lay before them the duties which they owe vnto God and man; whether wee deliuer them Bookes to reade and conſider of in priuate at their owne beſt leaſure or call them to the hearing of Sermons publiquely in the houſe of God; albeit euery of theſe and the like vnto theſe meanes doe truely and daylie effect that in the heartes of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they haue in common being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kinde aboue the reſt, that one hath in ſome mens opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and iniuriouſly brought to paſſe that they haue beene thought not leſſe effectuall then the other, but without the other vneffectuall to ſaue ſoules. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerued to preuaile ſomuch while all meanes elſe ſeeme to ſleepe and doe nothing, is in truth but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth euery where nothing towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other, the reaſon heereof being partly the arte which our aduerſaries vſe for the credit of their Sermons to bring men out of conceipt with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtome which men haue to let thoſe things careleſly paſſe by their eares which they haue oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whenſoeuer it pleaſeth themſelues; partly the ſpeciall aduantages which Sermons naturally haue to procure attention both in that they come alwayes new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed that if they bee let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoeuer they conteine is loſt, and that without all hope of recouery. This is the true cauſe of oddes betweene Sermons and other kindes of wholeſome inſtruction. As for the difference which hath beene hetherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making Sermons the only ordinary meanes vnto faith and eternall life, ſith this hath neither euidence of truth nor proofe ſufficient to giue it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch qualitie may with farre better grace and conueniencie aske that pardon which common humanitie doth eaſily grant, then claime in challenging manner that aſſent which is as vnwilling when reaſon guideth it to be yeelded wher it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due. All which notwithſtanding, as wee could greatly wiſh that the rigor of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, ſo becauſe wee hold it the part of religious ingenuitie to honour vertue in whom ſoeuer; therefore it is our moſt hearty deſire, and ſhall bee alwayes our prayer vnto Almighty God, that in the ſelfe ſame feruent zeale wherewith they ſeeme to affect the good of the ſoules of men and to thirſt after nothing more then that all men might by all meanes bee directed in the way

of

of life, both they and wee may conſtantly perſiſt to the worlds end. For in this wee are not their aduerſaries, though they in the other hetherto haue beene ours.

Of Prayer.

23 Betweene the throne of God in heauen and his Church vpon earth here militant, if it be ſo that Angels haue their continuall intercourſe, where ſhould we finde the ſame more verified then in thoſe two ghoſtly exerciſes, the one *Doctrine*, the other *Prayer*? For what is the aſſembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels deſcended from aboue? What to pray but the ſending of Angels vpward? His heauenly inſpirations and our holy deſires are as ſo many Angels of entercourſe and commerce betweene God and vs. As teaching bringeth vs to know that God is our ſupreme truth; ſo prayer teſtifieth that we acknowledge him our ſoueraigne good. Beſides, ſith on God as the moſt high all inferiour cauſes in the world are dependent, and the higher any cauſe is, the more it coueteth to impart vertue vnto things beneath it, how ſhould any kinde of ſeruice wee doe or can doe, finde greater acceptance then prayer, which ſheweth our concurrence with him in deſiring that wherewith his very nature doth moſt delight? Is not the name of prayer vſuall to ſignifie euen all the ſeruice that euer wee doe vnto God? And that for no other cauſe, as I ſuppoſe, but to ſhew that there is in religion no acceptable dutie which deuout inuocation of the name of God doth not either preſuppoſe or inferre. Prayers are thoſe [a] calues of mens lips; thoſe moſt gracious and ſweete [b] odours; thoſe rich preſents and gifts which being [c] carried vp into heauen, doe beſt teſtifie our dutifull affection, and are for the purchaſing of all fauour at the hands of God the moſt vndoubted meanes we can vſe. On others what more eaſily, and yet what more fruitfully beſtowed then our prayers? If we giue counſell, they are the ſimpler only that neede it; if almes, the poorer only are relieued; but by prayer we doe good to all. And whereas euery other duty beſides is but to ſhew it ſelfe as time and opportunitie require, for this [d] all times are conuenient: when we are not able to doe any other thing for mens behoofe, when through maliciouſneſſe or vnkindneſſe they vouchſafe not to accept any other good at our hands, prayer is that which we alwayes haue in our power to beſtow, and they neuer in theirs to refuſe. Wherfore God forbid, ſayth [e] *Samuel*, ſpeaking vnto a moſt vnthankfull people, a people weary of the benefite of his moſt vertuous gouernment ouer them, God forbid that I ſhould ſinne againſt the Lord, and ceaſe to pray for you. It is the firſt thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the laſt wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is ſmall which wee haue on earth concerning things that are done in heauen. Notwithſtanding thus much wee know euen of Saincts in heauen that they pray. And therefore prayer being a worke common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels, what ſhould wee thinke but that ſo much of our liues is celeſtiall and diuine as we ſpend in the exerciſe of prayer. For which cauſe we ſee that the moſt comfortable [f] viſitations, which God hath ſent men from aboue, haue taken eſpecially the times of prayer as their moſt naturall opportunities.

a *Oſe.*14.3.
b *Reu.*5.8.
c *Act.*10.4.
d *Rom.*1.9. 1.*Theſ.*5.17. *Luc.*18.1.
e 1.*Sam.* 12.23.
f.*Dan.*9.20. *Act.*10.13.

Of publique Prayer.

24 This holy and religious duty of ſeruice towards God concerneth vs one

one way in that we are men, and another way in that wee are ioyned as partes to that viſible myſticall body which is his Church. As men, we are at our own [a] choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occaſions in priuate; But the ſeruice, which we do as members of a publique body, is publique, and for that cauſe muſt needes bee accompted by ſo much worthier then the other, as a whole ſocietie of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies there are [b] moſt ſpeciall promiſes made. [c] S. *Paul*, though likely to preuaile with God as much as one, did notwithſtanding thinke it much more both for Gods glory and his owne good, if prayers might bee made and thankes yeelded in his behalfe by a number of men. The [d] Prince and people of Nineueh aſſembling themſelues as a maine army of ſupplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeake no otherwiſe concerning the force of publique prayer in the Church of God, then before me [e] *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by troups to the place of aſſembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our prayers. Theſe forces are vnto him acceptable.* When we publiquely make our prayers it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort then in priuate, for that the things wee aske publiquely are approoued as needefull and good in the iudgement of all, we heare them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Againe, thus much helpe and furtherance is more yeelded, in that if ſo bee our zeale and deuotion to Godward be ſlacke, the [f] alacritie and feruor of others ſerueth as a preſent ſpurre. [g] *For euen prayer it ſelfe (* ſaith S. Baſill *) when it hath not the conſort of many voices to ſtrengthen it, is not it ſelfe.* Finally, the good which we doe by publique prayer is more then in priuate can be done, for that beſides the benefit which is heere is no leſſe procured to our ſelues, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our duetie in this kind is but onely our owne hurt, one mans contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtfull vnto many. In which conſiderations the [h] Prophet *Dauid* ſo often voweth vnto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiuing in the Congregation; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing praiſes vnto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuarie, before the memoriall of his holineſſe; and ſo much complaineth of his owne vncomfortable exile, wherein although hee ſuſtained many moſt grieuous indignities, and indured the want of ſundry both pleaſures and honours before inioyed, yet as if [i] this one were his only griefe and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heauenly benefit of publique aſſemblies, and the happineſſe of ſuch as had free acceſſe thereunto.

a *Pſal.55.18. Dan.9.3. Act.10.9.*

b *Math.18.20*

c *2.Cor.1.11.*

d *Jon.4.11.*

e *Apolog.1.39.* Ambroſ. lib. de pœn. *Multi minimi dum congregantur vnanimes ſunt magni, & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.*

f *Pſal.122.1?*

g Καὶ αὐτὴ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀναγκαίως ἑαυτῆς ἀσθενεστέρα πολλῷ ἐστιν. *Baſil.Epiſt.68.*

h *Pſal.26.12. 34.18. Pſal.30.4.96.9.*

i *Pſal.27.4, 42.4.84.1.*

25 A great part of the cauſe, wherefore religious minds are ſo inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they finde that the very forme and reuerend ſolemnitie of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to helpe that imbecillitie and weakneſſe in vs, by meanes whereof we are otherwiſe of our ſelues the leſſe apt to performe vnto God ſo heauenly a ſeruice, with ſuch affection of heart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our ſoules as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things hereunto apperteining haue beene euer thought conuenient to bee done with the moſt

Of the forme of Common Prayer.

moſt ſolemnitie and maieſty that the wiſeſt could deuiſe. It is not with publique as with priuate Prayer. In this [a] rather ſecreſie is commended then outward ſhew, whereas that being the publique acte of a whole ſocietie, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very aſſembling of men therefore vnto this ſeruice hath beene euer ſolemne. And concerning the place of aſſembly, although it ſerue for other vſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelfe hath to this as to the chiefeſt of all other plainely ſanctified his owne Temple, by entituling it [b] *the houſe of prayer*, what preeminence of dignitie ſoeuer hath beene either by the ordinance, or through the ſpeciall fauour and prouidence of God annexed vnto his Sanctuary, the principall cauſe thereof muſt needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and futherance whereof, if it be as the graueſt of the [c] ancient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſwaded, and doe oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the houſe of prayer is a Court beautified with the preſence of celeſtiall powers, that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our aſſociates; and that with reference hereunto [d] the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to bee had of decency for the Angels ſake; how can we come to the houſe of prayer, and not be mooued with the [e] very glory of the place it ſelfe, ſo to frame our affections praying, as doth beſt beſeeme them, whoſe ſutes the Almighty doth there ſit to heare and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the mindes of men, there needed no penall ſtatutes to draw them vnto publique prayer. The warning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the [f] Churches were preſently filled, the pauements couered with bodies proſtrate, and waſht with their teares of deuout ioy. And as the place of publique prayer is a circumſtance in the outward forme thereof, whic hath moment to helpe deuotion; ſo the perſon much more with whom the people of God doe ioyne themſelues in this action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authoritie of his place, the feruor of his zeale, the pietie and grauitie of his whole behauiour muſt needes exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſeruice he doth. The authoritie of his calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God haue ſo farre receiued him into fauour, as to impoſe vpon him by the hands of men that office of bleſſing the people in his name, and making interceſſion to him in theirs, which office he hath ſanctified with his owne moſt gracious [g] promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actuall performance thereof, when [h] others before in like place haue done the ſame, is not his very ordination a ſeale as it were to vs that the ſelfeſame diuine loue which hath choſen the inſtrument to worke with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereto hee ordayned it, in bleſſing his people, and accepting the prayers which his ſeruant offereth vp vnto God for them? It was in this reſpect a comfortable title which the ancients vſed to giue vnto Gods Miniſters, terming them vſually [i] *Gods moſt beloued*, which were ordayned to procure by their prayers his loue and fauour towards all. Againe, if there be not zeale and feruencie in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſutes and ſupplications which they by their ioyfull acclamations muſt ratifie; if hee prayſe not God with all his might; if hee powre not out his ſoule in prayer; if hee take not their cauſes to heart, or ſpeake not as

Moſes

a *Matth.6.5.6.*

b *Matth.21.13*

c *Chryſ. Hom. 15.ad Hebr. & 24.in Act.*

d *1.Cor.11.10.*

e *Pſal.96.6.* Power and beautie are in his ſanctuarie.

f *Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudijs ſupplicamus.* Saluia.de prou.lib.7.

g *Num.6.23.*

h *2.Chr.30.27*

i *Cod lib.1. tit. 3.de Epiſc.& cler.43.& 44. ſæpe.*

Moſes, *Daniel* and *Ezra* did for their people; how ſhould there bee but in them frozen coldneſſe, when his affections ſeeme benummed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Vertue and godlineſſe of life are required at the hands of the Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholeſome inſtruction of them; whoſe life ſwarueth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether wee reſpect the weakneſſe of the people apt to loath and abhorre the Sanctuary, when they which performe the ſeruice thereof are ſuch as the ſonnes of *Heli* were; or els conſider the [a] inclination of God himſelfe, who requireth the lifting vp of pure hands in prayer, and hath giuen the world plainely to vnderſtand that the wicked although they crie ſhall not bee heard. They are no fit ſupplicants to ſeeke his mercie in the behalfe of others, whoſe own vnrepented ſinnes prouoke his iuſt indignation. [b] Let thy Prieſts therefore O Lord be euermore clothed with righteouſneſſe, that thy Saincts may thereby with more deuotion reioyce and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this ſeruice the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelfe, which framed with common aduiſe hath both for matter and forme preſcribed whatſoeuer is herein publikly done. No doubt from God it hath proceeded, and by vs it muſt be acknowledged a worke of his ſingular care and prouidence, that the Church hath euermore held a preſcript forme of Common Prayer although not in all things euery where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retaining ſtill the ſame analogy. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world be compared amongſt themſelues, it may be eaſily perceiued they had all one originall mould, and that the publike prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly ſetled did neuer vſe to bee voluntary Dictates proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which conſidereth the grieuous and ſcandalous inconueniences whereunto they make themſelues dayly ſubiect, with whom any blind and ſecret corner is iudged a fit houſe of Common Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into where euery mans priuate ſpirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Biſhop that ordeyneth him to this miniſtry; the irkeſome deformities whereby through endleſſe and ſenſeleſſe effuſions of indigeſted prayers they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt vnſufferable manner the worthyeſt part of Chriſtian duty towards God, who herein are ſubiect to no certaine order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him I ſay which wayeth duly all theſe things, the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why GOD doth in publique prayer ſo much reſpect the [c] ſolemnitie of places where, [d] the authoritie and calling of perſons by whom, and the [e] preciſe appointment euen with what wordes or ſentences his name ſhould bee called on amongeſt his people.

[a] 1. *Tim.* 2. 8. *Iohn* 9. 31. *Ierem.* 11. 11. *Ezech.* 8. 18.

[b] *Pſal.* 132. 9.

[c] *Chro.* 2. 6. 20.
[d] *Ioel.* 2. 17.
[e] 2. *Chro.* 29. 30.

Of them which like not to haue any ſet forme of Common Prayer.

26 No man hath hetherto beene ſo impious as plainely and directly to condemne prayer. The beſt ſtratageme that Sathan hath who knoweth his kingdome to be no one way more ſhaken then by the publique deuout prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all mens deuotion towards them. From this and from no other forge hath proceeded a ſtrange conceipt, that

that to ſerue God with any ſet forme of common prayer is ſuperſtitious. As
a Num.6.23. though a God himſelfe did not frame to his Prieſts the very ſpeech wherewith they were charged to bleſſe the people; or as if our Lord, euen of purpoſe to preuent this fancie of extemporall and voluntary prayers, had not left vs of his owne framing one, which might both remaine as a part of the Church liturgie, and ſerue as a patterne whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacie, yet without ſuperfluitie of words. If prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God then being conceiued alwayes new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagine that he doth loath to haue the ſelfeſame ſupplications often iterated, euen as we doe to be euery day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers bee actions which ought to waſt away themſelues in the making; if being made to remaine that they may be reſumed and vſed againe as prayers, they bee but inſtruments of ſuperſtition; ſurely wee cannot excuſe Moſes, who gaue ſuch occaſion of ſcandall to the world, by not being contented to prayſe the name of Almightie God according to the vſuall naked ſimplicitie of Gods ſpirit for that admirable victory giuen them againſt Pharao, vnleſſe ſo dangerous a precedent were left for the caſting of prayers into certaine poeticall mouldes, and for the framing of prayers which might bee repeated often, although they neuer had againe the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very hymne of *Moſes* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Iewiſh Liturgie; not only that, but ſundry other ſithence inuented. Their Bookes of
b *Matth.26.30.* ὑμνήσαντες, hauing ſung the Pſalmes, which were vſuall at that feaſt, thoſe Pſalmes which the Iewes call the great *Halleluia* beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118. See *Paul. Burgenſ. in Pſ.112. addit.1.* and *Scalig. de emendat temp.*
common prayer conteined partly hymnes taken out of the holy Scripture, partly benedictions, thankſgiuings, ſupplications penned by ſuch as haue beene from time to time the gouernours of that Synagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeuerall times and places, ſome to begin the ſeruice of God with, and ſome to end, ſome to goe before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced between the diuine readings of the law and Prophets. Vnto their cuſtome of finiſhing the Paſſouer with certaine Pſalmes there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Euangeliſt doth euidently allude ſaying, that after the cup deliuered by our Sauiour vnto his Apoſtles, b *they ſung* and went foorth to the mount of Oliues. As the Iewes had their ſongs of *Moſes* and *Dauid* and the reſt, ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both vſed the ſame, and beſides them other alſo of like nature, the ſong of the Virgin *Mary*, the ſong of *Zachary*, the ſong of *Simeon*, ſuch hymnes as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeake of ſaying, c *I will pray and ſing with the ſpirit*; Againe, d *In Pſalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melodie vnto the Lord, and that hartily.* Hymnes and Pſalmes are ſuch kindes of prayer as are not woont to be conceiued vpon a ſuddaine; but are framed by meditation before hand, or elſe by propheticall illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were when God by extraordinary gifts of the ſpirit inabled men to all parts of ſeruice neceſſary for the edifying of his Church.

c *1.Cor.14.15.*
d *Epheſ.5.19.*

Of them who allowing a ſet forme of prayer, yet allow not ours

27 Now albeit the admonitioners did ſeeme at the firſt to allow no preſcript forme of prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their Miniſter ſhould alwayes be left at libertie to pray at his owne diſcretion did ſerue, yet becauſe this opinion vpon better aduiſe they afterwards retracted, their defendor and his

his aſſociats haue ſithence propoſed to the world a forme ſuch as themſelues like, and to ſhew their diſlike of ours, haue taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which whoſoeuer doth meaſure by number, muſt needes bee greatly out of loue with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoeuer by waight, cannot chooſe but eſteeme very highly of that, wherein the wittie ſo ſcrupulous aduerſaries hath not hetherto obſerued any defect which themſelues can ſeriouſly thinke to bee of moment. Groſſe errours and manifeſt impiety they grant we haue taken away. Yet ª many things in it they ſay are amiſſe, many inſtances they giue of things in our Common Prayer not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſwhere reformed allow and obſerue; our attyre diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beeſeemeth; it requireth nothing to bee done which a childe may not lawfully doe; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings which may bee better called wiſhes then prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings in ſuch manner as if ſupplicants ſhould vſe in propoſing their ſutes vnto mortall Princes, all the world would iudge them madde; it is too long and by that meane abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to ſay after the Miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the Pſalmes by courſe from ſide to ſide; it vſeth the Lords Prayer too oft; the ſongs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* it might very well ſpare; it hath the *Letany*, the Creede of *Athanaſius*, and *Gloria patri*, which are ſuperfluous; it craueth earthly things too much; for deliuerance from thoſe euils againſt which wee pray it giueth no thankes; ſome things it asketh vnſeaſonablie when they neede not to bee prayed for, as deliuerance from thunder and tempeſt when no danger is nigh; ſome in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would giue vs that which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske; ſome which ought not to bee deſired, as the deliuerance from ſuddaine death, riddance from all aduerſitie, and the extent of ſauing mercy towardes all men. Theſe and ſuch like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of Common Prayer is thought to ſwarue from the word of God. A great fauourer of that part, but yet (his errour that way excepted) a learned, a painfull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare ſometime to vndertake, againſt popiſh detractors, the generall maintenance and defenſe of our whole Churchſeruice, as hauing in it nothing repugnant to the word of God. And euen they which would file away moſt from the largeneſſe of that offer, doe notwithſtanding in more ſparing termes acknowledge little leſſe. For when thoſe oppoſite iudgements which neuer are wont to conſter things doubtfull to the better, thoſe very tongues which are alwayes prone to aggrauate whatſoeuer hath but the leaſt ſhew whereby it may be ſuſpected to ſauour of or to ſound towards any euill, doe by their owne voluntary ſentence cleerely free vs from *groſſe errours*, and from *manifeſt impietie* herein, who would not iudge vs to be diſcharged of all blame, which are conſeſt to haue no great fault euen by their very word and teſtimonie, in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath euer hitherto beene accuſtomed to ſeeme ſmall. Neuertheleſſe what they ſeeme to offer vs with the one hand, the ſame with the other they pull backe againe. They grant wee erre not in palpable

ª *Eccles. l. 5. p. 231. Afterwards pag. 235.* Whereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there is no nothing ſtirred in the whole Booke which is not agreeable vnto the word of God. I am very loath &c. Notwithſtanding my duetie of defending the trueth, and loue which I haue firſt towards God, and then towardes my countrey, conſtraineth me being thus prouoked to ſpeake a few words more particularly of the forme of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof doe appeare, it may pleaſe the Queenes Maieſtie, and her honorable Councell, with thoſe of the Parliament, &c.

manner, wee are not openly and notoriouſly impious, yet errours wee haue, which the ſharpe inſight of their wiſeſt men doe eſpie, there is hidden impietie, which the profounder ſort are able enough to diſcloſe. Their skilfull eares perceiue certaine harſh and vnpleaſant diſcords in the ſound of our Common Prayer, ſuch as the rules of diuine Harmony, ſuch as the Lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papiſts, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend.

28 Touching our conformity with the Church of Rome, as alſo of the difference betweene ſome reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath beene already anſwered may ſerue for anſwere to that exception which in theſe two reſpects they take particularlie againſt the forme of our Common Prayer. To ſay that in nothing they may bee followed, which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they doe in that they are men, in that they are wiſe men and Chriſtian men ſomethings, ſomethings in that they are men miſ-led and blinded with errour. As farre as they follow reaſon and truth, wee feare not to treade the ſelfeſame ſteppes wherein they haue gone, and to bee their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better; others whom wee much more affect leauing it for newer, and changing it for worſe, wee had rather follow the perfections of them whome wee like not, then in defects reſemble them whome wee loue. For although they profeſſe they agree with vs touching [a] *a preſcript forme of prayer to bee vſed in the Church*, yet in that very forme which they ſay is [b] *agreable to Gods word, and the vſe of reformed Churches*, they haue by ſpeciall proteſtation declared, that their meaning is not it ſhall bee preſcribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Miniſter. *It ſhall not* (they ſay) *bee neceſſary for the Miniſter daylie to repeate all theſe things before mentioned, but beginning with* ſome like *confeſſion to proceede to the Sermon, which ended, hee* either *vſeth the prayer for all ſtates before mentioned*, or elſe prayeth as the Spirit of God ſhall mooue his heart. Herein therefore wee hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a preſcript forme which euery man ſhall bee bound to obſerue, then with them to ſet downe a kind of direction, a forme for men to vſe if they liſt, or otherwiſe to change as pleaſeth themſelues. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly alſo conſidered, that publique prayer is a dutie intire in it ſelfe, a dutie requiſite to bee performed much oftner then Sermons can poſſiblie bee made. For which cauſe, as they, ſo wee haue likewiſe a publique forme how to ſerue God both morning and euening, whether Sermons may bee had or no. On the contrary ſide, their forme of reformed prayer ſheweth only what ſhall bee done [c] *vpon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the word*, with what words the Miniſter ſhall begin, [d] *when the houre appointed for Sermon is come*; what ſhall bee ſaid or ſung before Sermon, and what after. So that acording to this forme of theirs, it muſt ſtand for a rule, *No Sermon, no Seruice*. Which ouerſight occaſioned the French ſpitefully to terme Religion in that ſort exerciſed a meere preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbeare to rehearſe, in conſideration whereof we cannot be induced to preferre their reformed forme of prayer before our owne, what Church ſoeuer we reſemble therein.

a *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 135*

b A Booke of the forme of Common prayer tendered to the Parliament *pag. 46.*

c Page 23.

d 24.

29 The

29 The attyre which the Miniſter of God is by order to vſe at times of diuine ſeruice being but a matter of meere formalitie, yet ſuch as for comelineſſe ſake hath hitherto beene iudged by the wiſer ſort of men not vnneceſſary to couenire with other ſenſible notes betokening the different kinde or quality of perſons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we thinke not our ſelues the holier becauſe wee vſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whom no ſuch thing is in vſe thinke vs therefore vnholie, becauſe we ſubmit our ſelues vnto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſedome of authoritie and law haue thought comely. To ſolemne actions of royaltie and iuſtice their ſutable ornaments are a beautie. Are they only in Religion a ſtaine? [a] *Diuine Religion* ſayth Saint *Ierome* (he ſpeaketh of the prieſtly attyre of the law) *hath one kinde of habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, an other for ordinary vſe belonging vnto common life.* *Pelagius* hauing carped at the curious neatneſſe of mens apparell in thoſe dayes, and through the ſowerneſſe of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that [b] *the glory of cloathes and ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlines*; S. *Ierome* whoſe cuſtome is not to pardon ouer-eaſily his aduerſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all ſorts of men in the world *Gods enemies. Is it enmitie with God* (ſayth he) *if I weare my coate ſomewhat handſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, Deacon, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticall order *come to adminiſter the vſuall ſacrifice in a* [c] *white garment*, are they hereby Gods aduerſaries? *Clarkes, Monkes, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwiſe ſeene then in foule & ragged cloathes. Not to ſpeake any thing of ſecular men, which are proclaymed to haue warre with God, as oft as euer they put on pretious and ſhining cloathes.* By which wordes of *Ierome* we may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by ſo generall a ſpeech euen the neatneſſe of that very garment it ſelfe, wherein the Cleargie did then vſe to adminiſter publiquely the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts moſt bleſſed body and bloud. For that they did then vſe ſome ſuch ornament, the wordes of [d] *Chryſoſtome* giue plaine teſtimony, who ſpeaking to the Cleargie of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did ſuffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord, and not put them by, it would be as heauily reuenged vpon them, as if themſelues had ſhed his bloud, that for this purpoſe God hath called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Chriſt, that this they ſhould reckon was *their dignitie, this their ſafetie, this their whole crowne and glory*; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is adminiſtred imagine themſelues called only *to walke vp and downe in a white and ſhining garment.* Now whereas theſe ſpeeches of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* doe ſeeme plainely to allude vnto ſuch Miniſteriall garments as were then in vſe, to this they anſwere, that by *Ierome* nothing can be gathered but only that the Miniſters came to Church in hanſome holiday apparell, and that himſelfe did not thinke them bound by the law of God to goe like ſlouens; but the weed which wee meane hee defendeth not; that [e] *Chryſoſtome* meaneth indeed the ſame which wee defend, but ſeemeth rather to reprehend then to allow it as wee doe. Which anſwere wringeth out of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both ſpeake of the ſame perſons, namely the Cleargie; and of their weed at the ſame time when they adminiſter the bleſſed

Attire belonging to the ſeruice of God *T.C. lib. 1. pa. 71.* We thinke the Surplice eſpecially vnmeete for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to weare, *pa. 75* It is eaſily ſeene by *Salomon Eccleſ. 8. 9.* that to weare a white garment was greatly eſteemed in the Eaſt parts, and was ordinarie to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as blacke with vs, and therefore was no ſeuerall apparell for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſterie in.

a *Hieron. in 44. Ezech.*

b *Hieron. aduer. Pelag. li. 1. ca. 9.*

c *T.C. li. 1. pa. 77* By a white garment is meant a comely apparel, and not ſlouenly.

d *Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch. Tom. 5. Serm. 60.*

e *T.C. li. 1. p. 75* It is true, *Chryſoſtome* maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it but rather to the contrarie: for he ſheweth that the dignitie of their miniſterie was in taking heede, that none vnmeete were admitted to the Lords ſupper, not in going about the Church with a white garment.

bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelfeſame kind of weed, a white garment, ſo farre as wee haue wit to conceiue; and for any thing wee are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doeth argue either the thing it ſelfe to bee different whereof they ſpeake, or their iudgements concerning it different; although the one doe only maintaine it againſt *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore vnlawfull, becauſe it was faire or hanſome, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in it ſelfe, if they which weare it doe nothing elſe but ayre the robes which their place requireth. The honeſtie, dignitie and eſtimation of white apparrell in the Earſterne part of the world is a token of greater fitneſſe for this ſacred vſe, wherein it were not conuenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould bee ſuffered. Notwithſtanding I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffely vpon theſe probabilities, that in *Ieromes* and *Chryſoſtomes* time any ſuch attyre was made ſeuerall to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the wordes of *Salomon* are verie impertinent to prooue it an ornament, therefore not ſeuerall for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtery in, becauſe men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinary apparrell white. For wee know that when *Salomon* wrote thoſe wordes, the ſeuerall apparell for the Miniſters of the law to execute their Miniſtery in was ſuch. The [a] wiſeman which feared God from his heart, and honoured the ſeruice that was done vnto him, could not mention ſo much as the garments of holineſſe but with effectuall ſignification of moſt ſingular reuerence and loue. Were it not better that the loue which men beare to God ſhould make the leaſt things that are imployed in his ſeruice amiable, then that their ouer-ſcrupulous diſlike of ſo meane a thing as a veſtment ſhould from the very ſeruice of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I terme it the rather a meane thing, a thing not much to bee reſpected, becauſe euen they ſo accompt now of it, whoſe firſt diſputations againſt it were ſuch as if Religion had ſcarcely any thing of greater waight. Their [b] allegations were then, that *if a man were aſſured to gaine a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or bee vnto him a cauſe of falling, hee ought not to doe it; that this popiſh apparell, the Surplice eſpecially hath beene by Papiſts abhominably abuſed*; that it hath beene *a marke and a very ſacrament of abhomination; that remayning, it ſerueth as a monument of idolatrie*, and not only edifieth not but as a dangerous and ſcandalous Ceremony doth exceeding much harme *to them of whoſe good we are commanded to haue regard; that it cauſeth men to periſh and make ſhipwracke of conſcience*, for ſo themſelues profeſſe they meane, when they ſay the weake are offended herewith, that it *hardneth Papiſtes, hindreth the weake from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpell, grieueth godly mindes, and gineth them occaſion to thinke hardly of their Miniſters*; that if the *Magiſtrate may command or the Church appoint* Rites *and* Ceremonies, *yet ſeeing our abſtinence from things in their owne nature indifferent if the weake brother ſhould bee offended, is a flat commandement of the Holy Ghoſt, which no authoritie either of Church or Common-wealth can make voide*, therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully *ordeine this* Ceremony, *which hath great incommoditie and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; that by the Law it ſhould haue beene burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with leproſie; that the example of *Ezechias* beating to powder the Brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed feaſts of Charity, *inforceth vpon vs the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which

a *Eccleſ.45.7.*

b *T.C.l.1.p.79*
71.
75.
72.
T.C.lib.2.p.403.
lib.1.pag.73.
Page 73.
Pag.76.
Lib.2.pa.403.
Lib.1.pag.76.
Pag.81.

which hath beene and is ſo offenſiue; finally, that God by his Prophet hath giuen *an expreſſe Commandement*, which in this caſe toucheth vs no leſſe then of old it did the Iewes: [a] *Ye ſhall pollute the couering of the images of ſiluer and the rich ornament of your images of gold, and caſt them away as a ſtayned rag, thou ſhalt ſay vnto it, Get thee hence.* Theſe and ſuch like were their firſt diſcourſes touching that Church attyre which with vs for the moſt part is vſuall in publike prayer; our Eccleſiaſticall lawes ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath beene of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpeciall choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy garments, which (ouer and beſides their myſticall reference) ſerued for [b] comelineſſe [c] vnder the law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion bee vſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of [d] ioy, wherein God delighteth when his Saincts prayſe him; and ſo liuely reſembleth the glory of the Saincts in heauen, together with the beauty wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appeare for men in the preſence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chooſe any, could not eaſily deuiſe a garment of more decency for ſuch a ſeruice. As for thoſe forerehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall wee giue them credit when the very authours from whom they come, confeſſe they beliue not their owne ſayings? For when once they began to perceiue how many both of them in the two Vniuerſities, and of others who abroad hauing Eccleſiaſticall charge doe fauour mightily their cauſe, and by all meanes ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremitie of that opinion hazard greatly their owne eſtates, and ſo weaken that parte which their places doe now giue them much opportunitie to ſtrengthen; they asked counſell as it ſeemeth from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered that the body is of farre more worth then the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconueniences, it hath beene thought good to adde, [e] that ſometimes authoritie *muſt and may with good conſcience bee obeyed, euen where Commandement is not giuen vpon good grounds*; that *the duty of preaching is one of the abſolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to bee forſaken for the bare inconuenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent*; that *one of the foulеſt ſpots in the Surplis is the offence which it giueth in occaſioning the weake to fall and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickedneſſe, yet hereby there is no vnlawfulneſſe prooued but *only an inconueniencie*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconueniencie neither as may not bee borne with; that when God doth flatly command vs to abſtaine from things in their owne nature indifferent if they offend our weake brethren, his meaning is not wee ſhould obey his Commandement herein vnleſſe we may doe it, *and not leaue vndone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded.* Alwayes prouided that whoſoeuer will inioy the benefit of this diſpenſation to weare a ſcandalous badge of idolatrie, rather then forſake his paſtorall charge, doe (*as occaſion ſeruеth*) *teach* neuertheleſſe ſtill *the incommodity of the thing it ſelfe, admoniſh the weake brethren that they be not, and pray vnto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat.* So that whereas before they which had authority to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to haue power to inſtitute this, it is

a *Eſay* 30.22.

b *Exod.*28.2.
c *Exod.* 39.27.

d *Pſal.*149.2. *Apoc.*15.6. *Marke* 16.5.

e *T.C. lib.*1. *pag.*74. &c. *Lib.*2.*pag.*250. *Index li.*3.*ca.*8. *lib.*3. *pag.*262. *Pag.*263.

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*Lib.*3.*pag.*263.

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now confeſt that this they may alſo *lawfully*, but not ſo conueniently appoint; they did well before and as they ought, who had it in vtter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abhominable, they now doe well which thinke it may bee both borne and vſed with a very good conſcience; before, hee which by wearing it were ſure to winne thouſands vnto Chriſt ought not to doe it if there were but one which might bee offended, now though it bee with the offence of thouſands yet it may bee done rather then that ſhould be giuen ouer whereby notwithſtanding wee are not certaine wee ſhall gaine one; the examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*, the charge which was giuen to the Iewes by *Eſay*, the ſtrict Apoſtolicall prohibition of things indifferent whenſoeuer they may bee ſcandalous were before ſo forcible lawes againſt our Eccleſiaſticall attire, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could poſſiblie make voide, which now one of farre leſſe authority then either hath found how to fruſtrate by diſpenſing with the breach of inferiour commandements, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not thus to ſoder vp a broken cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt diſcourſes will fall aſunder doe what they can. Let them ingenuouſly cõfeſſe that their inuectiues were too bitter, their arguments too weake, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagine. If thoſe alleaged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concerne the matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould inferre were vnlawfulneſſe, becauſe they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concerne. If they prooue not our attyre vnlawfull becauſe in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they prooue not any thing againſt it, and conſequently not ſo much as vncomelineſſe or inconueniency. Vnleſſe therefore they be able throughly to reſolue themſelues that there is no one ſentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth controll the wearing of it in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe as the Church of England alloweth; vnleſſe they can fully reſt and ſettle their mindes in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make themſelues the only competent Iudges of decencie in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemne iudgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their owne conceipt, grounded only vpon vncertaine ſuſpitions and feares, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe, when things were but rawe and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelfe worne that out alſo; vnleſſe I ſay thus reſolued in minde they hold their paſtorall charge with the comfort of a good conſcience, no way grudgeing at that which they doe, or doing that which they thinke themſelues bound of dutie to reprooue, how ſhould it poſſiblie helpe or further them in their courſe to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to bee taken, and in penſiue manner to tell their audi-

" ence, *Brethren, our heartes deſire is that wee might inioy the full libertie of the*
" *Goſpell as in other reformed Churches they doe elſewhere, vpon whome the hea-*
" *uy hand of authoritie hath impoſed no grieuous burthen. But ſuch is the miſery of*
" *theſe our dayes, that ſo great happineſſe wee cannot looke to attaine vnto. Were it ſo,*
" *that the equitie of the law of* Moſes *could preuaile; or the zeale of* Ezechias *bee*
" *found in the hearts of thoſe guides and gouernours vnder whom wee liue; or the voice*
" *of Gods owne Prophets be duly heard; or the example of the Apoſtles of Chriſt bee fol-*
" *lowed, yea or their precepts be anſwered with full and perfect obedience, theſe ab-*

hominable

hominable ragges, polluted garments, markes and Sacraments of idolatry, which power as you ſee conſtraineth vs to weare and conſcience to abhorre, had long ere this day beene remooued both out of ſight and out of memory. But as now things ſtand, beheld to what narrow ſtraights wee are driuen; On the one ſide wee feare the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt, woe be to them by whom ſcandall and offence commeth; on the other ſide at the Apoſtles ſpeech wee cannot but quake and tremble, If I preach not the Goſpell woe be vnto me. Being thus hardly beſet, we ſee not any other remedy but to hazard your ſoules the one way, that wee may the other way indeuour to ſaue them. Touching the offence of the weake therefore, we muſt aduenture it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our Paſtorall charge is Gods abſolute commandement. Rather then that ſhall bee taken from vs, we are reſolued to take this filth and to put it on, although wee iudge it to be ſo vnfit and inconuenient, that as oft as euer wee pray or preach ſo arayed before you, wee doe as much as in vs lyeth to caſt away your ſoules that are weake minded, and to bring you vnto endleſſe perdition. But wee beſeech you brethren haue care of your owne ſafetie, take heed to your ſteps, that yee be not taken in thoſe ſnares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalfe to Almighty God is, that the poiſon which we offer you may neuer haue the power to doe you harme. Aduice and counſell is beſt ſought for at their handes which either haue no part at all in the cauſe whereof they inſtruct, or elſe are ſo farre ingaged, that themſelues are to beare the greateſt aduenture in the ſucceſſe of their owne counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſſe reſpectiue, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gaue the firſt direction to this courſe had reaſon to wiſh that their owne proceedings at home might be fauoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towardes them might be kept aliue. But if themſelues had gone vnder thoſe ſailes which they require to be hoiſed vp, if they had beene themſelues to execute their owne theory in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would haue ſeene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they tooke of aduiſing men, firſt to weare the apparell, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that lawes which permit them not to doe as they would, will indure them to ſpeake as they liſt, euen againſt that which themſelues doe by conſtraint of lawes; they would haue eaſily ſeene that our people being accuſtomed to thinke euermore that thing euill which is publikely vnder any pretenſe reproued, and the men themſelues worſe which reproue it and vſe it too, it ſhould bee to little purpoſe for them to ſalue the wound by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their owne actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, or by vſing faire intreaty with the weake brethren; they would eaſily haue ſeene how with vs it cannot bee indured to heare a man openly profeſſe that hee putteth fire to his neighbours houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burne. It had beene therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to haue obſerued [a] Saint *Baſils* aduice both in this and in all things of like nature. *Let him which approueth not his gouernours or ſuperiors either plainly (but priuately alwayes) ſhew his diſlike if he haue ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον, ſtrong and inuincible reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or elſe let him quietly*

a *Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad interr. 47.*

quietly with ſilence doe that which is inioyned. Obedience with profeſt vnwillingneſſe to obey is no better then manifeſt diſobedience.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. *T.C.lib.1. pag.134.*

30 Hauing thus diſputed whether the ſurplice bee a fit garment to bee vſed in the ſeruice of God, the next queſtion whereinto we are drawne is, whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay ſeruice in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before ſeruice ended remooue from the place where it was begun. By them which trouble vs with theſe doubts we would more willingly be reſolued of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kind of taking Gods name in vaine to debaſe Religion with ſuch friuolous diſputes, a ſinne to beſtow time and labour about them. Things of ſo meane regard and quality, although neceſſary to bee ordered, are notwithſtanding very vnſauory when they come to be diſputed of; becauſe diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very forward who need to bee taught by diſputation what is meete. When wee make profeſſion of our faith wee ſtand; when wee acknowledge our ſinnes or ſeeke vnto God for fauour, wee fall downe, becauſe the geſture of conſtancy becommeth vs beſt in the one, in the other the behauiour of humilitie. Some partes of our Liturgie conſiſt in the reading of the word of God, and the proclayming of his Law, that the people may thereby learne what their duties are towardes him; ſome conſiſt in wordes of prayſe and thankſgiuing, whereby wee acknowledge vnto God what his bleſſings are towards vs; ſome are ſuch, as albeit they ſerue to ſingular good purpoſe euen when there is no Communion adminiſtred, neuertheleſſe being deuiſed at the firſt for that purpoſe are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonlie read; ſome are vttered as from the people, ſome as with them vnto God, ſome as from God vnto them, all as before his ſight whom wee feare, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt vnſeemelineſſe we would be ſurely as loath as they who moſt reprehend or deride that we do. [a] Now becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read doe all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe either ſpake, did or ſuffred in his owne perſon, it hath beene the cuſtome of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reuerence to ſtand, to vtter certaine wordes of acclamation, and at the name of Ieſus to bow. Which harmeleſſe Ceremonies as there is *no man conſtrained to vſe*, ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould yet imagine it an vnſufferable euill. It ſheweth a reuerend [b] regard to the Sonne of God aboue other meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Iewes, Arrians, who derogate from the honor of Ieſus Chriſt ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profitable. [c] As for any erronious *eſtimation* aduancing the Sonne *aboue the Father and the Holy Ghoſt*, ſeeing that the truth of his equalitie with them is a myſtery ſo hard for the wits of mortall men to riſe vnto, of all hereſies that which may giue him ſuperioritie aboue them is leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, whereas if fault be in theſe things any where iuſtly found, Law hath referred the whole diſpoſition and redreſſe thereof to the Ordinary of the place; [d] they which elſewhere complaine that diſgrace and *iniurie* is offered euen to the meaneſt pariſh Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appoin-

teth

a *T.C.lib.1. pag.203.*

b *Marke 12.6.*

c *T.C.lib.3. pag.215.*

d *T.C.lib.1. pag.74.*

pointeth him what to weare, and leaueth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his owne diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet and truſted with the care of the peoples ſoules, doe[a] thinke the graueſt Prelates in the land no competent iudges to diſcerne and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way conuenient to looke praying. From their Ordinarie therefore they appeale to themſelues, finding great fault that wee neither reforme the thing againſt the which they haue ſo long ſithence giuen ſentence, nor yet make anſwere vnto that they bring, which is that[b] Saint *Luke* declaring how *Peter ſtood vp in the midſt of his Diſciples*, did thereby deliuer an[c] *vnchangeable* rule, that *whatſoeuer* is done in the Church *ought to be done* in the midſt of the church, and therefore not Baptiſme to be adminiſtred in one place, Mariage ſolemnized in an other, the Supper of the Lord receiued in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift prayers to be made; that the cuſtome which we vſe is Leuiticall, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the vnderſtanding of the people; that if it bee meete for the Miniſter at ſometime to looke towardes the people, if the body of the Church bee a fit place for ſome part of diuine ſeruice, it muſt needs follow that whenſoeuer his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath abſurdity. *All theſe reaſons* they ſay haue beene brought, and were hitherto neuer anſwered, beſide a number of meriments and ieſts vnanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they haue pleaſantly mooued much laughter at our manner of ſeruing God. Such is their euill hap to play vpon dull ſpirited men. We are ſtill perſwaded that a bare deniall is anſwere ſufficient to things which meere fancy obiecteth; & that the beſt Apology to words of ſcorne and petulancy is *Iſacks* Apology to his brother *Iſmael*, the Apology which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwere therefore to their reaſons is no; to their ſcoffes nothing.

a *T.C.lib.1. pag.134. Lib.3.pag.187.*

b *Act.1.15.*

c *T.C.lib 1. pag.134. Lib.3 pag.187.*

31 When they obiect that our Booke requireth[d] nothing to bee done which a childe may not doe as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe*, is it their meaning that the ſeruice of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deepe skill, or els that the Booke conteining it ſhold teach what men are fit to attend vpon it, and forbid either men vnlearned or children to bee admitted thereunto? In ſetting downe the forme of Common Prayer, there was no neede that the Booke ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the vnfitneſſe of an ignorant Miniſter, more then that hee which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field ſhould ſpeake of moderation and ſobriety in diet. And concerning the duty it ſelfe, although the hardneſſe thereof be not ſuch as needeth much arte, yet ſurely they ſeeme to bee very farre carried beſides themſelues to whome the dignitie of publique prayer doth not diſcouer ſomewhat more fitneſſe in men of grauity and ripe diſcretion then in children of *tenne yeares of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot bee that they who ſpeake thus ſhould thus iudge. At the boord and in priuate it very well becommeth childrens innocencie to pray, and their elders to ſay Amen. Which, being a part of their vertuous education, ſerueth greatly both to nourish in them the feare of God, and to put vs in continuall remembrance of that powerfull grace which openeth the mouthes of infants to ſound his prayſe. But

Eaſines of praying after our forme.

d *T.C.lib.1. pag.133.& li.3. pag.184.* Another fault in the whole ſeruice or Liturgie of England is for that it maintaineth an vnpreaching Miniſterie, in requiring nothing to bee done by the Miniſter which a child of ten yeares old can not do as well, and as lawfully as that man wherewith the booke contenteth it ſelfe.

publique

publique prayer, the ſeruice of God in the ſolemne aſſembly of Saincts is a worke though eaſie yet withall ſo waightie and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a ſlender argument to prooue it may bee as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeares, howſoeuer their ability of learning be but only to doe that in decent order wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe. The Booke requireth but orderly reading. As in truth what ſhould any preſcript forme of Prayer framed to the Miniſters hand require, but only ſo to bee read as behoooueth? Wee know that there are in the world certaine voluntary ouerſeers of all Bookes, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharpe on vs as it hath done on many others, if deliuering but a forme of Prayer, we ſhould either expreſſe or include any thing, more then doth properly concerne Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſſe or meaneneſſe of knowledge to doe other things, his aptneſſe or inſufficiency otherwiſe then by reading to inſtruct the flocke, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger with whom our forme of Common Prayer hath nothing to doe. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſſe, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needleſſe iealouſie. I haue often heard it enquired of by many, how it might bee brought to paſſe that the Church ſhould euery where haue able Preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remooue them. In which conſultations the multitude of pariſhes, the paucitie of ſchooles, the manifolde diſcouragements which are offered vnto mens inclinations that way, the penury of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, the irrecouerable loſſe of ſo many liuings of principall value cleane taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the dayly bruſes that ſpirituall promotions vſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomewhat in certaine ſtatutes which concerne the ſtate of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Biſhops, the ſtony hardneſſe of too many Patrons hearts not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought vpon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning any defect of knowledge in the Cleargie. But whoſoeuer be found guilty, the Communion Booke hath ſurely deſerued leaſt to be called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Cleargie were as learned as themſelues are that moſt complaine of ignorance in others, yet our Booke of prayer might remaine the ſame; and remaining the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can bee a let vnto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to bee Gods good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſary element that euery act of Religion ſhould bee thought imperfect and lame wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our ſeruice. *T.C. lib.1.p.133 & lib.3.pa.184*

32 Two faults there are which our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe eſpecially reproued in prayer, the one when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faulty, not whenſoeuer they bee openly made, but when hypocriſie is the cauſe of open praying: ſo the length of prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimplie, but where errour and ſuperſtition cauſeth more then conuenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be vſed. It is not as ſome doe imagine (ſaith S[d] *Auguſtine*) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in prayer which

d *Aug. Ep. 121.*

which our Sauiour did reprooue; for then would not hee himſelfe in prayer haue continued [a] whole nights. Vſe in prayer no vaine ſuperfluitie of wordes as the Heathens doe, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking wil cauſe them to bee heard, whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is how vertuous their mindes are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they thinke, and not how long they talke who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding for as much as in publique prayer we are not only to conſider what is needfull in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which wee muſt regard; wee ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leaſt ouer-quicke diſpatch of a duty ſo important ſhould giue the world occaſion to deeme that the thing it ſelfe is but little accompted of wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length therefore is a thing which the grauitie and waight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſides, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments doe often hinder from being partakers of the whole, haue yet through the length of diuine ſeruice opportunitie left them at the leaſt for acceſſe vnto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Againe it ſhould bee conſidered, how it doth come to paſſe that wee are ſo long. For if that very ſeruice of God in the Iewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approoue and ſanctifie with the preſence of his owne perſon, had ſo large portion of the lawe and the prophets together with ſo many prayers and Pſalmes read day by day as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was neuer thought to deſerue blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peraduenture the Church hath not now the leaſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, haue ſithence that loſt their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalmes bee a part of the Seruice of God as needfull vnder Chriſt as before, and the adding of the new Teſtament as profitable as the ordeyning of the old to bee read; if therewith in ſtead of Iewiſh prayers it bee alſo for the good of the Church to annexe that varietie which [b] the Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which wee ſpend is no more then the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily required, why are we thought to exceede in length? Wordes bee they neuer ſo few are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But hee which ſpeaketh no more then edifieth is vndeſeruedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as [c] *the Diuell vnde colour of long prayer draue preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo wee in appointing ſo long prayers and reading, whereby the leſſe can bee ſpent in preaching, maintaine an vnpreaching Miniſtry*, is neither aduiſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reprooue long prayer and yet acckowledge it to be in it ſelfe a thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needes bee, if the Diuell haue vſed it as a colour to hide his malitious practiſes. When malice would worke that which is euill, and in working auoide the ſuſpition of any euil intent, the colour wherewith it ouercaſteth it ſelfe is alwayes a faire and plauſible pretenſe of ſeeking to further that wich is good. So that if we both reteine that good which Sathan hath pretended to ſeeke, and auoyd the euill which his purpoſe was to effect, haue wee not better preuented his malice then if as hee hath vnder colour of long prayer driuen preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarell of

a *Luke 6.12.*

b *1.Tim.2.1.*

c *T.C.lib.3. pag.184.*

of Sermons in hand and reuenge their cause by requitall, thrusting prayer in a manner out of dores vnder colour of long preaching? In case our prayers being made at their full length did necessarily inforce Sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to vphold and maintaine an *vnpreaching* Ministery, vnlesse we will say that those ancient Fathers, *Chrysostome*, *Augustine*, *Leo*, and the rest, whose Homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part then our Sermons are, did then not preach when their speeches were not long. The necessitie of shortnesse causeth men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprise much matter in few wordes. But neither did it maintaine inhability, nor at all preuent opportunity of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose. *An houre and a halfe* is, they say, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reasonable for *their whole Liturgie or Seruice*. Doe wee then continue as [a] *Ezra* did in reading the law from morning till midday? [b] or as the Apostle Saint *Paul* did in prayer and preaching, till men through wearinesse bee taken vp dead at our feete? The huge length whereof they make such complaint is but this, that if our whole forme of prayer bee read, and besides an hower allowed for a Sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time then they doe by halfe an houre. Which halfe houre being such a matter as the *age of some and infirmity of other some are not able to beare*; if we haue any sense of the *common imbecility*, if any care to preserue mens wits from being broken with the very *bent of so long attention*, if any loue or desire to prouide that things most holy be not with hazard of mens soules abhord and loathed, this halfe houres tediousnesse must be remedied; and that only by cutting off the greatest part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will serue to helpe so dangerous an inconuenience.

a *Nehe.* 8.3.
b *Act.* 20.9.

In stead of such Prayers as the Primitiue Churches haue vsed, and those that be reformed now vse, we haue (they say) diuers short cuts or shreddings, rather wishes then Prayers. *T.c.l.1.p.138.& li.3.pa.210, 211*

33. The brethren in Ægypt (saith Saint *Augustine* Epist. 121.) are reported to haue many prayers, but euery of them very short, as if they were dartes throwne out with a kinde of suddaine quickenesse, least that vigilant and erect attention of minde, which in prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which Saint *Augustine* doth allow they condemne. Those prayers whereunto deuout mindes haue added a pearcing kinde of breuity, as well in that respect which we haue already mentioned, as also thereby the better to expresse that quicke and speedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections the very wings of prayer are delighted to present our suites in heauen, euen sooner then our tongues can deuise to vtter them; they in their moode of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base termes as doe very ill beseeme men of their grauity. Such speeches are scandalous, they sauour not of God in him that vseth them, and vnto vertuously disposed mindes they are grieuous corrosiues: Our case were miserable, if that wherewith we most endeuour to please God were in his sight so vile and despicable as mens disdainefull speech would make it.

Lessons intermingled with our Prayers.

34. Againe, for as much as effectuall prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferiour powers of the soule, which cannot therein long continue without paine, it hath beene therefore thought good so by turnes to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the minde the vnderstanding to

Worke

worke vpon, that both being kept in continuall exercise with varietie, neither might ſeeme any great wearineſſe, and yet each be a ſpurre to other. For prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the minde delighted with that contemplatiue ſight of God, taketh euery where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the myſteries of heauenly wiſedome continually ſtirring vp in vs correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort is thereby made the more attentiue to heare, and he which heareth the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoeuer we do it, this intermingling of leſſons with prayers is [a] in their taſte a thing as vnſauerie, and as vnſeemely in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in ſuites and ſupplications before ſome mightie Prince of the world. Our ſpeech to worldly ſuperiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerueth beſt to informe and perſwade the mindes of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas becauſe we knowe that God is indeede a King, but a *great* King; who vnderſtandeth all things before hand which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what wee lack, a King readier to graunt then wee to make our requeſts; therefore in prayer we do not ſo much reſpect what precepts arte deliuereth touching the method of perſwaſiue vtterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt auaile to our owne edification in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary ſide doe thinke that the ſame rules of decencie which ſerue for things done vnto terrene powers ſhould vniuerſally decide what is fit in the ſeruice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church muſt deliuer her publique ſupplications vnto God in no other forme of ſpeech then ſuch as were decent, if ſuite ſhould be made to the great Turke, or ſome other Monarke, let them applie their owne rule vnto their owne forme of common prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole towne with ſome choſen man before them did continually twiee or thrice in a weeke reſort to their King, and euery time they come firſt acknowledge themſelues guiltie of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a ſong, after that explane ſome Statute of the land to the ſtanders by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an hower, this done, turne themſelues againe to the King, and for euery ſort of his ſubiects craue ſomewhat of him, at the length ſing him an other ſong, and ſo take their leaue. Might not the King well thinke that either they knew not what they would haue, or els that they were diſtracted in minde, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This forme of ſuing vnto Kings were abſurd. This forme of praying vnto God they allow. When God was ſerued with legall ſacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens mindes, that the beſt of euery thing they had being culled out for themſelues, if there were in their flocks any poore ſtarued or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wiſe hypocrites doe when they rob God to inrich themſelues) that the fatneſſe of

[a] We haue no ſuch formes in the Scripture as that wee ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after hauing read awhile ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 10. or 30. time with pauſes betweene. If a man ſhould come to a Prince and hauing very many things to demaund, after he had demaunded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demaund another, and ſo the third, the Prince might well thinke that either he came to aske before he knew what he had neede of, or that he had forgotten ſome peece of his ſuite, or that he were diſtracted in his vnderſtanding, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of his ſupplication. *T.C. lib. 1. pa. 138.* This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of ſacrifices doth vſe, *T.C. lib. 3. pag. 210.*

Calues doth benefit him nothing, to vs the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one if the minde of the offerer be good which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproofe of which their deuout fraud, the Prophet Malachie alleageth that gifts are offered vnto God not as *ſupplies of his want in deede, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honor his greatnes. For which cauſe ſith the greater they are whome we honor, the more regard wee haue to the qualitie and choice of thoſe preſents which wee bring them for honors ſake, it muſt needs follow that if wee dare not diſgrace our worldly ſuperiors with offering vnto them ſuch refuſe as wee bring vnto God himſelfe, wee ſhew plainely that our acknowledgement of his greatnes is but fained, in hart wee feare him not ſo much as wee dread them. [a] *If ye offer the blinde for ſacrifice it is not euill. Offer it now vnto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy perſon ſaith the Lord of hoſtes? Curſed be the deceiuer which hath in his flocke a male, and hauing made a vow ſacrificeth vnto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* Should wee hereupon frame a rule that what forme of ſpeech or behauiour ſoeuer is fit for ſuters in a Princes Court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth vs in our prayers to Almightie God?

* Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ διὰ τὸ δῶρον ἐστι κτήματος λαβεῖν καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ ἐν φιλοχρήματοι καὶ ἐν φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ ἔχειν δοκοῦσι. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμα ἐστιν οὗ ἐφίενται ἐν φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμιὸν ἔχει οὗ ἐν φιλότιμοι. *Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. ca. 5.*

a *Mala. 1. 8. 14.*

35 But in vaine we labor to perſwade them that any thing can take away the tediouſneſſe of prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame both meaſure and forme which themſelues aſſigne. Whatſoeuer therefore our Liturgie hath more then theirs, vnder one deuiſed pretenſe or other they cut it off. We haue of prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe the Lords prayer in ſo ſmall a time is as they thinke a loſſe of time; the peoples praying after the Miniſter they ſay both waſteth time, and alſo maketh an vnpleaſant ſound; the Pſalmes they would not haue to be made (as they are) a part of our common prayer, not to be ſung or ſaid by turnes, nor ſuch muſick to be vſed with them; thoſe euangelicall hymnes they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgie; the Letanie, the Creede of Athanaſius, the ſentence of Glorie, wherewith we vſe to conclude Pſalmes, theſe things they cancell, as hauing beene inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching prayers for things earthly, we ought not to thinke that the Church hath ſet downe ſo many of them without cauſe. They peraduenture, which finde this fault, are of the ſame affection with Salomon, ſo that if God ſhould offer to graunt them whatſoeuer they aske, they would neither craue riches, nor length of dayes, nor yet victorie ouer their enemies, but only an vnderſtanding hart, for which cauſe themſelues hauing Eagles wings, are offended to ſee others flye ſo neere the ground. But the tender kindneſſe of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth to help the weaker ſort

The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords prayer.

I can make no Geometricall and exact meaſure, but verily I beleeue there ſhall be found more then a third part of the prayers, which are not Pſalmes and texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the prayers of the Church ſet downe in the Scripture, and eſpecially of our Sauiour Chriſts prayer, by the which ours ought to bee directed. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 136.* What a reaſon is this, we muſt repeate the Lords prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in halfe an hower, and one in the necke of another? Our Sauiour Chriſt doth not there giue a preſcript forme of prayer whereunto he bindeth vs: but giueth vs a rule and ſquire to frame all our prayers by. I know it is neceſſarie to pray, and pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any man to frame ſo pithie a prayer, and I confeſſe that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lords prayer: but I ſtand vpon this, that there is no neceſſitie layd vpon vs to vſe theſe very words and no more. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 319.*

ſort which are by ſo great oddes mo in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may be therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Sauiour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any vnto him with better ſucceſſe for the benefit of their ſoules euerlaſting happineſſe, then they whoſe bodily neceſſities gaue them the firſt occaſion to ſeeke reliefe, where they ſaw willingneſſe and abilitie of doing euery way good vnto all. The graces of the ſpirit are much more precious then worldly benefits; our ghoſtly euils of greater importance then any harme which the bodie feeleth. Therefore our deſires to heauenward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſſe exceede then their glorious obiect doth euery way excell in value. Theſe things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect iudgement. But yet it muſt be withall conſidered, that the greateſt part of the world are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcerne the wants of this preſent life, then by ſpirituall capacitie to apprehend things aboue ſenſe, which tend to their happineſſe in the world to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to applie their mindes euen with harſie affection and zeale at the leaſt vnto thoſe branches of publique prayer, wherein their owne particular is moued. And by this meane there ſtealeth vpon them a double benefit; firſt becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller accompt haue once ſet on worke, is by ſo much the more eaſily rayſed higher; and ſecondly in that the very cuſtome of ſeeking ſo particular aide and reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from indeuouring to helpe themſelues by thoſe wicked ſhifts which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whoſe aſſiſtance their prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer haue therefore, beſides their direct vſe, a ſeruice whereby the Church vnder-hand, through a kinde of heauenly fraud, taketh therewith the ſoules of men as with certaine baits. If then their calculation be true (for ſo they reckon) that a full third of our prayers be allotted vnto earthly benefits, for which our Sauiour in his platforme hath appointed but one petition amongſt ſeauen, the difference is without any great diſagreement; we reſpecting what men are, and doing that which is meete in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in mens deſires the very higheſt marke whereat we are able to aime. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtome is both to place it[a] in the front of our prayers as a guide, and to adde it in the end of ſome principall limmes or parts as a complement which fully perfecteth whatſoeuer may be defectiue in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, and oftner as occaſion requireth more ſolemnitie or length in the forme of diuine ſeruice, not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang vp, that euer any man would thinke our labour herein miſpent, the time waſtfully conſumed, and the office it ſelfe made worſe by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly be made familiar to the ſimpler ſort, for the good of whoſe ſoules there is not in Chriſtian Religion any thing of like continuall vſe and force throughout euery hower and moment of their whole liues. I meane not only becauſe prayer, but becauſe this very prayer is of ſuch efficacie and neceſſitie: For that our Sauiour did but ſet men a bare example how to contriue or deuiſe prayers of their owne, and no way binde

[a] *Premiſſa legitima & ordinaria oratione quaſi fundamento, accidentium ius eſt deſiderium, ius eſt ſuperfluum, adi extrinſecas petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.*

a *Luc.* 11.1. them to vse this, is no doubt an error. a Iohn the Baptists disciples which had beene alwayes brought vp in the bosome of Gods Church from the time of their first infancie till they came to the schoole of Iohn, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call vpon the name of God, but of their maister they had receyued a forme of prayer amongst themselues, which forme none did vse sauing his disciples, so that by it as by a marke of speciall difference they were knowne from others. And of this the Apostles hauing taken notice, they request that as Iohn had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and S. Augustine doe for that cause terme it *orationem legitimam*, the prayer which Christs owne lawe hath tied his Church to vse in the same prescript forme of words wherewith he himselfe did deliuer it, and therefore what part of the world soeuer we fall into, if Christian Religion haue beene there receiued, the ordinarie vse of this very prayer hath with equall continuance accompanyed the same as one of the principall and most materiall duties of honor done to Iesus Christ. Seeing b *that we haue* (sayth S. Cyprian) *an aduocate with the father for our sinnes, when we that haue sinned come to seeke for pardon, let vs alleage vnto God the words which our aduocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plaine warrant, that in his name what we aske we shall receiue, must we not needes much the rather obteine that for which we sue if not only his name do countenance but also his speech present our requests?* Though men should speake with the toongs of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the eares of God as those which the Sonne of God himselfe hath composed were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made vs to liue hath also taught vs to pray, to the end that speaking vnto the Father in the Sonnes owne prescript forme without scholie or glosse of ours, we may be sure that we vtter nothing which God will either disallow or denie. Other prayers we vse many besides this, and this oftner then any other; although not tyed so to do by any commandement of Scripture, yet moued with such considerations as haue beene before set downe: the causelesse dislike whereof which others haue conceiued, is no sufficient reason for vs as much as once to forbeare in any place a thing which vttered with true deuotion and zeale of hart affordeth to God himselfe that glorie, that aide to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect that solide comfort which is vnspeakeable.

b *Cypr. in Orat. Dom.*

The peoples saying after the Minister. Another fault is that all the people are appointed in diuers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is vnprofitably wasted, and a confused noyse of the people one speaking after an other caused, but an opinion bred in their heads that those only be their prayers which they pronounce with their owne mouthes after the Minister, otherwise then the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1. Cor. 14. 16. and otherwise then Iustin Martyr sheweth the custome of the Churches to haue beene in his time. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 139. and lib. 3. page 211. 212. 213.*

36 With our Lords prayer they would finde no fault, so that they might perswade vs to vse it before or after Sermons onely (because so their maner is) and not (as all Christian people haue beene of old accustomed) insert it so often into the Liturgie. But the peoples custome to repeate any thing after the Minister, they vtterly mislike: Twice wee appoint that the words which the Minister first pronounceth, the whole Congregation shall repeate after him. As first in the publique Confession of sinnes, and againe in rehearsall of our Lords praier presently after the blessed Sacrament of his body and bloud receiued. A thing no way offensiue, no way vnfit or vnseemely to be done, although

though it had been ſo appointed oftner then with vs it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deuiſed better then that we all at our firſt acceſſe vnto God by prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekely our ſinnes, and that not only in hart but with toong, all which are preſent being made eare-witneſſes euen of euery mans diſtinct and deliberate aſſent vnto each particular branch of a common inditement drawne againſt our ſelues? How were it poſſible that the Church ſhould any way els with ſuch eaſe and certaintie prouide, that none of her children may as Adam diſſemble that wretchednes, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſarie a preamble, eſpecially to common prayer? In like maner if the Church did euer deuiſe a thing fit and conuenient, what more then this, that when together we haue all receiued thoſe heauenly myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelfe vnto vs, and giueth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed communion with him, we ſhould in hatred of all hereſies, factions and ſchiſmes, the Paſtor as a leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep declare openly our ſelues vnited as brethren in one, [a] by offering vp with all our harts and toongs that moſt effectuall ſupplication, wherein he vnto whome we offer it, hath himſelfe not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed euery petition, as might moſt naturally ſerue for many, and doth though not alwayes require, yet alwayes import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe communicants haue euer vſed it, and we at that time by the forme of our very vtterance doe ſhew we vſe it, yea euery word and ſyllable of it as communicants. In the reſt we obſerue that cuſtome whereunto [b] S. Paule alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitely what was done, but not vniuerſally to binde for euer all prayers vnto one onely faſhion of vtterance. The reaſons which we haue alleaged induce vs to thinke it ſtill *a good worke*, which they in their penſiue care for the well beſtowing of time accompt *waſte*. As for vnpleaſantnes of ſound if it happen, the good of mens ſoules doth either deceiue our eares that we note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp knife becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate. And ſuch ſuttle opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, we in this Clymate do not greatly feare.

[a] Τίς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐκφέρειν ἐγκωμιάσαι δυνάται μᾶλλον οὗ μίαν ἀφορμὴν πρὸς ἅπαν τὸν ἔπαινον. *Baſil. præf. in Pſal.*

[b] 1. *Cor.* 14. 16.

37 The complaint which they make about Pſalmes and Hymnes, might as well be ouerpaſt without any anſwere, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them if it may be, and to yeeld them a iuſt reaſon euen of the leaſt things wherein vndeſeruedly they haue but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that wee doe amiſſe. They ſeeme ſometimes ſo to ſpeake, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch Hymnes and Pſalmes as are Scripture ſhould in common prayer be otherwiſe vſed then the reſt of the Scripture is woont; ſometime diſpleaſed they are at the artificiall muſicke which we adde vnto Pſalmes of this kinde or of any other nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible reherſall of them yet they ſauor not, becauſe it is done by interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of ſentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is betweene other

Our maner of reading the Pſalmes otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture. They haue alwaies the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read and preached vpõ, which other Scriptures haue, and this aboue the reſt that they are to be ſung.

other parts of Scripture and Pſalmes. The choice and flower of all things profitable in other bookes the Pſalmes doe both more briefly conteine, and more mouingly alſo expreſſe, by reaſon of that poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient when they ſpeake of the booke of Pſalmes vſe to fall into large diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part aboue the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of diuine men, it is of things heauenly an vniuerſall declaration, working in them whoſe harts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of minde whereby they are made fit veſſels both for receipt and for deliuerie of whatſoeuer ſpirituall perfection. What is there neceſſarie for man to know which the Pſalmes are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar introduction, a mightie augmentation of all vertue and knowledge in ſuch as are entered before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroicall magnanimitie, exquiſite iuſtice, graue moderation, exact wiſdome, repentance vnfained, vnwearied patience, the myſteries of God, the ſufferings of Chriſt, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the workes of prouidence ouer this world, and the promiſed ioyes of that world which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either knowne or done or had, this one celeſtiall fountaine yeeldeth. Let there be any griefe or diſeaſe incident into the ſoule of man, any wound or ſickneſſe named, for which there is not in this treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedie at all times readie to be found. Hereof it is that wee couet to make the Pſalmes eſpecially familiar vnto all. This is the very cauſe why wee iterate the Pſalmes oftner then any other part of Scripture beſides, the cauſe wherefore wee inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone to reade them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

But to make dayly prayers of them hand ouer head, or otherwiſe then the preſent eſtate wherein we be, doth agree with the matter conteined in them is an abuſing of them. *T.C.lib.3. page 206.*

* ἐπαφιικτικὴ τῶν παθήμων ὑμνολογία. *Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ.c.3.*

Of Muſique with Pſalmes.

38 Touching muſicall harmonie whether by inſtrument or by voyce, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt diuine, that ſome haue beene thereby induced to thinke that the ſoule it ſelfe by nature is, or hath in it harmonie. A thing which delighteth all ages and beſeemeth all ſtates; a thing as ſeaſonable in griefe as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greateſt waight and ſolemnitie, as being vſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelues from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facilitie which muſique hath to expreſſe and repreſent to the minde more inwardly then any other ſenſible meane the very ſtanding riſing and falling, the very ſteps and inflections euery way, the turnes and varieties of all paſſions whereunto the minde is ſubiect: yea ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble vnto vs the ſame ſtate wherein our mindes alreadie are, or a cleane contrarie, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In harmonie the very image and character euen of vertue and vice is perceiued, the minde delighted with their reſemblances, and brought by hauing them often iterated into a loue of the things themſelues. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent then ſome kindes of harmonie; then ſome nothing more ſtrong and

and potent vnto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kinde from another we neede no proofe but our owne experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined vnto ſorrow and heauineſſe; of ſome, more mollified and ſoftned in minde; one kinde apter to ſtay and ſettle vs, another to moue and ſtirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and ſober mediocritie, there is alſo that carryeth as it were into exſtaſies, filling the minde with an heauenly ioy and for the time in a maner ſeuering it from the body. So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of dittie or matter, the very harmonie of ſounds being framed in due ſort and carryed from the eare to the ſpirituall faculties of our ſoules, is by a natiue puiſſance and efficacie greatly auaileable to bring to a perfect temper whatſoeuer is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits, as to allay that which is too eager, ſoueraigne againſt melancholie and deſpaire, forcible to draw forth teares of deuotion if the minde be ſuch as can yeeld them, able both to moue and to moderate all affections. The Prophet Dauid hauing therefore ſinguler knowledge not in Poetrie alone but in Muſique alſo, iudged them both to be things moſt neceſſarie for the houſe of God, left behinde him to that purpoſe a number of diuinely endited poems, and was farther the author of adding vnto poetrie melodie in publique prayer, melodie both vocall and inſtrumentall for the rayſing vp of mens harts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewyſe at this preſent day reteyne it as an ornament to Gods ſeruice, and an helpe to our owne deuotion. They which vnder pretenſe of the lawe Ceremoniall abrogated, require the abrogation of inſtrumentall muſique approuing neuertheleſſe the vſe of vocall melodie to remaine, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a legall Ceremonie and not the other. In Church muſique curioſitie and oſtentation of arte, wanton or light or vnſuteable harmonie, ſuch as onely pleaſeth the eare, and doth not naturally ſerue to the very kinde and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaueth, or is apt to leaue in mens mindes, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that we doe then adde either beautie or furtherance vnto it. On the other ſide theſe faults preuented the force and efficacie of the thing it ſelfe, when it drowneth not vtterly, but fitly ſuteth with matter altogether ſounding to the prayſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie if not the vnderſtanding becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt haue harts very dry and tough, from whome the melodie of Pſalmes doth not ſometime draw that wherein a minde religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus obſerueth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plaine then we are, that their ſinging was little more then onely a melodious kinde of pronunciation, that the cuſtome which wee now vſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpirituall, as to the end that into groſſer and heauier mindes whome bare words doe not eaſily moue, the ſweetnes of melodie might make ſome entrance for good things. S. Baſil himſelfe acknowledging as much, did not thinke that from ſuch inuentions the leaſt iot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould be derogated:

[a] Επειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥέπειν τὰ ἀρθῆ βίᾳ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ: τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς ᾄσμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσλωεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λαθραιότερον ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτετεύχασι, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐφευρέσεως τὸ διδασκάλε ἡμῶν τὸ ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανώμενον. *Basil. in Psal.*

gated: [a] *For* (sayth he) *whereas the holy spirit saw that mankinde is vnto vertue hardly drawne, and that righteousnes is the lesse accompted of by reason of the pronenes of our affections to that which delighteth, it pleased the wisedome of the same spirit to borrow from melodie that pleasure, which mingled with heauenly mysteries, causeth the smoothnesse and softnesse of that which toucheth the eare, to conuey as it were by stealth the treasure of good things into mans minde. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalmes deuised for vs, that they which are either in yeares but yonng, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not growne to ripenesse, might when they thinke they sing, learne. O the wise conceipt of that heauenly teacher, which hath by his skil found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight, we may also learne that wherely we profit.*

Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common prayer, wherein the people and Minister answere one another by course. For the singing of Psalmes by course and side after side although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Deuell hath gone about to get it so great authoritie, partly by deriuing it frō Ignatius time, and partly in making the world belieue that this came from heauen, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort. Which as it is a meere fable, so is it confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some other vnto Flauianus and Diodorus. *T.C. lib. 1 page 203.*

39 And if the Prophet Dauid did thinke that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their loue insoluble, and tye them in a league of inuiolable amitie, Psal. 54. 14. how much more may we iudge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards euery of them, betweene whome there dayly and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe, and in the presence of his holie Angels so many heauenlie acclamations, exultations, prouocations, petitions, songs of comfort, Psalmes of prayse and thankesgiuing, in all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their sutes, and they with one voyce testifie a generall assent thereunto; or when he ioyfully beginneth, and they with like alacritie follow, deuiding betweene them the sentences wherewith they striue, which shall most shew his owne, and stirre vp others zeale to the glory of that God whose name they magnifie; or when he proposeth vnto God their necessities, and they their own requests for reliefe in euery of them; or when he lifteth vp his voyce like a trumpet to proclayme vnto them the lawes of God, they adioyning though not as Israel did by way of generalitie a cheerefull promise, [b] *All that the Lord hath commaunded we will do*, yet that which God doth no lesse approue, that which sauoureth more of meekenesse, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillitie, vnto the seuerall branches thereof, seuerall, lowlie, and humble requests for grace at the mercifull hands of God to performe the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happines; or when he by exhortation rayseth them vp, and they by protestation of their readinesse declare, he speaketh not in vaine vnto them; these interlocutorie formes of speech what are they else but most effectuall partly testifications and partly inflammatiōs of all pietie? Whē and how this custome of singing by course came vp in the Church it is not certainely knowne. [b] Socrates maketh Ignatius the

b *Exod.* 19. 8. 24. 3. *Deuter.* 5. 27. 26. 17. *Iosh.* 24. 16.

c *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. ca. 8.*

Bishop

Biſhop of Antioch in Syria the firſt beginner thereof euen vnder the Apoſtles themſelues. But againſt Socrates they ſet the authoritie of [a] Theodoret, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as Socrates doth; howbeit aſcribing the inuention to others, Flauian, and Diodore, men which conſtantly ſtoode in defenſe of the Apoſtolique faith againſt the Biſhop of that Church Leontius, a fauourer of the Arrians. Againſt both Socrates and Theodoret, [b] Platina is brought as a witneſſe, to teſtifie that Damaſus Biſhop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which Platina ſayth. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is [c] Saint Ambroſe, Biſhop of Millan at the ſame time when Damaſus was of Rome. Amongſt the Græcians [d] Saint Baſill hauing brought it into his Church before they of Neocæſarea vſed it, Sabellius the Heretique and Marcellus tooke occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an author of new deuiſes in the ſeruice of God. Whereupon to auoid the opinion of nouelſie and ſingularitie, he alleageth for that which himſelfe did the example of the Churches of Ægypt, Libia, Thebes, Paleſtina, Tharabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and in a maner all that reuerenced the cuſtome of ſinging Pſalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before Baſil, Antioch the mother Church of thoſe parts muſt needs haue vſed it before Baſil, and conſequently before Damaſus. The queſtion is then how long before, and whether ſo long that Ignatius or as auncient as Ignatius may be probablie thought the firſt inuentors. Ignatius in Traianes dayes ſuffered Martyrdome. And [e] of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia to Traiane the Emperour his owne Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the onely crime he knew of them, was, they vſed to meete together at a certaine day, and to prayſe Chriſt with Hymnes as a God, *ſecum inuicem* one to another amongſt themſelues. Which for any thing we know to the contrary might be the ſelfe-ſame forme which Philo Iudæus expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſens were accuſtomed with Hymnes and Pſalmes to honor God, ſometime all exalting their voyces together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering an other, wherein as hee thought, they ſwarued not much from the paterne of Moſes and [f] Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time heare the Angels prayſing God after that ſort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which muſt be with vs of greater authoritie did. [g] *I ſawe the Lord* (ſayth the Prophet Eſay) *on an high Throne, the Seraphims ſtood vpon it*, one cryed to another *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory.* But whoſoeuer were the author, whatſoeuer the time, whenceſoeuer the example of beginning this cuſtome in the Church of Chriſt, ſith we are woont to ſuſpect things only before tryall, and afterwards either to approue them as good, or if we finde them euill, accordingly to iudge of them, their counſell muſt needs ſeeme very vnſeaſonable who aduiſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the world hath had by their owne accompt twelue hundreth yeares acquaintance and vpwards, enough to take away ſuſpition and iealouſie. Men know by this time if euer they will know whither it be good or euill which hath beene ſo long retained. As for the Diuell, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to haue this maner of ſinging Pſalmes accompted an inuention of Ignatius, or an imitation

a *Theod. lib. 2. ca. 24.*

b *Plat. in vita Damaſ.*

c *Beat. mag. pler. magnopere commendat Eccleſiæ, quæ primo ingreſſu in populi præſentia totis vigiliis vnda vomit, diuinis laudationibus totius plebis tanquam vndis reſluentibus ſtridet, tum reſponſorijs Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum conſonat vndarum fragor reſultat. Hexam. l. 2. c. 5.*

d *Baſil. epiſt. 63.*

e *Plin. ſecund. Epiſt.*

f *Exod. 15. 1. 21.*

g *Eſa. 6. 3.*

imitation of the Angels of heauen we doe not well vnderſtand. But wee very well ſee in them who thus pleade a wonderfull celeritie of diſcourſe. For perceiuing at the firſt but onely ſome cauſe of ſuſpition and feare leaſt it ſhould be euill, they are preſently in one and the ſelfeſame breath reſolued, that [a] *what beginning ſo euer it had, there is no poſſibilitie it ſhould be good.* The potent arguments which did thus ſuddainely breake in vpon them and ouercome them are firſt, that it is not vnlawfull for the people all ioyntly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalmes; ſecondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the lawe of God to ſing euery verſe of the whole Pſalme both with heart and voyce quite and cleane throughout; thirdly, that it cannot be vnderſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three for as much as lawfulneſſe to ſing one way proueth not an other way inconuenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong that it might perſwade if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And ſhall this enforce vs to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the world haue receiued; a thing which ſo many ages haue held; a thing which the moſt approued Councels and lawes haue ſo often times ratified; a thing which was neuer found to haue any inconuenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the beſt men and wiſeſt gouernors of Gods people did thinke they could neuer commend enough; a thing which as Baſil was perſwaded, did both ſtrengthen the meditation of thoſe holie words which were vttered in that ſort, and ſerue alſo to make attentiue, and to rayſe vp the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did reſort, with hope and thirſt that thereby eſpecially their ſoules might be edified; a thing which filleth the minde with comfort and heauenly delight, ſtirreth vp flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent vnto that which the words conteyne, allayeth all kinde of baſe and earthly cogitations, baniſheth and driueth away thoſe euill ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inuiſible enimie is alwayes apt to miniſter, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimitie and courage, ſerueth as a moſt approued remedie againſt all doleful and heauie accidents which befall men in this preſent life, to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtles own exhortation, [b] *Speake to your ſelues in Pſalmes and Hymnes and ſpirituall Songs, making melodie, and ſinging to the Lord in your harts,* that ſurely there is more cauſe to feare leaſt the want therof be a mayme, then the vſe a blemiſh to the ſeruice of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Pſalmes ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only forme of ſinging or reading them by courſe as with vs the maner is; but the end of our ſpeech is to ſhew that becauſe the Fathers of the Church with whome the ſelfe-ſame cuſtome was ſo many ages agoe in vſe, haue vttered all theſe things concerning the fruite which the Church of God did then reape, obſeruing that and no other forme, it may be iuſtly auouched that wee our ſelues reteining it and beſides it alſo the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuiſed,

a From whence ſoeuer it came it cannot be good, conſidering that when it is graunted that all the people may prayſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalmes) then this ought not to be reſtrayned vnto a fewe; and where it is lawfull both with heart and voyce to ſing the whole Pſalme, there it is not meete that they ſhould ſing but the one halfe with their hart and voice, and the other with their hart only. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommoditie which commeth this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot vnderſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconueniences come of this forme of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all reformed Churches. *T.C.lib.1 pag.103.*

b Ephe.5.19.

deuiſed, do neither want that good which the later inuention can affoord, nor looſe any thing of that for which the ancient ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endleſſe contradictions, and let ancient cuſtome preuaile.

40 We haue alreadie giuen cauſe ſufficient for the great conueniencie and vſe of reading the Pſalmes oftner then other ſcriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* oftner then the reſt of the Pſalmes, the cauſes are no whit leſſe reaſonable, ſo that if the one may very well monthlie the other may as well euen dayly be iterated. They are ſongs which concerne vs ſo much more then the ſongs of Dauid, as the Goſpell toucheth vs more then the Lawe, the new Teſtament then the olde. And if the Pſalmes for the excellencie of their vſe deſerue to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what diſorder is it if theſe few Euangelicall Hymnes which are in no reſpect leſſe worthie, and may be by reaſon of their paucitie imprinted with much more eaſe in all mens memories, be for that cauſe euery day rehearſed? In our owne behalfe it is conuenient and orderly enough that both they and we make day by day prayers and ſupplications the very ſame; why not as fit and conuenient to magnifie the name of God day by day with certaine the very ſelfeſame Pſalmes of prayſe and thankeſgiuing? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reproue the other. For the ancient receiued vſe of intermingling Hymnes and Pſalmes with diuine readings, enough hath beene written. And if any may fitly ſerue vnto that purpoſe, how ſhould it better haue beene deuiſed then that a competent number of the old being firſt read, theſe of the new ſhould ſucceede in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding there is ioyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Pſalme; with *Magnificat* the ninetie eight; the ſixtie ſeauenth with *Nunc dimittis*, and in euery of them the choyce left free for the Miniſter to vſe indifferentlie the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrell at other Pſalmes which are in like manner appointed alſo to be dayly read, why doe theſe ſo much offend and diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt gratulations wherewith our Lord and Sauiour was ioyfully receyued at his entrance into the world by ſuch as in their hearts, armes, and very bowels embraced him; being propheticall diſcoueries of Chriſt alreadie preſent, whoſe future comming the other Pſalmes did but fore-ſignifie, they are againſt the obſtinate incredulitie of the Iewes, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that Chriſtian Religion hath; yea the onely ſacred Hymnes they are that Chriſtianitie hath peculiar vnto it ſelfe, the other being ſongs too of prayſe and thankſgiuing, but ſongs wherewith as we ſerue God, ſo the Iewe likewiſe. And whereas they tell vs theſe ſongs were fit for that purpoſe when Simeon and Zacharie, and the bleſſed Virgin vttered them, but cannot ſo be to vs which haue not receyued like benefite; ſhould they not remember how expreſſely Ezechias amongſt many other good things is commended for this alſo, [a] that the prayſes of God were through his appoyntment dayly ſet forth by vſing in publique diuine Seuice the ſongs of Dauid and Aſaph vnto that very end? Either there wanted wiſe men to giue Ezechias aduiſe, and to informe him of that which in his caſe was as true as it is in

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

These thankſgiuings were made by occaſion of certaine particular benefits, and are no more to be vſed for ordinarie prayers then the *Aue Maria*. So that both for this cauſe and the other before alleaged of the Pſalmes, it is not conuenient to make ordinarie prayers of them. *T.C. lib. 3. pag.* 208.

[a] 2 *Chro.* 29. 30.

in ours, namely, that without ſome inconuenience and diſorder he could not appoint thoſe Pſalmes to be vſed as ordinarie prayers, ſeeing that although they were ſongs of thankſgiuing ſuch as Dauid and Aſaph had ſpeciall occaſion to vſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and people afterwards whome like occaſions did not befall: or elſe Ezechias was perſwaded as we are that the prayſes of God in the mouthes of his Saincts are not ſo reſtrained to their owne particular, but that others may both conueniently and fruitfully vſe them; firſt, becauſe the myſticall communion of all faithfull men is ſuch as maketh euery one to be intereſſed in thoſe precious bleſſings which any one of them receiueth at Gods hands; ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extoll the goodnes of God whoſe mercie indureth for euer, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth do come no more, yet the fountaine continuing the ſame, and yeelding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance betweene the benefits which we and others haue receiued, may ſerue to make the ſame words of prayſe and thankſgiuing fit though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both, a cleere demonſtration whereof wee haue in all the auncient Fathers Commentaries and meditations vpon the Pſalmes; laſt of all becauſe euen when there is not as much as the ſhowe of any reſemblance, neuertheleſſe by often vſing their words in ſuch manner, our mindes are dayly more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letanie.

41 The publique eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Iewes hath had many rare and extraordinarie occurrents, which alſo were occaſions of ſundrie [a] open ſolemnities and offices, whereby the people did with generall conſent make ſhew of correſpondent affection towards God. The like duties appeare vſuall in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which [b] Tertullian ſpeaketh of Chriſtian women matching themſelues with infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſcipline that hath at her ſide a vaſſall whom Satan hath made his viceagent to croſſe whatſoeuer the faithfull ſhould do. If her preſence be required at the time of Station or ſtanding prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his bathes; if a faſting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to goe forth in ſolemne Proceſſion, his whole familie haue ſuch buſineſſe come vpon them that no one can be ſpared.* Theſe *Proceſſions* as it ſeemeth were firſt begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it ſelfe applied by [c] Heathens vnto the office of exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the ancient

Wee pray for the auoyding of thoſe dangers, which are nothing neere vs, as from lightning and thundring in the midſt of winter, from ſtormie and tempeſt when the weather is moſt faire and the Seas moſt calme. It is true that vpon ſome vrgent calamitie a prayer may and ought to be framed which may beg either the commoditie for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſſe, or the turning away of that miſchiefe which either approcheth or is alreadie vpon it; but to make thoſe prayers which are for the preſent time and danger ordinarie and dayly prayers, I cannot hetherto ſee any either Scripture or example of the Primitiue Church. And heere for the ſimples ſake I will ſet downe after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one Mamercus Biſhop of Vienna, which in the time of great earthquakes which were in Fraunce inſtituted certain ſupplications which the Grecians, and we of them call the Letanie, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other diſcommodities roſe in other countreys, they likewiſe had prayers accordingly. Now Pope Gregorie either made himſelfe, or gathered the ſupplications that were made againſt the calamities of euery countrey, and made of them a great Letanie or Supplication as *Platina* calleth it, and gaue it to be vſed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the time in reſpect of the caſe of the calamitie which the Churches ſuffered, yet there is no cauſe why it ſhould be perpetuall that was ordayned but for a time, and why all lands ſhould pray to be deliuered from the inconueniences that ſome land hath beene troubled with. *T.C.l.1.p.127.* [a] *Exod.15.20. Wiſd.10.20. 2.Sam.6.2. 1.Chro.13.5. 2.Chro.20.3. Ioel.2.15.* [b] *Tertul. lib.2.ad vxor.* [c] *Terent. And.*

ancient deliuered concerning [a] Chriſtian proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſſe which ſuperſtition thereunto added, I meane the cuſtome of inuocating Saints in proceſſions heretofore vſuall, doe ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things inuented to one purpoſe are by vſe eaſily conuerted to [b] more, it grew that ſupplications with this ſolemnitie for the appeaſing of Gods wrath, and the auerting of publique euils, were of the Greeke Church termed [c] *Litanies*, *Rogations*, of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna* (*Mamercus* being their Biſhop about 450. yeares after Chriſt) there befell many things, the ſuddainneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe whereof ſo amazed the hearts of all men, that the Citty they began to forſake as a place which heauen did threaten with imminent ruine. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo graue a prelate to be either vtterly without counſell as the reſt were, or in a common perplexitie to ſhew himſelfe alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remained, he earneſtly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, vſing thoſe vertuous and holy meanes wherewith others in like caſe haue preuailed with God. To which purpoſe hee perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in vſe, and addeth vnto them that which the preſent neceſſity required. Their good ſucceſſe mooued [d] *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Auerna* to vſe the ſame ſo corrected *Rogations* at ſuch time as hee and his people were after afflicted with famine, and beſieged with potent aduerſaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to bee ſetled in *Charles* the greate, the fall of the Romans huge dominion concurring with other vniuerſal euils, cauſed thoſe times to be dayes of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very ſtrength, ſtay and comfort of Gods Church. Whereupon in the yeare fiue hundred and ſix it was by the Councill of *Aurelia* [e] decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yearely at the feaſt of Pentecoſt three dayes in that kind of proceſſionary ſeruice. About halfe an hundreth yeares after to the ende that the Latine Churches which all obſerued this cuſtome might not vary in the order and forme of thoſe great *Litanies* which were ſo ſolemnely euery where exerciſed, it was thought conuenient by *Gregorie* the firſt and the beſt of that name to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather ruſt. Which thing the [e] *Synod* of *Colen* ſaw, and in part redreſt within that Prouince, neither denying the neceſſary vſe for which ſuch *Litanies* ſerue, wherein Gods clemency and mercy is deſired by publique ſute, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like aduerſities which for our manifold ſinnes we haue alwayes cauſe to feare, may bee turned away from vs and preuented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundry other things, ſo this had growne by mens improbitie and malice, to whome that which was deuiſed for the appeaſing of Gods diſpleaſure, gaue opportunitie of committing things which iuſtly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications or proceſſions ſhould be no where vſed but only within the walles of the houſe of God, the place ſanctified vnto prayer. And by vs not only ſuch inconueniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoeuer was otherwiſe amiſſe in forme or matter, it now remayneth a worke, the abſolute perfection whereof vpbraydeth with errour or ſomewhat worſe them whom in all partes it doth not ſatisfie.

a *Hieron. Epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo.*

Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt progreſſura ſis.

b *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 16. lib. 30. Lib. 3. cap. 10. Nouel. 68, 51.*

c *Baſil Epiſt. 63 Niceph. lib. 14. ca. 3. Cedren. in Theodoſ.*

d *Sidon. lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

e *Concil. tom. 1. pa. 513.*

f *Concil. to. 3. an. 1536.*

As therefore Litanies haue beene of longer continuance then that we ſhould make either *Gregorie* or *Mamercus* the authour of them, ſo they are of more permanent vſe then that now the Church ſhould thinke it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what euils hang ouer our heads, God doth know and not wee. We finde by daily experience, that thoſe calamities may be neareſt at hand, readieſt to breake in ſuddainely vpon vs which wee in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to be fardeſt off. Or if they doe not in deede approch, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather preuent. Finally if we for our ſelues had a priuiledge of immunitie, doth not true Chriſtian Charitie require that whatſoeuer any part of the world, yea any one of all our brethren elſewhere doth either ſuffer or feare, the ſame we accompt as our owne burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole *Letanie* whereof wee ſhal euer be able at any time to ſpie that no man liuing needeth the grace or benefit therein craued at Gods handes? I am not able to expreſſe how much it doth grieue me, that things of principall excellencie ſhould be thus bitten at, by men whome God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purpoſes.

Of *Athanaſius* Creede, and *Gloria Patri*.

42 Wee haue from the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt receiued that briefe Confeſſion of faith which hath beene alwayes a badge of the Church, a marke whereby to diſcerne Chriſtian men from Infidels and Iewes [a] *This faith receyued from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſayth Irenæus) *the Church though diſperſed throughout the world, doth notwithſtanding keepe as ſafe as if it dwelt within the walles of ſome one houſe, and as vniformelie holde, as if it had but one onely heart and ſoule, this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth and deliuereth as if but one tongue did ſpeake for all. As one Sunne ſhineth to the whole world, ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſſe whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth* [b] *This rule* (ſayth Tertullian) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtreame and current of this rule haue gone as farre, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpell.* [c] Vndet *Conſtantine* the Emperor about three hundreth yeares and vpward after Chriſt, *Arrius* a prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria*, a ſuttle witted and a maruellous faire ſpoken man, but diſcontended that one ſhould bee placed before him in honour, whoſe ſuperiour hee thought himſelfe in deſert, became through enuie and ſtomacke prone vnto contradiction, and bold to broch at the length that herefie wherein the deitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt conteined, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie and coeternitie of the Sonne with the Father was denyed. Being for this impietie depriued of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould haue reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacie and giue him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſſe elſewhere to intangle vnwarie mindes with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arrius* in ſhort time had woone to himſelfe a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſſe on all ſides enſued. The Emperour to reduce the Church of Chriſt vnto the vnitie of ſound beliefe, when other meanes, whereof triall was firſt made, tooke no effect, gathered that famous aſſemblie of 318. Biſhops

a *Irenæ. l. 1. c. 3*
b *Tertul. de præſcr. aduerſ. hæret. & aduerſ. Prax.*
c The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria patri*, and the *Athanaſius* Creede. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the Diuinitie of the Sonne of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arius* and his Diſciples, wherewith at that time maruellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, theris no ſuch cauſe whye theſe things ſhould bee the Church, at the leaſt why that *Gloria patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated. *T. C. l. 1. p. 117*

in

in the Councell of Nice, where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to neede redreſſe, there was with common conſent for the ſetling of all mens mindes, that other confeſſion of faith ſet downe which wee call the Nicene Creede, whereunto the *Arrians* themſelues which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo: not that they meant ſincerely, and indeede to forſake their errour, but only to eſcape depriuation and exile which they ſawe they could not auoide, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperours royall aſſent. Reſeruing therefore themſelues vnto future oportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to ſtirre againe in a matter ſo compoſed, vnleſſe they could drawe the Emperour firſt, and by his meanes the chiefeſt Biſhops vnto their part, till *Conſtantines* death and ſomewhat after they alwayes profeſſed loue and zeale to the Nicene faith, yet ceaſed not in the meane while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they fauoured, and to infeſt by all meanes vnder colour of other quarrels their greateſt aduerſaries in this cauſe: amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of 46. yeares, from the time of his conſecration to ſucceede *Alexander* Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria* till the laſt hower of his life in this world, they neuer ſuffered to inioy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtolne from him. *Conſtantius Conſtantines* ſucceſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the wayes that malice armed with ſoueraigne authoritie could deuiſe and vſe. Vnder *Iulian* no reſt giuen him. And in the dayes of *Valentinian* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof being iuſt, had bereaued him of eſtimation and credit with men while the world ſtandeth. His Iudges euermore the ſelfeſame men by whome his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue alwayes on their part ſhame; on his triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould haue accompted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watred cheekes behold a perſon of ſo great place and woorth conſtrayned to indure ſo foule indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him to bring vpon themſelues thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawne to ſeeme his aduerſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how vnſafe it was to continue his friendes. Whereupon it came to paſſe in the end, that (verie few excepted) all became ſubiect to the ſway of time; other oddes there was none amongſt them, ſauing only that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundneſſe of beliefe; ſome were leaders in the hoſt of impietie, and the reſt as common ſouldiours, either yeelding through feare, or brought vnder with penurie, or by flatterie inſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicitie, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) *Oſius* the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendome then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholique cauſe, and of the contrary part moſt feared, that very *Oſius* with whoſe hand the Nicene Creede it ſelfe was ſet downe and framed for the whole Chriſtian world to ſubſcribe vnto, ſo farre yeelded in the end as euen with the ſame hand to ratifie the Arrians confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part euer feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded, that although there had beene for

Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would haue beene the same that [a] *Eleazars* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might thinke that* [b] Osius *an hundred yeares old and vpward were now gone to another Religion, and so through mine hypocrisie* [*for a little time of transitorie life*] *they might be deceiued by mee, and I procure malediction and reproch to my old age. For though I were now deliuered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almightie, neither aliue nor dead.* But such was the streame of those times, that all men gaue place vnto it, which wee cannot but impute partly to their owne ouersight. For at the first the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the *Arrians* handes to that Councell. So great aduantages are neuer changed so farre to the contrarie, but by great errour. It plainely appeareth that the first thing which weakned them, was their securitie. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towardes *Arrianisme*, they suffered by continuall neerenesse to possesse the mindes of the greatest about the Emperour, which themselues might haue done with very good acceptation and neglected it. In *Constantines* life time to haue setled *Constantius*, the same way had beene a dutie of good seruice towardes God, a meane of peace and great quietnesse to the Church of Christ, a labour easie, and how likely wee make coniecture, when after that so much paine was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himselfe to the furtherance of heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieued him then the memorie of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which he now foresaw in *Iulian*, the next Phisition into whose handes the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this wee may somewhat excuse, in as much as euerie mans particular care to his owne charge was such as gaue them no leasure to heede what others practised in Princes Courtes. But of the two Synodes of *Arimine* and Seleucia what should wee thinke? *Constantius* by the *Arrians* suggestion had deuised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole world about this controuersie, but in two seuerall places the Bishops of the West at *Arimine* in Italie, the Easterne at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great adoe, gaue their sentence against heresie, excommunicated some chiefe maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperour worde what was done. They had at *Arimine* about, foure hundreth which helde the truth, scarce of the aduerse part foure score but these obstinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolued to send to the Emperour such as might informe him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen [c] for the Catholique side such men as had in them nothing to bee noted but boldnesse, neither grauitie, nor learning, nor wisedome. The *Arrians* for the credit of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperour coniecturing of the rest on either part by the qualitie of them whom hee saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certaine Confession of

a 2. *Mac.* 6. 24.

b *Maior centenario. Sulpit. Seuer. hist. lib.* 2.

c *Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parùm docti & parùm cauti. Ab* Arrianis *autem missi senes callidi, & ingenio valentes veterno perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud regem facile superiores extiterunt.* Sulpit lib. 2.

faith

faith ambiguouſly and ſubtilie drawne by the *Arrians*, whereunto vnleſſe they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe bee ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceiued, that there had not beene in the Catholiques either at *Arimine*, or at Seleucia ſo much foreſight, as to prouide that true intelligence might paſſe betweene them what was done. Vpon the aduantage of which errour, their aduerſaries abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yeelded, ſurpriſed both. The Emperour the more deſirous and glad of ſuch euents, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelues, the gall and bitterneſſe of certaine mens writings, who ſpared him little for honours ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſſe inclinable to that truth, which hee himſelfe ſhould haue honoured and loued. Only in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerued throughout the courſe of that long tragedie other then ſuch as very well became a wiſeman to doe, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plaine condition of thoſe times, the whole world againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; halfe an hundred of yeares ſpent in doubtfull tryall which of the two in the end would preuaile, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defender of his innocencie, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much euill, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in faith to explaine ſuch things as hereſie went about to depraue. And in this reſpect the Creed of *Athanaſius* firſt exhibited vnto *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperour *Ionian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which *Arrianiſme* ſo mightily did impugne, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price [b] by as many as had not giuen vp euen the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creede of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publikely vſed as now in the Church of God, becauſe while the heate of diuiſion laſteth, truth it ſelfe induring oppoſition doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſſe throughout all mens hands, neither can bee of that accompt which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiueth the vertue thereof not only in it ſelfe, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath giuen it ouer hereſie. That which hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations goe about to peruert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolike Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexteritie and plaineneſſe cleered from thoſe hereticall corruptions partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius*, written about the yeare three hundred and forty, and partly by [c] that other ſet downe in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* forty yeares after, comprehending together with the *Nicene* Creed an addition of other articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controuerſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; theſe Catholique declarations of our beliefe deliuered by them which were ſo much nearer then we are vnto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needfull for all men at all times to know, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame faith to this preſent day, wee rather vſe then any other gloſſe or paraphraſe deuiſed by our ſelues, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not bee of the like authoritie and credit. For that of [d] *Hillary* vnto S. *Auguſtine* hath beene euer, and is like-

a *Eiſdemque ſcripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus inuolutum quæ Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur ibid.*

b Ταῦτα μὲν δοκοῦντα ἀσθενοῦσι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοουσίας, καὶ τὸν ἴσον βεβαιώσειεν. *Greg. Naz. de Athana.*

c That Creede which in the booke of common Prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Goſpell.

d *Hilar. Arela. Epiſt. ad Auguſt.*

ly to be alwayes true, *Your most religious wisedome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authoritie of mens names doth keepe in that opinion which they hold already, or draw vnto that which they haue not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our vsuall conclusion to Psalmes, the [a] glory of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist: and the glory of God that diuine excellencie whereby hee is eminent aboue all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, [b] which Angels and glorified Saints doe intuitiuely beholde, wee on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part also by that kinde of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatnesse whereof exceedeth the powers and habilities of all creatures both in heauen and earth. God is [c] glorified when such his excellencie aboue all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgement of Gods excellencie by occasion of speciall effects, being the very proper subiect and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all Psalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of Glorie haue any vse in the Church of God, whose name wee therewith extoll and magnifie, can wee place it more fitly then where now it serueth as a close or conclusion to Psalmes? Neither is the forme thereof newly or vnnecessarily inuented. *wee must* (saith [d] Saint *Basill*) *as wee haue receiued euen so baptize, and as wee baptize euen so beleiue, and as we beleiue euen so giue glory.* Baptizing wee vse the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost; Confessing the Christian faith we declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the Holy Ghost; ascribing glory vnto God we giue it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the Holy Ghost. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆς ὑγιοῦς φρονήματος, *the token of a true and sound vnderstanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in ministring Baptisme, and making confession, and giuing glory, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three seuered from the other two. Against the *Arrians* affirming the Father to bee greater then the Sonne in honour, excellencie, dignitie, maiestie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but receiued long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. [e] *If* (sayth *Fœbadius*) *there be that inequalitie which they affirme, then doe wee euery day blaspheme God, when in thanksgiuings and offerings of sacrifice wee acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The *Arrians* therefore for that they perceiued how this did preiudice their cause, altered the Hymne of Glory, whereupon ensued in the Church of *Antioch* about the yeare 349. that iarre which [f] *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires while they praysed God together as the manner was, at the end of the Psalmes which they sung, it appeared what opinion euery man held, for as much as they glorified some the Father, And the Sonne, And the Holie Ghost, some the Father By the Sonne In the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselues to embrace the Sonnes equalitie with the Father, as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other sort against the Councell of Nice his inequalitie.* *Leontius* their Bishop although an enemie to the better part, yet warie and suttle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arrians* faction were, could at no time be plainely heard to vse either forme, perhaps least his open contradiction of them whom hee fauoured not might make them the more eager, and by that meane the

a 1. Cor. 15. 40. *Exod.* 33. 18. *Heb.* 1. 3.

b *Matth.* 18. 13.

c *Ios.* 7. 19. *Psal.* 22. 23.

d *Basil. epist.* 78.

e *Fœbad. lib. cont. Arria.*

f *Theod. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. *Sozomen. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.

the leſſe apt to be priuatly woon; or peraduenture for that though hee ioyned in opinion with that ſort of *Arrians*, who denyed the Sonne to bee equall with the Father, yet from them hee diſſented, which thought the Father and the Sonne not only vnequall but vnlike, as *Aetius* did vpon a friuolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſayd [a] *one God of whome, one Lord by whome* [b] *one Spirit in whome*, his different maner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whome hee ſpeaketh, out of which blinde collection, it ſeemeth that this their new deuiſed forme did firſt ſpring. But in truth euen that verie forme which the *Arrians* did then vſe (ſaying that they choſe it to ſerue as their ſpeciall marke of recogniſance, and gaue it ſecretlie within themſelues a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towardes impietie. For albeit if wee reſpect Gods glory within it ſelfe, it bee the equall right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifeſtation thereof vnto vs by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof vnto him likewiſe by vertuous offices, doth not euerie tongue both wayes confeſſe, that the brigthneſſe of his glorie hath ſpread it ſelfe throughout the world *By* the Miniſterie of his onely begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit euery way maruellous; againe, that whatſoeuer wee doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the Holie Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the merit and mediation of Ieſus Chriſt? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, ſaying only where euill mindes doe abuſe and peruert moſt holie things, are not elſe the voices of errour and ſchiſme, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath beene the cuſtome of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes prayers, and Sermons alwayes, with words of glory, wherein, as long as the bleſſed Trinitie had due honour, and till *Arrianiſme* had made it a matter of great ſharpneſſe and ſubtiltie of wit to bee a ſound beleiuing Chriſtian, men were not curious what ſyllables or particles of ſpeech they vſed. Vpon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding, when Saint *Baſil* began to practiſe the like indifferencie, and to conclude publique prayers, glorifying ſometime the Father with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt, ſometime the Father by the Sonne in the Spirit, whereas long cuſtome had enured them vnto the former kinde alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their eares, this needleſſe experiment brought afterwardes vpon him a neceſſary labour of excuſing himſelfe to his friends, and maintaining his owne act againſt them, who becauſe the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on ſo colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an authour of ſuſpitious innouation. How hath the world forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the iudgements, hearts and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of S. *Baſils* authoritie and qualitie, an Arch-prelate in the houſe of God, ſhould haue his name farre and wide cald in queſtion, and be driuen to his painefull apologies, to write in his owne defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtaine with all his endeuour a pardon, the crime layde againſt him being but onely a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their vſuall Church-liturgie? It was thought

a 1 *Cor.* 8. 6.
b 1. *Cor.* 12. 3. 4. 13.

thought in him an vnpardonable offence to alter any thing; in vs as intollerable that we ſuffer any thing to remaine vnaltered. The very Creed of *Athanaſius* and that ſacred Hymne of glory then which nothing doth ſound more heauenly in the eares of faithfull men are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which wee muſt in any caſe pare away, leaſt wee cloy God with too much ſeruice. Is there in that confeſſion of faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentiue hearer? Or is our faith in the bleſſed Trinitie a matter needleſſe to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that dutie which wee owe to God, our publique prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning by a ſecret vniuerſall inſtinct of Gods good Spirit alwayes tied it ſelfe to end neither Sermon nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God without ſome ſpeciall words of honor and glorie to that Trinitie which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalmes become now at the length an eye-ſore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Thoſe flames of *Arrianiſme* they ſay are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deuiſed in ſuch ſort to confeſſe and prayſe the glorious deitie of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retayne wee as yet the playſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordayned doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelfe ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of vnprofitable labours, needfull offices may the better bee attended. For the doing of things vnneceſſarie, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſarie are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerue their turnes. For firſt the ground wherupon they build, is not certainely their owne but with ſpeciall limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrayned to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct they ſhould forthwith vtterly become fruſtrate. Wiſedome may haue framed one and the ſame thing to ſerue commodiouſly for diuers ends, and of thoſe ends any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt haue ceaſed, euen as the tongue, which nature hath giuen vs for an inſtrument of ſpeech, is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerueth for taſte. Againe, if time haue worne out or any other meane altogether taken away what was firſt intended, vſes not thought vpon before may afterwards ſpring vp, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it commeth ſometime to paſſe, that a thing vnneceſſarie in it ſelfe as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was meant or can bee applied, doth notwithſtanding appeare conuenient to bee ſtill held euen without vſe, leaſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſarie, the remoouall of the one ſhould indamage the other, and therefore men which haue cleane loſt the poſſibilitie of ſight, keepe ſtill their eyes neuertheleſſe in the place where nature ſet them. As for theſe two branches wherof our queſtion groweth, *Arrianiſme* was indeede ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſſe the only intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with *Arrians* brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgie, as Hymnes and ſentences of glory were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is why both ſhould remaine in vſe, the one as a moſt diuine explication of the chiefeſt articles of our Chriſtian

Chriſtian beliefe, the other as an heauenly acclamation of ioyfull applauſe to his prayſes in whome wee belieue, neither the one nor the other vnworthy to bee heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arrianiſme liue or die. Aagainſt which poyſon likewiſe if we thinke that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſeruatiues, which ages before vs were ſo glad to vſe, wee deceiue our ſelues greatly. The weedes of hereſie being growne vnto ſuch ripeneſſe as that was, doe euen in the very cutting downe ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeedes which for a while lie vnſeene and buried in the earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring vp againe no leſſe pernicious then at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſilie confeſſe, who liue to their great, both toile and griefe, where the blaſphemies of *Arrians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians* are renewed by them, who to hatch their hereſie haue choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt neſts where *Athanaſius* Creede is not heard; by them I ſay renued, who following the courſe of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas *Luher* did but blow away the rooſe, and *Zwinglius* batter but the walles of popiſh ſuperſtition, the laſt and hardeſt worke of all remained, which was to raze vp the very ground and foundation of poperie, that doctrine concerning the deitie of Chriſt which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken miſcreants to ſpeake) hath in this memorable Creede explaned. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the [a] ancients hath concerning Arrianiſme *Mortuis authoribus huius veneni ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, the authours of this venome being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

[a] *Fabar. contra Arr.*

43 Amongſt the heapes of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities there is eſpied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thankſgiuings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our Booke of prayer. This they haue thought a point materiall to bee obiected. Neither may wee take it in euill part to be admoniſhed what ſpeciall duties of thankfulneſſe we owe to that mercifull God, for whoſe vnſpeakable graces the only requitall which wee are able to make is a true, heartie, and ſincere acknowledgement, how precious we eſteeme ſuch benefits receiued, and how infinite in goodneſſe the authour from whom they come. But that to euery petition wee make for things needfull there ſhould be ſome anſwerable ſentence of thanks prouided particularlie to follow ſuch requeſts obteined, either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it bee, wherefore haue they not then in ſuch order framed their owne Booke of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Sauiour taught vs a forme of prayer conteyning ſo many petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not deliuered in like ſort as many ſeuerall formes of thankſgiuing to ſerue when any thing wee pray for is granted? What anſwere ſoeuer they can reaſonablie make vnto theſe demands, the ſame ſhall diſcouer vnto them how cauſeleſſe a cenſure it is, that there are not in our Booke thankſgiuings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the bleſſings of God whether they tende vnto this life or the life to come, there is great

Our want of particular thankſgiuing. As ſuch prayers are needfull whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing when wee haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which we aſked. *T. C. lib. 1. page.* 138. I doe not ſimply require a ſolemne & expreſſe thankſgiuing for ſuch benefits, but only vpon a ſuppoſition, which is that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſſe prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that vpon the deliuerance there ſhould be an expreſſe thankſgiuing. *T. C. lib.* 3 *page.* 209.

great cauſe why wee ſhould delight more in giuing thanks, then in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiueneſſe and feare, the other alwayes ioy annexed: the one belongeth vnto them that ſeeke, the other vnto them that haue found happineſſe; they that pray doe but yet ſowe, they that giue thankes declare they haue reaped. Howbeit becauſe there are ſo many graces whereof we ſtand in continuall neede, graces for which we may not ceaſe daily and hourely to ſue, graces which are in beſtowing alwayes, but neuer come to bee fully had in this preſent life, and therefore when al things here haue an end, endleſſe thanks muſt haue their beginning in a ſtate which bringeth the full and finall ſatisfaction of all ſuch perpetuall deſires; againe, becauſe our common neceſſities, and the lacke which wee all haue, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly fauours is in each kinde ſo eaſilie knowne, but the gifts of God according to thoſe degrees and times which hee in his ſecret wiſedome ſeeth meete, are ſo diuerſlie beſtowed, that it ſeldome appeareth what all receiue, what all ſtand in neede of it ſeldome lieth hid, wee are not to maruell though the Church doe oftner concurre in ſutes then in thanks vnto God for particular benefits. Neuertheleſſe leaſt God ſhould bee any way vnglorified, the greateſt part of our daily ſeruice they know conſiſteth according to [a] the bleſſed Apoſtles owne preciſe rule, in much varietie of Pſalmes and Hymnes, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentifull a treaſure there might be for euery mans heart to chooſe out his owne ſacrifice, and to offer vnto God by particular ſecret inſtinct what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeuerall either party or congregation may ſeeme to haue. They that would cleane take from vs therefore the daily vſe of the very beſt meanes wee haue to magnifie and prayſe the name of Almightie God for his rich bleſſings, they that complaine of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalmes for ſo good an end, they I ſay that finde fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all men bee leaſt willing to reprooue our ſcarcitie of thankſgiuings. But becauſe peraduenture they ſee it is not either *generallie* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgiuings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reynes of their cenſure, there are no formes of thankſgiuing they ſay for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. *There are prayers ſet forth to be ſayd in the common calamities and vniuerſall ſcourges of the Realme, as plague, famine, &c. And in deede ſo it ought to be by the word of God. But as ſuch prayers are needfull*, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing, when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which wee asked in our prayers. As oft therefore as any publique or vniuerſall ſcourge is remoued, as oft as wee are deliuered from thoſe either imminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorme and tempeſt whereof wee all inſtantly craued fauour from aboue, let it bee a queſtion what wee ſhould render vnto God for his bleſſings vniuerſally, ſenſiblie, and extraordinarilie beſtowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church-liturgie? No wee are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble inioyne vs the duty of inuocation, and promiſe vs the benefit of deliuerance, and profeſſe that the thing hee expecteth after at our hands is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Sauiour, the Church can diſcharge in manner conuenient

The default of the booke for that there are no formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities, from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. *T.C.lib.3.p.208.*

[a] *Eph.5.9. Coloſ.3.16.*

T.C.lib.1.p.138.

a

a worke of ſo great importance by fore ordeyning ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our cuſtome therefore whenſoeuer ſo great occaſions are incident, is by publique authoritie to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemne formes as well of ſupplication as of thankſgiuing, the preparations and intended complements whereof may ſtirre vp the mindes of men in much more effectuall ſort, then if only there ſhould bee added to the Booke of prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our vnderſtanding be very plaine, that in our Booke *there are prayers ſet forth* to be ſayd when *common calamities* are felt, as *plague*, *famine*, and ſuch like; againe that *indeede ſo it ought to be by the word of God*; that likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing when we haue receiued thoſe things*; finally that the want of ſuch formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we haue petitions to be deliuered, is the *default of the Booke* of Common prayer: yet all this they meane but only by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſſe prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were conuenient, *that then* in deede as many expreſſe and particular thankſgiuings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſarie. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not haue it ſo vnderſtood as though their mindes were that any ſuch addition to the Booke is needfull whatſoeuer they ſay for arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they waue in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolued what to thinke, ſpeake or write, more then onely that becauſe they haue taken it vpon them they muſt (no remedie now) be oppoſite.

44 The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter whereof is thought to bee much amiſſe. In a ſong of prayſe to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt we haue theſe words, *When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death thou didſt open the Kingdome of heauen to all beleeuers*. Which maketh ſome ſhew of giuing countenance to their errour, who thinke that the faithfull which departed this life before the comming of Chriſt, were neuer all then made partakers of ioy, but remayned all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the Fathers*. In our *Liturgie* requeſt is made that wee may bee preſerued from ſuddaine death. This ſeemeth friuolous, becauſe the Godly ſhould alwayes be prepared to die. Requeſt is made that God would giue thoſe things which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske. This they ſay *carrieth with it the note of popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father*. Requeſt is made that we may euermore be defended from all aduerſitie. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*, and therefore *it is no prayer of faith or of the which wee can aſſure our ſelues that we ſhall obtaine it*. Finally, requeſt is made that God would haue mercy vpon all men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the veſſels of wrath to whom God will neuer extend his mercy.

In ſome things the matter of our Prayer as they affirme, vnſound.

45 As Chriſt hath purchaſed that heauenly Kingdome the laſt perfection whereof is *glorie in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath *opened* to the world in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attaine ſaluation, by him *all that beleiue* are ſaued. Now whatſoeuer hee did or ſuffered, the end thereof was to open the doores of the Kingdome of heauen which our iniquities had *ſhut vp*. But becauſe by *aſcending after*

When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers.

after that the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome, he tooke the very *local poſſeſſion* of glory, and that *to the vſe of all that are his*, euen as himſelfe before had witneſſed,

a *Iohn* 14. [a] *I goe to prepare a place for you*, and againe, whom thou haſt giuen me O Fa-

b *Iohn* 17.24. ther, [b] *I will that where I am they be alſo with me*, that my glory which thou haſt giuen me they may behold, it appeareth that *when Chriſt did aſcend* hee then moſt *liberally opened* the Kingdome of heauen *to the end* that with him and by him all beleiuers might raigne. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All wee can rightly gather is, that as touching their ſoules what degree of ioy or happineſſe ſoeuer it pleaſed God to beſtow vpon them *his aſcention* which ſucceeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body muſt needes be *not only of*, but after

c *Hieron. contr. Helu. Aug. her.* 84. his. As therefore [c] *Heluidius*, againſt whom S. Ierome writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe wordes of *Mathew* concerning *Ioſeph* and the mother of our Sauiour Chriſt, *He knew her not till ſhee had brought forth her firſt borne*, thereby gathering againſt the honor of the bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denyed with ſpeciall circumſtance doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired: after the ſelfe-ſame manner it ſhould bee a weake Collection, if whereas we ſay that *when* Chriſt had ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, he *then opened* the Kingdome of heauen to all beleiuers, a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite denyall before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently that becauſe when the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome hee then opened heauen *as well to beleiuing Gentiles as Iewes*, heauen till then was no receptacle to the ſoules of either. Wherefore bee the Spirits of the iuſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſely thought excluded out of heauenly ioy, by that which wee in the wordes alleaged before doe attribute to Chriſts aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion? nor

d *Lyr. ſuper. Gene.* 29. *Th. p.* 3. *q.* 52. to the [d] fauourers thereof any countenance at all giuen. Wee cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe wordes then Pope *Leo* himſelfe expoundeth

e *Leo Ser.* 1. *de Aſcenſ.* them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lords aſcenſion may ſerue in ſtead of a marginall gloſſe, [e] *Chriſts exaltation is our promotion, and whether the glory of the head is already gone before, thether the hope of the bodie alſo is to follow. For as this day we haue not only the poſſeſſion of paradiſe aſſured vnto vs, but in Chriſt wee haue entred the higheſt of the heauens.* His opening the Kingdome of heauen and his entrance thereinto was not only to his owne vſe but for the benefit of all beleiuers.

Touching prayers for deliuerance from ſuddaine death

46 Our good or euill eſtate after death dependeth moſt vpon the qualitie of our liues. Yet ſomewhat there is why a vertuous minde ſhould rather wiſh to depart this world with a kinde of treatable diſſolution, then to bee ſuddainely cut off in a moment; rather to bee taken then ſnatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men ſuffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of neceſſitie a thing common, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions and occaſions of men with equall deſerts both of priaſe and diſpraiſe ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutely wee cannot diſcommend, wee cannot abſolutely approoue either willingneſſe to liue or forwardneſſe to die. And concerning the wayes of death, albeit the choiſe thereof be only in his hands, who alone hath power ouer all fleſh, and vnto whoſe appointment wee ought with patience

tience, meekely to ſubmit our ſelues (for to be agents voluntarily in our owne deſtruction is againſt both God and nature) yet there is no doubt but in ſo great varietie, our deſires will and may lawfully preferre one kinde before an other. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not inſtructed in the Schoole of Chriſt, or euer taught what the ſoundneſſe of religion meaneth, that had not rather end the dayes of this tranſitorie life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato Socrates* are deſcribed, then to ſinke downe with them of whome [a] Elihu hath ſaid *Momento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an inſtant betweene their flouriſhing and their not being? But let vs which know what it is to dye as Abſolon or Ananias and Saphira dyed, let vs beg of God that when the hower of our reſt is come, the paternes of our diſſolution may be [b] Iacob, Moſes, Ioſua, Dauid, who leaſureablie ending their liues in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come vpon their poſteritie; repleniſhed the harts of the neereſt vnto them with words of memorable conſolation; ſtrengthned men in the feare of God, gaue them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true religion, in ſumme, taught the world no leſſe vertuouſly how to dye, then they had done before how to liue. To ſuch as iudge things according to the ſenſe of naturall men and aſcend no higher, ſuddaineneſſe becauſe it ſhortneth their grieſe ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſſe in death is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants vſe what arte they can to increaſe the ſlowneſſe of death. Quicke riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous conſiderations that wiſedome ſo farre preuaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlowe and deliberate death againſt the ſtreame of their ſenſuall inclination, content to indure the longer grieſe and bodily paine, that the ſoule may haue time to call it ſelfe to a iuſt accompt of all things paſt, by meanes whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the ioyes of the kingdome of heauen haue leiſure to preſent themſelues, the pleaſures of ſinne and this worlds vanities are cenſured with vncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make aduiſed choice of the ſoile wherein her laſt ſeede may moſt fruitefully be beſtowed, the minde is at libertie to haue due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can neuer afterwards alter, and becauſe [c] the neerer wee draw vnto God, the more wee are oftentimes inlightned with the ſhining beames of his glorious preſence as being then euen almoſt in ſight, a leaſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent that which ſhall cauſe them for euer after from the bottome of their harts to pray, *O let vs die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and opportunities are by ſuddaine death preuented. And beſides, for as much as death how ſoeuer is a generall effect of the wrath of God againſt ſinne, and the ſuddaineneſſe thereof a thing which hapneth but to few, the world in this reſpect ſeareth it the more as being ſubiect to doubtfull conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, ſo they whoſe happie eſtate after life is of all mens the moſt certaine ſhould eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may giue vncharitable mindes occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpitious verdits,

[a] *Iob.*34.20.

[b] *Heb.*11.21. *Deut.*33. *Ioſh.*24. 1.*Reg.*2.

[c] *Cypr. de mortal.*

whereunto they are ouer-prone, ſo that whether euill men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelues or others, to be preſerued from ſuddaine death is a bleſſing of God. And our prayer againſt it importeth a two-fold deſire, firſt, that death when it commeth may giue vs ſome conuenient reſpit, or ſecondly, if that be denyed vs of God, yet we may haue wiſedome to prouide alwayes before-hand, that thoſe euils ouertake vs not, which death vnexpected doth vſe to bring vpon careleſſe men, and that although it be ſuddaine in it ſelfe, neuertheleſſe in regard of our prepared mindes it may not be ſuddaine.

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to graunt. This requeſt carieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenlie Father. *T.C.lib.1. page 136.*

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne vnworthineſſe to obteyne, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearefulneſſe to aske any thing otherwiſe then onely for his ſake to whome God can denye nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a popiſh error, that this ſhould be termed baſeneſſe, abiection of mind, or *ſeruilitie*, is it credible? That which we for our vnworthineſſe are afraid to craue, our prayer is that God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to graunt. May it pleaſe them to ſhew vs which of theſe words it is that carrieth the note of popiſh and ſeruile feare? In reference to other creatures of this inferior world mans worth and excellencie is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coyne is that of Dauid, [a] *Vniuerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*, whoſoeuer hath the name of a mortall man there is in him whatſoeuer the name of vanitie doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our owne *vnworthineſſe*, there is no doubt but truth will ratifie. Alleaged in prayer it both becommeth & behoueth Saincts. For as humilitie is in ſuters a decent vertue, ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectuall acknowledgements not only [b] argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſupereminent glorie and maieſtie before whome we ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kinde of pledge or bond for ſecuritie againſt our vnthankfulneſſe, the very naturall roote whereof is alwayes either ignorance, diſſimulation, or pride; ignorance, when we know not the author from whome our good commeth; diſſimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes vpon that we receiue; pride, when we thinke our ſelues *worthie* of that which meere grace and vndeſerued mercy beſtoweth. In prayer therefore to abate ſo vaine imaginations with the *true conceipt of vnworthineſſe* is rather to preuent then commit a fault. It being no error thus to thinke, no fault thus to ſpeake of our ſelues when we pray, is it a fault that the conſideration of our vnworthineſſe maketh vs *fearefull* to open our mouthes by way of ſute? While Iob had proſperitie and liued in honor, men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their feare when they ſaw him they [c] *hid themſelues*. Betweene Elihu and the reſt of Iobs familiars the greateſt diſparitie was but in yeares. And he, though riper then they in iudgement, doing them reuerence in regard of age, ſtood long [d] *doubtfull*, and very loath to aduenture vpon ſpeach in his elders hearing. It ſo ſmall inequalitie betweene man and man make their modeſtie a cõmendable vertue, who reſpecting ſuperiors *as ſuperiors*, can neither ſpeake nor

a *Pſal.39.5.*

b Μεμνημένος δὲ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα εὐδενείας μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. *Philo. de ſacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

c *Iob.29.8.* Amongſt the parts of honor Ariſtotle reckoneth προσκωνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. *Rhet. lib.1.ca.5.*

d *Iob.32.6.*

nor ſtand before them without feare: that the Publican approcheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercie draweth neere to Peter, he in humilitie and feare craueth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeake, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great maieſtie we are afraid, let no man blame vs. [a] In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpaire that creatures vnworthie ſhall be able to obteine any thing at his hands, and vnder that pretenſe to ſurceaſe from prayers as bootleſſe or fruitleſſe offices, were to him no leſſe iniurious then pernitious to our owne ſoules, euen that which we tremble to do we do, we aske thoſe things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne vnworthineſſe is not without beliefe in the merits of Chriſt. With that true feare which the one cauſeth there is coupled true boldneſſe, and encouragement drawen from the other. The very ſilence which our vnworthineſſe putteth vs vnto, doth it ſelfe make requeſt for vs, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward we are ſtricken dumbe, looking vpward we ſpeake and preuaile. O happie mixture wherein things contrary do ſo qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others exceſſe, that neither boldneſſe can make vs preſume as long as we are kept vnder with the ſenſe of our owne wretchedneſſe; nor, while we truſt in the mercie of God through Chriſt Ieſus, feare be able to tyrannize ouer vs. As therefore our feare excludeth not that [b] boldneſſe which becommeth Saincts; ſo if their *familiaritie* with God do not ſauor of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreuerend confidence wherewith true humilitie can neuer ſtand.

a The Publican did indeed not lift vp his eyes: So that if by his example wee ſhould ſay we dare aske nothing, wee ought alſo to aske nothing: otherwiſe inſtead of teaching true humilitie, wee open a ſchoole to hypocriſie which the Lord deteſteth. *T.C.li.3.pa.203.*

b *Rom.5.2. 8.15. Heb.10.19.*

48 Touching continuall deliuerance in the world from all aduerſitie, their conceipt is that we ought not to aske it of God by prayer, for as much as in Scripture there is no promiſe that we ſhall be euermore free from vexations, calamities and troubles. Mindes religiouſly affected are woont in euery thing of waight and moment which they do or ſee, to examine according vnto rules of pietie what dependencie it hath on God, what reference to themſelues, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the world ſhould leade, and accordinglie they frame the inward diſpoſition of their mindes ſometime to admire God, ſometimes to bleſſe him and giue him thanks, ſometime to exult in his loue, ſometime to implore his mercie. All which different eleuations of ſpirit vnto God are conteyned in the name of prayer. Euery good and holie deſire though it lacke the forme, hath notwithſtanding in it ſelfe the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, grones and ſighes of the hart of man. Petitionarie prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelues impotent, and ſtand in need of relieſe from others. We thereby declare vnto God what our owne deſire is that he by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in vs firſt the want of that which we pray for; ſecondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earneſt willingneſſe of minde to be eaſed therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God, not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities, but becauſe we this way ſhew that we honor him as our God, and are verily perſwaded that no good thing can come to paſſe which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no mans prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any mans perſon gratious without

Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie. For as much as there is no promiſe in the Scripture that we ſhould be free from all aduerſitie and that euermore, it ſeemeth that this prayer might haue beene better conceiued being no prayer of faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelues that we ſhal obteine it. *T.C. lib.1. pag.136.*

faith, it is of neceſſitie required that they which pray doe belieue. The prayers which our Lord and Sauiour made were for his owne worthineſſe accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with [a] beliefe in Chriſt. The prayers of the iuſt are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes thoſe things graunted for which they pray. For in prayer if faith and aſſurance to obteine were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obteining is a plaine teſtimonie that they which prayed were not ſure they ſhould obteine, it would follow that their prayer being without certaintie of the euent, was alſo made vnto God without faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to thinke of ſo many prayers of Saincts as we finde haue failed in particular requeſts how abſurd were it? His faithfull people haue this comfort, that whatſoeuer they rightly aske, the ſame no doubt, but they ſhall receiue, ſo farre as may ſtand with the glorie of God, and their owne euerla-ſting good, vnto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpoſe to ſeeke or deſire to obtaine any thing preiudiciall, and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Sauiour in the prayer of his agonie did expreſſe, we in petitions of like nature do alwayes implie, *Pater ſi poſſibile eſt*, if it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure. Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denyed vs, yet the prayer it ſelfe which we make is a pleaſing ſacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners in very truth are denyed when they [b] ſeeme to preuaile in their ſupplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes or to their good that their ſutes take place; the faithfull contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions doe not take place, preuaile euen then when they moſt [c] ſeeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath graunted ſome impatient mens requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of fauor and mercie not graunted* ſayth S. Auguſtine. To thinke we may pray vnto God for nothing but what he hath promiſed in holie ſcripture we ſhall obteine, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two vſes. It ſerueth as a meane to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to graunt when we aske; and it ſerueth as a meane to expreſſe our lawfull deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhal haue or no we know not til we ſee the euent. Things in themſelues vnholie or vnſeemely we may not aske; we may whatſoeuer being not forbidden either nature or grace ſhall reaſonablie moue vs to wiſh as importing the good of men, albeit God himſelfe haue no where by promiſe aſſured vs of that particular which our prayer craueth. To pray for that which is in it ſelfe and of it owne nature apparently a thing impoſſible, were not conuenient. Wherefore though men do without offence wiſh daily that the affaires which with euill ſucceſſe are paſt might haue fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may haue bene any other then they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibilitie in it ſelfe, the rules of religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though wee the other way make our prayers, and conſequently aske thoſe things of God which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, we notwithſtanding do not hereby in prayer tranſgreſſe our lawfull bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Sonne of God, hauing

a *Oratio quæ non fit per Chriſtum non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum ſed etiam ipſa ſit peccatum. Aug. enar. 1. in Pſal. 108.*

b *Num. 11. 33. 1. Sam. 8. 7. Iob. 1. 12. & 2. 6. Luc. 8. 52.*

c *2. Cor. 12. 7. 8. 9. Aug. epiſt. 121. ad probam viduam.*

hauing no ſuperior, and therefore owing honor vnto none, neither ſtanding in any neede, ſhould either giue thanks, or make petition vnto God, were moſt abſurd. As man what could beſeeme him better, whether we reſpect his affection to Godward, or his own neceſſitie, or his charitie and loue towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſſe and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſarie meanes to effect them, were his prayers. As in the Pſalme it is ſayd, [a] *Aske of me and I will giue thee the Heauens for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore that which heere God promiſeth his Sonne, the ſame in the 17. of Iohn he prayeth for, [b] *Father the hower is now come, glorifie thy Sonne, that thy Sonne alſo may glorifie thee according as thou haſt giuen him power ouer all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of euery particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in [c] what ſort he prayed for remouall of that bitter cup, which cup he taſted notwithſtanding his prayer. To ſhift off this example they anſwere firſt that [d] *as other children of God ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliuerance* as farre *as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we our ſelues haue not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie, what meaneth the ſacred Scripture to ſpeake in ſo large tearmes, *Bee obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in* [e] *euery worke of thy hand, in the fruite of thy bodie, and in the fruite of thy cattle, and in the fruite of the land for thy wealth.* Agayne, *Keepe his lawes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt aboue all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee* [f] *all infirmities.* The man whoſe delight is in the lawe of God, [g] *whatſoeuer he doth it ſhall proſper.* For the vngodly there are *great plagues* remayning; but whoſoeuer putteth his truſt in the Lord mercie imbraceth him [h] *on euery ſide.* Not onely that mercie which keepeth from being ouerlayd or oppreſt, but mercie which ſaueth from being *touched* with grieuous miſeries, mercie which turneth away the courſe of [i] *the great water-flouds*, and permitteth them not to *come neere.* Neuertheleſſe, becauſe the prayer of Chriſt did concerne but one calamitie, they are ſtill bolde to denye the lawfulneſſe of our prayer for deliuerance out of all, yea though we pray with the ſame exception that he did, *If ſuch deliuerance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almightie God and not otherwiſe.* For they haue ſecondly found out a rule that prayer ought onely to be made for deliuerance [k] *from this or that particular aduerſitie, whereof we know not but vpon the euent what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite ouerthroweth that other principle wherein they require vnto euery prayer which is of faith an aſſurance to obtaine the thing we pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all aduerſitie was vnlawfull, becauſe we cannot aſſure our ſelues that this will be graunted. Now wee haue licence to pray againſt any particular aduerſitie, and the reaſon giuen, becauſe we know not but vpon the euent what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth that for any aſſurance wee haue he may do otherwiſe then wee pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will graunt. Seeing therefore neither of theſe two anſwers will ſerue the turne, they haue a [l] third, which is, that to pray in ſuch ſort is but idly miſpent labour, becauſe God alreadie hath reuealed his will touching this

a *Pſal.* 2. 8.

b *Iohn* 17. 1. 2

c *Math.* 26. 39. *Marc.* 14. 36. *Luc.* 22. 42.

d Neither did our Sauiour Chriſt pray without promiſe: for as other the children of God to whoſe condition he had humbled himſelfe haue, ſo had he a promiſe of deliuerance ſo farre as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. *T. C. lib.* 3. *page* 200.

e *Deut.* 30. 9.

f *Deut.* 7. 15.

g *Pſal.* 1. 4.

h *Pſal.* 32. 11.

i 7

k *T. C. lib.* 3. *page* 201.

l We ought not to deſire to be free from all aduerſitie if it be his will, conſidering that he hath alreadie declared his will therein. *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 201.

this requeſt, and we knowe that the ſute we make is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had determined touching thoſe things which himſelfe ſhould ſuffer? To ſay [a] *he knew not vvhat vvaight of ſufferances his heauenly Father had meaſured vnto him* is ſomewhat hard, harder that although *he knew them* notwithſtanding for the preſent time they were *forgotten through the force of thoſe vnſpeakable pangs vvhich he then vvas in*. The one againſt the plaine expreſſe words of the holie Euangeliſt, [b] *He knew all things that ſhould come vpon him*; the other leſſe credible if any thing may be of leſſe credit then what the Scripture it ſelfe gaineſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings make report that memorie failed them? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſigne of defect that way? Did not himſelfe declare before whatſoeuer was to happen in the courſe of that whole tragedie? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his owne mouth either in the place of publique iudgement or vpon the altar of the Croſſe, that through the bruſing of his body ſome part of the treaſures of his ſoule were ſcattered and ſlipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did faile at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appeare ſome manifeſt cauſe how it came to paſſe. True it is, that the pangs of his heauineſſe and griefe were *vnſpeakeable*: and as true that becauſe the mindes of the afflicted do neuer thinke they haue fully conceiued the waight or meaſure of their owne wo, they vſe their affection as a whetſtone both to wit and memory, theſe as nurces do feede griefe, ſo that the weaker his conceipt had bin touching that which he was to ſuffer, the more it muſt needs in that hower haue helped to the mittigation of his anguiſh. But his anguiſh we ſee was then at the very higheſt whereunto it could poſſiblie riſe; which argueth his deepe apprehenſion euen to the laſt drop of the gaule which that cup conteyned, and of euery circumſtance wherein there was any force to augment heauineſſe, but aboue all things the reſolute determination of God and his owne vnchangeable purpoſe which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his prayer which plainely teſtifieth ſo great willingneſſe to auoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man belongeth to the eſſence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diuers wills although the Godhead be in diuers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a natural not a perſonal proprietie. Contrariwiſe, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two wills, becauſe two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Chriſt there is a diuine and there is an humane will, otherwiſe he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretiques, for holding that Chriſt had but one will. The works and operations of our Sauiours humane will were all ſubiect to the will of God, and framed according to his law, [c] *I deſired to do thy will O God, and thy law is vvithin mine heart*. Now as mans will, ſo the will of Chriſt hath two ſeuerall kinds of operation, the one naturall or neceſſarie, whereby it deſireth ſimply whatſoeuer is good in it ſelfe, and ſhunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore imbrace things as good, becauſe the eye of vnderſtanding iudgeth them good to that end which we ſimplie deſire. Thus in it ſelfe

a *T.C. lib.3. page 201.*

b *Iohn 18.4.*

c *Pſal.40.8.*

it ſelfe we deſire health, phiſicke onely for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpeciall reaſon often times cauſeth the will by choiſe to preferre one good thing before another, to leaue one for an others ſake, to forgoe meaner for the attainement of higher deſires, which our Sauiour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite either the one of them vnto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed, [a] *My ſoule is now troubled, and vvhat ſhould I ſay? Father ſaue me out of this hower. But yet for this very cauſe am I come into this hower.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole world two contrarie obiects, the like whereunto in force and efficacie were neuer preſented in that manner to any but onely to the Soule of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearefull hower on the one ſide Gods heauie indignation and wrath towards mankinde as yet vnappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, hell as yet neuer maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peraduenture more then is either poſſible or needfull for the wit of man to finde out, finally himſelfe fleſh and bloud * left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe; on the other ſide, a world to be ſaued by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignitie of that ſacrifice which ſhould be offred, a conqueſt ouer death through the power of that deitie which would not ſuffer the tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an vtter diſappointment of all the forces of infernall powers, through the puritie of that ſoule which they ſhould haue in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man maruaile that in this caſe the ſoule of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breede but (as their nature is) inexplicable paſſions of minde, deſires abhorring what they imbrace, and imbracing what they abhorre? In which agonie *how ſhould the toong goe about to expreſſe* what the ſoule indured? When the griefes of Iob were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill vnto his ſeeming they were vndiſcouered, [b] *Though my talke* (ſayth Iob) *be this day in bitterneſſe, yet my plague is greater then my groning.* But heere to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerue when nature hath more to declare then grones and ſtrong cryes, more then ſtreames of bloudie ſweates, more then his doubled and tripled prayers can expreſſe, who thriſe putting forth his hand to receiue that cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his comming into the world, he thriſe pulleth it backe againe, and as often euen with teares of bloud craueth, *If it be poſſible O Father: Or if not, euen what thine owne good pleaſure is*, for whoſe ſake the paſſion that hath in it a bitter and a bloudie conflict euen with wrath and death and hell is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we finde in God a will reſolued that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the humane will of Chriſt two actuall deſires, the one auoyding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelfe by prayer againſt that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his minde to whome prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? we may iudge of theſe diuerſities in the will, by the like in the vnderſtanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not croſſe it ſelfe by conceiuing man to be iuſt and vniuſt when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and vn-

learned,

a *Iohn* 12.27.

* *Math.* 27.46. *Non potuit diuinitas humanitatem, & ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, & ſecundum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem ſed non ſeparauit vnionem. Sic ergo dereliquit vt non adiuuaret, ſed non dereliquit vt recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à diuinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit, non quaſi aduerſus Deum de pœna murmurãs ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans. Hug. de Sacra. li. 2. par. 1. c. 10. Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ alijs inueſtiganda cauſæ ardorem & diligentiam acuat.*

b *Iob.* 23. 2.

learned, if learned in one skill, and in another kinde of learning vnskilfull, becauſe the parts of euery true oppoſition doe alwaies both concerne the ſame ſubiect, and haue reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite and not in truth: So the will about one and the ſame thing may in contrarie reſpects haue contrarie inclinations and that without contrarietie. The miniſter of iuſtice may for publique example to others, vertuouſly will the execution of that partie, whoſe pardon an other for conſanguinities ſake as vertuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it ſelfe, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it; Conſider death as a meane to procure the ſaluation of the world, and mercie worketh in Chriſt all [a] willingneſſe of minde towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be onely betweene his appointment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliuerance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the will of God. The will of God was that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the paines of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it ſelfe pleaſe and delight God, but ſuch was his will in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſarie that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it ſelfe therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtaine life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like maner the ſonne of man indureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grieuous paines, which ſimply not to haue ſhunned had bin againſt nature, and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therefore to be an error that Chriſt either knew not what himſelfe was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The roote of which error was an ouer-reſtrayned conſideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawfull vſe but onely to ſerue for a choſen meane, whereby the will reſolueth to ſeeke that which the vnderſtanding certainely knoweth it ſhall obteine: whereas prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meere deſires, as a meane of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadfull obiects euen in mindes moſt perfect, may as cloudes ouercaſt all ſenſible ioy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweete and eaſie but nature will ſhun and ſhrinke from them, nature will deſire eaſe and deliuerance from oppreſſiue burthens; that the contrarie determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire, yet not againſt the affection it ſelfe, becauſe it is naturally in vs; that in ſuch caſe our prayers cannot ſerue vs as meanes to obtayne the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are vnto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be ouerruled by his will, and in generall they are not repugnant vnto the naturall will of God which wiſheth to the works of his owne hands, in that they are his owne handie-worke all happineſſe, although perhaps for ſome ſpeciall cauſe in our owne particular a contrarie determination haue ſeemed more conuenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effect as we ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure vs his heauenly grace, euen as this very prayer of Chriſt obteined [b] Angels to be ſent him as comforters in his agonie. And according to this

[a] *Eſa.* 53.10. *Iohn* 10.15.

[b] *Luc.* 22.43.

this example we are not afraide to preſent vnto God our prayers for thoſe things, which that he will performe vnto vs wee haue no ſure nor certaine knowledge. [a] S. Paules prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not do any euill, although he knew that no man liueth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we alwayes muſt pray, [b] *Forgiue vs our ſinnes.* It is our frailtie that in many things we all doe amiſſe, but a vertue that we would doe amiſſe in nothing, and a teſtimonie of that vertue when we pray that what occaſion of ſinne ſoeuer doe offer it ſelfe wee may be ſtrengthned from aboue to withſtand it. They pray in vaine to haue ſinne pardoned which ſeeke not alſo to preuent ſinne by prayer, euen euery particular ſinne by prayer againſt all ſinne, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith wee ought to haue truce. For in very deede although we cannot be free from all ſinne collectiuely in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in vs, yet diſtributiuely at the leaſt all great and grieuous actuall offences, as they offer themſelues one by one, both may and ought to be by all meanes auoyded. So that in this ſenſe to be preſerued from all ſinne is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliuerance it ſelfe from all aduerſitie, wee vſe not to ſay men are in aduerſitie whenſoeuer they feele any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when ſome notable affliction or croſſe, ſome great calamitie or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it diuers circumſtances, the minde ſundrie faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it ſelfe to the lower powers of the ſoule as a moſt vnpleaſant ſpectacle, to the higher ſometimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconueniences, ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundrie euils, as Gods inſtrument of reuenge and furie ſometime, ſometime as a rod of his iuſt yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure, ſometime as matter for them that ſpitefully hate vs to exerciſe their poyſoned malice, ſometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to ſhew it ſelfe, and through conflict to obteine glorie. Which different contemplations of aduerſitie doe worke for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Aduerſitie either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſiue and grieuous to nature; or by reaſon conceiued as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very naturall bitterneſſe and gall of aduerſitie, [c] the Scripture much alleageth contrarie fruits, which affliction likewiſe hath whenſoeuer it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holie ſpirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle S. Paule teacheth that [d] euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen, becauſe in a forreſt of many woolues, ſheepe cannot chooſe but feede in continuall danger of life; or when [e] S. Iames exhorteth to accompt it a matter of exceeding ioy when we fall into diuers temptations, becauſe by the tryall of faith patience is brought forth; was it ſuppoſe we their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?* when himſelfe pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his name ſake be ſubiect to

a 2. Cor. 13. 7.

b We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſinne, becauſe we muſt alwayes pray Forgiue vs our ſinnes. *T. C. lib. 3. pa. 200.*

c *Pſal. 119. 71.*
d *2. Tim. 3. 12.* To pray againſt perſecution is contrary to that word which ſayth, that euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution. *T. C. li. 3. pa. 200.*
e *Iam. 1. 3.*

to all kindes of ignominie and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose
a *Psal.*119.22. that no man should euer pray with Dauid, a *Lord remoue from me shame and con-*
b *August.epist.* 121.ca.14. *tempt?* In those tribulations sayth b S. Augustine, *which may hurt as well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should aske as we ought we know not, yet because they are tough, because they are grieuous, because the sense of our weakenesse flieth them, we pray according to the generall desire of the will of man that God would turne them away from vs, owing in the meane while this deuotion to the Lord our God, that if he remoue them not, yet we do not therefore imagine our selues in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of euils expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weakenesse perfected.* To the flesh (as the Apostle himselfe graunteth) all affliction is naturally grieuous. Therefore nature which causeth to feare, teacheth to pray against all aduersitie. Prosperitie in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almightie God, doth proue for the most part a thing dangerous to the soules of men. Very ease it selfe
c *Prou.*1.32. is c death to the wicked, and the prosperitie of fooles slayeth them; their table is a snare, and their felicitie their vtter ouerthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sinne not. Howbeit euen as these ill effects although they be very vsuall and common are no barre to the hartie prayers, whereby most vertuous minds wish peace and prosperitie alwayes where they loue, because they consider that this in it selfe is a thing naturally desired: so because all aduersitie is in it selfe against nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the prouidence of God turne it often vnto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be deliuered from all aduersitie are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of mens mindes towards death, much lesse to that blessed patience and meeke contentment which Saincts by heauenly inspiration haue to indure what crosse or calamitie soeuer it pleaseth God to lay vpon them, then our Lord and Sauiors owne prayer before his passion was repugnant vnto his most gratious resolution to dye for the sinnes of the whole world.

Prayer that all men may finde mercie, and of the will of God that all men might be saued.

49 In praying for deliuerance from all aduersitie we seeke that which nature doth wish to it selfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian Charitie thirsteth after the good of the whole world, we discharge that dutie which d the Apostle himselfe doth impose on the Church of Christ as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in Gods sight, a seruice according to his hart whose *desire* is to haue all men saued, a worke most suteable with his purpose who gaue himselfe to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible meane to *procure the conuersion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must saue their soules. Against it there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all mens saluation and many mens eternall condemnation or death are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to passe; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whome God will neuer extend mercie, and therefore that wittingly we aske an impossible thing to be had. The truth is that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere vnderstanding or knowledge, all mens saluation and some mens endlesse perdition are things so opposite that whosoeuer doth affirme the one, must necessarily

d 1.*Tim.*2.3.

ſarily denye the other, God himſelfe cannot effect both or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certaintie that life and death haue deuided betweene them the whole bodie of mankinde. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelfe knoweth; for vs he hath left no ſufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither giuen any leaue to ſearch in particular who are infalliblie the heires of the kingdome of God, who caſtawayes. Howbeit concerning the ſtate of all men with whome we liue (for onely of them our prayers are meant) we may till the worlds end, *for the preſent*, alwayes preſume, that *as farre as in vs there is power to diſcerne* what others are, and as farre as any dutie of ours dependeth vpon the notize of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt axiomes for charitie to reſt it ſelfe vpon are theſe, *He vvhich believeth alreadie is*; and *He vvhich believeth not as yet may be the child of God.* [a] It becommeth not vs *during life altogether to condemne any man, ſeeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of euery mans forgiueneſſe, the poſſibilitie of vvhoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charitie which [b] *hopeth all things* prayeth alſo for all men. Wherefore to let go perſonall knowledge touching veſſels of wrath and mercie, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God it skilleth not, for vs there is cauſe ſufficient in all men whereupon to ground our prayers vnto God in their behalfe. For whatſoeuer the minde of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charitie and loue is to haue it inlarged in the very vttermoſt extent, that all may inioy it to whome it can any way adde perfection. Becauſe therefore the farther a good thing doth reach the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no leſſe then for our owne the Apoſtle with very fit tearmes commendeth as being καλὸν a worke commendable for the largenes of the affection from whence it ſpringeth, euen as theirs, [c] which haue requeſted at Gods hands the ſaluation of many with the loſſe of their owne ſoules, drowning as it were and ouerwhelming themſelues in the abundance of their loue towards others, is propoſed as being in regard of the rareneſſe of ſuch affectiõs ὑπερκαλὸν more then excellent. But this extraordinarie height of deſire after other mens ſaluation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth vnto all and preuaileth with God dayly. For as it is in it ſelfe good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men do include both them that ſhall finde mercie, and them alſo that ſhall finde none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and graunted. Touching them for whome we craue that mercie which is not to be obteined, let vs not thinke that [d] our Sauiour did miſinſtruct his diſciples, willing them to pray for the peace euen of ſuch as ſhould be vncapable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the prayers of the [e] Prophet Ieremy offended God becauſe the anſwere of God was a reſolute denyall of fauor to them for whome ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his will, or not graunt them if they be according vnto that which himſelfe willeth, our anſwere is that ſuch ſutes God accepteth in that they are conformable vnto his *generall inclination*, which is that all men might be ſaued, yet alwaies he graunteth them not for as much as there is in God ſometimes a more priuate *occaſioned will* which

a *Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epiſt.*

b *1. Cor. 14. 7.*

c *Rom. 9. 3. & 10. 1.*

d *Math. 10. 11. 12.*

e *Ier. 15. 1.*

which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requeſts for things oppoſite to this will of God are not therefore the leſſe gracious in his ſight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwiſe in whatſoeuer we do we ſinne. For of our ſelues being ſo apt to erre, the only way which we haue to ſtreighten our paths is by following the rule of his will whoſe footeſteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foote do that which the will commandeth, though they ſerue as inſtruments to ſinne, yet is ſinne the commaunders fault and not theirs, becauſe nature hath abſolutely and without exception made them ſubiects to the will of man which is Lord ouer them. As the body is ſubiect to the wil of man, ſo mans wil to the wil of God; for ſo it behoueth that the better ſhould guide and commaund the worſe. But becauſe the ſubiection of the body to the will is by naturall neceſſitie, the ſubiection of the will vnto God voluntarie; we therefore ſtand in need of direction after what ſort our wills and deſires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwayes the ſelfeſame thing that God interdeth. For it may chance that his purpoſe is ſometime the ſpeedie death of them whoſe long continuance in life if we ſhould not wiſh we were vnnaturall. When the obiect or matter therefore of our deſires is (as in this caſe) a thing both good of it ſelfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we deſire it is vertuous and apparently moſt holie; when the roote from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charitie, pietie that which we do in declaring our deſire by prayer; yea ouer and beſides all this, ſith we know that to pray for all men liuing is but to ſhew the ſame affection which towards euery of them our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his, did [a] as man taſte death for the good of all men, ſurely to that will of God which ought to be and is the knowne rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppoſe our ſelues, although his ſecret determination happily be againſt vs, which if we did vnderſtand as we do not, yet to reſt contented with that which God will haue done is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our ſelues what we earneſtly craue in this caſe, the ſame, as all things elſe that are of like condition, we meekely ſubmit vnto his moſt gratious will and pleaſure. Finally, as we haue cauſe ſufficient why to thinke the practiſe of our Church allowable in this behalfe, ſo neither is ours the firſt which hath bene of that minde. For to end with the words [b] of Proſper, *This lawe of ſupplication for all men* (ſayth he) *the deuout zeale of all Prieſts and of all faithfull men doth hold with ſuch full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world where Chriſtian people do not vſe to pray in the ſame manner. The Church euery where maketh prayers vnto God not only for Saincts and ſuch as alreadie in Chriſt are regenerate, but for all Infidels and enemies of the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for all idolaters, for all that perſecute Chriſt in his followers, for Iewes to whoſe blindnes the light of the Goſpell doth not yet ſhine, for heretiques and ſchiſmatiques, who from the vnitie of faith and charitie are eſtranged. And for ſuch what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leauing their errors they may be conuerted vnto him, that faith and charitie may be giuen him, and that out of the darkeneſſe of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? which becauſe they cannot themſelues do in their owne behalfe*

as long

a *Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, ſi Chriſtus homo ſecundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate ſua aſſumpſerat aliquid volebat, quod tamen ſecundum voluntatem diuinam, in qua cum patre omnia diſponebat futurum non eſſe præſciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, vt pietatem moueretur; & hoc ad veram diuinitatem vt à ſua diſpoſitione non moueretur.* Hug. de quat. Chriſ. volunt.

b Proſp. de vocat. Gen. lib. 1. ca. 4. inter opera Ambroſ.

as long as the ſway of euill cuſtome ouerbeareth them, and the chaines of Satan deteine them bound, neither are they able to breake thorough thoſe errors wherein they are ſo determinately ſetled, that they pay vnto falſitie the whole ſumme of whatſoeuer loue is owing vnto Gods truth, our Lord mercifull and iuſt requireth to haue all men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawne vp from the depth of ſo bottomleſſe euils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted, nor deſpaire but that being thankefull for them towards whome already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet inlightned ſhal before they paſſe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaueth [for ſo we ſee it falleth out] ouerpaſſe ſome, ſo that the prayer of the Church for them be not receyued, this we may leaue to the hidden iudgements of Gods righteouſneſſe, and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a gulfe, which while we liue we ſhall neuer ſound.

50 Inſtruction and prayer whereof we haue hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerue as elements, parts or principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to vs that very [a] mother of our new birth, in whoſe bowels we are all bred, at whoſe breaſts we receyue nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our iudgement borne of God, they haue the ſeede of their regeneration by the miniſterie of the Church, which vſeth to that end and purpoſe not onely the word, but the Sacraments, both hauing generatiue force and vertue. As oft as wee mention a Sacrament properly vnderſtood (for in the writings of the auncient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian faith, all duties of religion conteyning that which ſenſe or naturall reaſon cannot of it ſelfe diſcerne, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraint of the word to ſome fewe principall diuine Ceremonies importeth in euery ſuch Ceremonie two things, the ſubſtance of the Ceremonie it ſelfe which is viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceiue that Ceremonie to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honor the holie Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſeruice which we do vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignitie of that ſacred and ſecret gift which we thereby receiue from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernaturall as onely God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obſerued their force and their forme of adminiſtration. Vpon their force their neceſſitie dependeth. So that how they are neceſſarie wee cannot diſcerne till wee ſee how effectuall they are. When Sacraments are ſayd to be viſible ſignes of inuiſible grace, wee thereby conceiue how grace is in deede the very end for which theſe heauenly myſteries were inſtituted, and beſides ſundrie other properties obſerued in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their end. But ſtill their efficacie reſteth obſcure to our vnderſtanding, except wee ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they haue towards it. The vſe of Sacraments is but onely in this life, yet ſo that heere they concerne a farre better life then this, and are for that cauſe accompanyed with

Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordeyned thē as meanes to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.

[a] *Galat* 4.26. *Eſa.* 54.3.

grace which worketh ſaluation. Sacraments are the powerfull inſtruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life conſiſteth in the vnion of the bodie with the Soule; ſo our life ſupernaturall in the vnion of the Soule with God. And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man without that [a] meane betweene both which is both, it ſeemeth requiſite that we firſt conſider how God is in Chriſt, then how Chriſt is in vs, and how the Sacraments doe ſerue to make vs partakers of Chriſt. In other things we may be more briefe, but the waight of theſe requireth largeneſſe.

51 * The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuiſible vnitie notwithſtanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himſelfe, we glorifie that conſubſtantiall word which is the Sonne, we bleſſe and magnifie that coeſſentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the holie Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirits of both, they are by theſe their ſeuerall properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the ſubſtance of God with this propertie *to be of none,* doth make the perſon of the Father; the very ſelfeſame ſubſtance in number with this propertie *to be of the Father* maketh the perſon of the Sonne; the ſame ſubſtance hauing added vnto it the propertie of *proceeding from the other two,* maketh the perſon of the holie Ghoſt. So that in euery perſon there is implyed both the ſubſtance of God which is one, and alſo that propertie which cauſeth the ſame perſon really and truly to differ from the other two. Euery [b] perſon hath his owne ſubſiſtence which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame ſubſtance. As no man but Peter can be the perſon which Peter is, yet Paule hath the ſelfeſame nature which Peter. Againe, Angels haue euery of them the nature of pure and inuiſible ſpirits, but euery Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a dreame to Ioſeph. Now when God became man, leaſt wee ſhould erre in applying this to the perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, S. Peters Confeſſion vnto Chriſt was, Thou art the [c] *Sonne* of the liuing God, and S. Iohns expoſition thereof was made plaine, that it is the [d] *word* which was made fleſh. [e] *The Father and the holie Ghoſt* (ſaith Damaſcen) *haue no communion with the incarnation of the word otherwiſe then onely by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the word and deitie are one ſubiect, we muſt beware we exclude not the nature of God from incarnation, and ſo make the Sonne of God incarnate not to be very God. For vndoubtedly euen [f] the nature of God it ſelfe in the onely perſon of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelfe fleſh. Wherefore incarnation may neither be graunted to any perſon but onely one, nor yet denyed to that nature which is common vnto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible myſterie, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing vnconſonant, that the world ſhould honor any other as the Sauiour but him whome it honoreth as the creator of

a *Oportebat Deum carnem fieri vt in ſemetipſo concordiam confibularet terrenorum pariter atque cœleſtium, dum vtriuſque partis in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet. Tertul. de trinit.*

* That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Sonne, who is very God. *Iſa.9.6. Ierem.23.6. Rom 9.5. Iohn 16.15. Iohn 5.21. Coloſſ.2.9. 1.Iohn.5.20.*

b Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασις ἴδιὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἰδικὸν ὄνομά τὸ κείμενον. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ πάντων πραγμάτος ἰδίας δὲ ἐστιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. *Suid.* ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται. τὸ δὲ κείμενον μὴ τῷ ἰδίᾳ ζῶντος ἔχειν ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπάρξαι. *Damaſc. de Orthod. fide lib.3. cap.6.*

c *Matth.16.16.*

d *Iohn 1.14.*

Ignat. epiſt. ad Magneſ. Ὃς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ λαλίᾳ ἁρμόζει φύσιμα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θείας ἴδια γνησία.

e Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. *Damaſc.*

f *In illo Diuinitas eſt vnigeniti ſalta perticeps mortalitatis noſtræ, vt & nos participes eius immortalitatis eſſemus. Aug. Epiſt.57.*

of the world, and in the wiſedome of God it hath not beene thought conuenient to admit any way of ſauing man but by man himſelfe, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the loue and mercie of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kinde of heauenly aſtoniſhment, wee may hereby perceiue there is cauſe ſufficient why diuine nature ſhould aſſume humane, that ſo [a] God might be in Chriſt reconciling to himſelfe the world. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required why rather to this end and purpoſe the Sonne then either the Father or the holie Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could we which are borne the children of wrath be adopted the ſonnes of God through grace, any other then the naturall Sonne of God being mediator betweene God and vs? It [b] became therefore him by whome all things are, to be the way of ſaluation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The worlds ſaluation was without the incarnation of the Sonne of God a thing impoſſible, not ſimplie impoſſible, but impoſſible it being preſuppoſed that the will of God was no otherwiſe to haue it ſaued then by the death of his owne Sonne. Wherefore taking to himſelfe our fleſh, and by his incarnation making it his owne fleſh, he had now of his owne although from vs what to offer vnto God for vs. And as Chriſt tooke manhood that by it he might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himſelfe, ſo becauſe manhood is the proper ſubiect of compaſſion and feeling pittie, which maketh the ſcepter of Chriſts regencie euen in the kingdome of heauen amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth ſuffer for the ſinnes of the world, doth now alſo [c] by meanes thereof both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion euer all men with a true, a naturall, and a ſenſible touch of mercie.

a 2. *Cor.* 5. 19.

b *Heb.* 2. 10.

c *Heb.* 4. 15.

52 It is not in mans abilitie either to expreſſe perfectly or conceiue the maner how this was brought to paſſe. But the ſtrength of our faith is tryed by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit becauſe this diuine myſterie is more true then plaine, diuers hauing framed the ſame to their owne conceipts and fancies, are found in their expoſitions thereof more plaine then true. In ſo much that by the ſpace of 500. yeares after Chriſt the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe ſauing only with care and trauaile to preſerue this article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of heretiques. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the [d] *Nicen* Councell had diſpeld, it was not long ere *Macedonius* transferred vnto Gods moſt holie Spirit the ſame blaſphemie wherewith *Arius* had alreadie diſhonoured his coeternally begotten Sonne; not long ere *Apollinarius* began to [e] paire away from Chriſts humanitie. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painefull trauailes ſufficiently cleered the truth, no leſſe for the deitie of the holy Ghoſt, then for the complete humanitie of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a finall concluſion, whereby thoſe controuerſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarme of peſtilent *Dimi-arians*, had from time to time ſtirred vp ſithence the Councell of *Nice*, were both priuately firſt at Rome in a ſmaller Synod, and then

The miſinterpretations, which hereſie hath made of the maner how God and man are vnited in one Chriſt.

d *Ati. D.* 325.

e Μακεδόνιος ἐβλασφήμει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὡσαύτως ἀνθρωπίνοις τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἱερᾶς φύσεως. *Suid.*

then [a] at Conſtantinople in a generall famous aſſemblie brought to a peaceable and quiet end, ſeuenſcore Biſhops and ten agreeing in that Confeſſion which by them ſet downe remayneth at this preſent hower a part of our Churchliturgie, a memoriall of their fidelitie and zeale, a ſoueraigne preſeruatiue of Gods people from the venemous infection of hereſie. Thus in Chriſt the veritie of God and the complete ſubſtance of man were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the world, till ſuch time as the hereſie of *Neſtorius* broched it ſelfe, [b] *diuiding Chriſt into two perſons, the Sonne of God, and the Sonne of man, the one a perſon begotten of God before all worlds, the other alſo a perſon borne of the virgin Mary, and in ſpeciall fauour choſen to be made intire to the Sonne of God aboue all men, ſo that whoſoeuer will honor God muſt together honor Chriſt, with whoſe perſon God hath vouchſafed to ioyne himſelfe in ſo high a degree of gratious reſpect and fauour.* But that the ſelfeſame perſon which verily is man ſhould properly be God alſo, and that, by reaſon not of two perſons linked in amitie but of two natures humane and diuine conioyned in one and the ſame perſon, the God of glorie may be ſayd as well to haue ſuffered death, as to haue rayſed the dead from their graues, the Sonne of man as well to haue made as to haue redeemed the world, *Neſtorius* in no caſe would admit. That which deceiued him was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The word ſayth S. Iohn was made fleſh and dwelt [c] *in vs*. The Euangeliſt vſeth the plurall number, men for manhood, *vs* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, euen as the Apoſtle denying the aſſumption of *Angelicall nature*, ſayth likewiſe in the plurall number, he tooke not [d] *Angels* but the ſeede of Abraham. It pleaſed not the word or wiſedome of God to take to it ſelfe ſome one perſon amongſt men, for then ſhould that one haue beene aduanced which was aſſumed and no more, but wiſedome to the end ſhe might ſaue many built her houſe of that *nature* which is common vnto all, ſhe made not *this or that man* her habitation, but dwelt *in vs*. The ſeedes of herbes and plants at the firſt are not in act but in poſſibilitie that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himſelfe a man now made and alreadie perfected, it would of neceſſitie follow that there are in Chriſt two perſons, the one aſſuming and the other aſſumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not aſſume a mans perſon vnto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne perſon, and therefore tooke *ſemen* the ſeede of Abraham, the very firſt originall element of our nature, [e] before it was come to haue any perſonall humaine ſubſiſtence. The fleſh and the coniunction of the fleſh with God began both at one inſtant, his making and taking to himſelfe our fleſh was but one act, ſo that in Chriſt there is no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one, and that from euerlaſting. By taking only the nature of man he ſtill continueth one perſon, and changeth but the maner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one whereby wee acknowledge him to haue beene eternally the Sonne of God, wee muſt of neceſſitie apply to the *perſon* of the Sonne of God euen that which is ſpoken of Chriſt according to his humane nature. For example, according to the fleſh he was borne of the Virgin Mary, baptiſed of Iohn in the riuer Iordan, by Pilate adiudged

a *An. D.* 381.

b Οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. *Cyril. ep. ad Enlog.* Οὐκ ἔλεγε τὴν ἕνωσιν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν χριστὸν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ δικαιώσει καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀλλήλοις ἀρίστευεν διὰ πλὴν σοφίαν τῆς φιλίας. *Leont. de Sect.*

c *Iohn* 1. 14.

d *Heb.* 2. 16.

e ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προυπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως. *Theodo. dialo.* Ἄτρεπτος.

adiudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. We cannot ſay properly that the Virgin bore, or Iohn did baptize, or Pilate condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, becauſe theſe all are perſonall attributes, his perſon is the ſubiect which receyueth them, his nature that which maketh his perſon capable or apt to receyue. If wee ſhould ſay that the perſon of a man in our Sauiour Chriſt was the ſubiect of theſe things, this were plainely to intrap our ſelues in the very ſhare of the Neſtorians hereſie, betweene whome and the Church of God there was no difference, ſauing onely that Neſtorius imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonall humane ſubſiſtence as a diuine, the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance both diuine and humane, but no other perſonall ſubſiſtence then diuine, becauſe the Sonne of God tooke not to himſelfe a mans perſon, but the nature onely of a man. Chriſt is a perſon both diuine and humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one, neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a perſon diuine, becauſe he is *perſonallie* the Sonne of God, humane, becauſe *he hath* reallie *the nature* of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and man *there is* (ſayth [a] Paſchaſius) *a two-fold ſubſtance, not a two-fold perſon, becauſe one perſon extinguiſheth another, vvhereas one nature cannot in another become extinct.* For the perſonall being which the Sonne of God alreadie had, ſuffered not the ſubſtance to be perſonall which hee tooke, although together with the nature which hee had the nature alſo which hee tooke continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt Neſtorius, that no perſon was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no perſon but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other perſon crucified, which one onely point of Chriſtian beliefe *the infinite worth of the Sonne of God* is the very ground of all things belieued concerning life and ſaluation by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as S. Cyrill the chiefeſt of thoſe two hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the [b] Councell of Epheſus where the hereſie of Neſtorius was condemned, had in his writings againſt the Arians auouched that *the vvord* or *vviſedome* of God hath *but one nature* which is eternall, and whereunto he aſſumed fleſh (for the Arrians were of opinion, that beſides Gods owne eternall wiſedome, there is a wiſedome which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things elſe, and that this created wiſedome was the word which tooke fleſh.) Againe, for as much as the ſame Cyrill had giuen inſtance in the body and the ſoule of man no farther then onely to enforce by example againſt Neſtorius, that a viſible and an inuiſible, a mortall and an immortall ſubſtance may vnited make *one perſon*, the words of Cyrill were in proceſſe of time ſo taken as though it had beene his drift to teach that euen as in vs the body and the ſoule, ſo in Chriſt God and man make but *one nature*. Of which error, fiue hundred and thirtie Fathers in the [c] Councell of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Neſtorius teaching rightly that God and man are diſtinct natures, did thereupon miſ-inferre that in Chriſt thoſe natures can by no coniunction make one perſon; ſo Eutyches of ſound beliefe as touching their true perſonall copulation became vnſound by denying the difference which ſtill continueth betweene the one and the other nature. Wee muſt therefore

[a] *Paſchaſ. lib. de Spir. Sanct.*

[b] *An. D. 431.*

[c] *An. D. 451.*

keepe warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherein Nestorius went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceyued Eutyches. [a] These natures from the moment of their first combination haue bene and are for euer inseparable. For euen when his soule forsooke the tabernacle of his body, his deitie forsooke neither body nor soule. If it had, then could we not truly hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did rayse vp it selfe from the dead. For the body separated from the word can in no true sense be termed the person of Christ; nor is it true to say that the Sonne of God in raysing vp that body did rayse vp himselfe, if the body were not both with him and of him euen during the time it lay in the sepulcher. The like is also to be sayd of the soule, otherwise we are plainely and ineuitably Nestorians. The very person of Christ therefore for euer one and the selfesame was onely touching bodily substance concluded within the graue, his soule onely from thence seuered, but by personall vnion his deitie still vnseparably ioyned with both.

[a] Ἀ'χώρισεν προσύκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν κἂν τῷ σαυρῷ κἂν τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. dialo. Ἀπαθὴς.

That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Christ there groweth neither gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.

53 The sequell of which coniunction of natures in the person of Christ is no abolishment of naturall properties apperteining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally no such mutuall infusion as really causeth the same naturall operations or properties to be made common vnto both substances, but whatsoeuer is naturall to deitie, the same remayneth in Christ vncommunicated vnto his manhood, and whatsoeuer naturall to manhood his deitie thereof is vncapable. The true properties and operations of his deitie are to know that which is not possible for *created natures* to comprehend; to be simply the highest cause of all things, the wellspring of immortalitie and life; to haue neither end nor beginning of dayes; to be euery where present, and inclosed no where; to be subiect to no alteration nor passion; to produce of it selfe those effects which cannot proceede but from infinite maiestie and power. The true properties and operations of his manhood are such as [b] Irenæus reckoneth vp, *If Christ* (sayth he) *had not taken flesh from the very earth he would not haue coueted those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after trauaile, testified compassion and loue by teares, groned in heauinesse, and with extremitie of griefe euen melted away it selfe into bloudie sweates.* To Christ we ascribe both working of wonders and suffering of paines, we vse concerning him speeches as well of humilitie as of diuine glorie, but the one we apply vnto that nature which he tooke of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagin that the properties of the weaker nature haue vanisht with the presence of the more glorious, and haue bene therein swallowed vp as in a gulfe. We dare not in this point giue eare to them who ouerboldly affirme, that [c] *The nature which Christ tooke weake and feeble from vs by being mingled with deitie, became the same which deitie is, that the assumption of our substance vnto his was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which seuered it hath, because sithence the instant of their coniunction, all distinction and difference of the one frō the other is extinct, and what soeuer we can now conceiue of the Sonne of God, is nothing*

[b] Ταῦτα παθήματα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνειλημμένης. Iren. li. 3. aduers. hæres. Christ did all these ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος ὁρμῇ. Greg. Nazian. orat. 2. de filio. τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαριὰς ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους εἰς θεοπρεπῆ τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λογῳ. Theodor. dial. Ἀσύγχυτ.

[c] Greg. Nyss. epist. ad Theophil. Alexandr.

elſe but meere deitie, which words are ſo plaine and direct for Eutyches, that I ſtand in doubt they are not his whoſe name they carrie. Sure I am they are farre from truth, and muſt of neceſſitie giue place to the better aduiſed ſentences of other men. [a] *He which in himſelfe was appointed* (ſayth Hilarie) *a mediator to ſaue his Church, and for performance of that myſterie of mediation betweene God and man, is become God and man, doth now being but one conſiſt of both thoſe natures vnited, neither hath he through the vnion of both incurred the damage or loſſe of either, leaſt by being borne a man we ſhould thinke he hath giuen ouer to be God, or that becauſe he continueth God, therefore he cannot be man alſo, whereas the true beliefe which maketh a man happie proclaymeth iointly God and man, confeſſeth the word and fleſh together.* Cyrill more plainely, [b] *His two natures haue knit themſelues the one to the other, and are in that neereneſſe as vncapable of confuſion as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them. Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it be now the fleſh of God.* Yea *of each ſubſtance* (ſayth [c] Leo) *the properties are all preſerued and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes and originall grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God, becauſe his deitie alone is the wellſping from which they flow; ſome things as man, becauſe they iſſue from his meere humane nature; ſome things iointly as both God and man, becauſe both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature* doe cleaue only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Chriſt cannot *naturallie be* as God the ſame which he *naturallie is* as man, yet both natures may very well concurre vnto *one effect*, and Chriſt in that reſpect be truly ſaid to *worke* both as God and as man one and the ſelfeſame thing. Let vs therefore ſet it downe for a rule or principle ſo neceſſarie as nothing more to the plaine deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the vnion of natures in Chriſt, that of both natures there is a *cooperation* often, an *aſſociation* alwayes, but neuer any mutuall *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerue for the better vnderſtanding of that which [d] Damaſcene hath touching Croſſe and circularie ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to manhood, and to man ſuch as properly concerne the deitie of Chriſt Ieſus, the cauſe whereof is the *aſſociation* of natures in one ſubiect. A kind of mutuall commutation there is whereby thoſe concrete names *God*, and *Man*, when we ſpeake of *Chriſt*, doe take interchangeablie one anothers roome, ſo that for truth of ſpeech it skilleth not whether we ſay that the Sonne of God hath created the world, and the Sonne of man by his death hath ſaued it, or elſe that the Sonne of man did create, and the Sonne of God dye to ſaue the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Chriſt claymeth, or to man what his deitie hath right vnto, we vnderſtand by the name of God and the name of man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole perſon of Chriſt in whome both natures are. When the Apoſtle ſayth of the Iewes that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Sonne of man being on earth affirmeth that the Sonne of man was in heauen at the ſame inſtant, there is in theſe two ſpeeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God or the * Lord of glory death, whereof diuine nature is not capable; in the other

a *Hilar. de trin. lib. 9.*

b *Cypr. epiſt. ad Neſt.*

c *Saluâ proprietate vtriuſque naturæ ſuſcepta eſt à maieſtate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas. Leo. Epiſt. ad Flauia.*

d Οὗτος ἑκατέρου τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀποδιδούσης τὸ ἴδιον τῷ ἑτέρᾳ τῷ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταυτότητα, καὶ τῷ εἰς ἄλληλα ἀντῶν περιχώρησιν. *Damaſc. de Orthod. fid. lib. 3. ca. 4. Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum alteram ſuam alteri proprietatem impartire, emanclando videlicet, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, diuinas hominis non humanitati, humanas non deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cuius hæc eſt ratio quia cum ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit eiuſmodi vt vtramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſiue ab vna ſiue ab altera denominetur nihil refert.*

e *1. Cor. 2. 8.*

other vbiquitie vnto [a] man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glory we muſt needes vnderſtand the whole perſon of Chriſt, who being Lord of glorie, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of glorie. In like manner by the Sonne of man the whole perſon of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be meant, who being man vpon earth, filled heauen with his glorious preſence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is giuen him. Without this caution the Fathers whoſe beliefe was ſincere and their meaning moſt ſound, ſhall ſeeme in their writings one to deny what another conſtantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* diſputeth with great earneſtneſſe that *God* cannot be ſayd to ſuffer. But he thereby meaneth Chriſts *diuine nature* againſt [b] *Apollinarius*, which held euen deitie it ſelfe paſſible. *Cyrill* on the other ſide againſt *Neſtorius* as much contendeth, that whoſoeuer will denye *very God* to haue ſuffered death, doth forſake the faith. Which notwithſtanding to hold were hereſie, if the name of God in this aſſertion did not import as it doth the perſon of Chriſt, who being verily God ſuffered death, but in the fleſh, and not in that ſubſtance for which the name of God is giuen him.

a *Iohn* 3.13.

b Θεοπαθῶς τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν θεότητα. *Greg. Nyſs. de ſectator. Apollinar. epiſt. ad Flauia.*

What Chriſt hath obteined according to the fleſh, by the vnion of his fleſh with deitie.

54 If then both natures doe remaine with their properties in Chriſt thus diſtinct as hath beene ſhewed, we are for our better vnderſtanding what either nature receiueth from other, to note, that Chriſt is by three degrees a receiuer, firſt, in that he is the Sonne of God; ſecondly, in that his humane nature hath had the honor of vnion with deitie beſtowed vpon it; thirdly, in that by meanes thereof ſundry eminent graces haue flowed as effects from deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore there is beſtowed the gift of eternall generation, the gift of vnion, and the gift of vnction. By the gift of eternall generation Chriſt hath receiued of the Father one and in number the [c] ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance which the Father hath of himſelfe vnreceiued from any other. For euery [d] *beginning is a Father* vnto that which commeth of it; and euery *off-ſpring is a Sonne* vnto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [e] originally that deitie which Chriſt [f] originally is not (for Chriſt is God [g] by being of God, light [h] by iſſuing out of light) it followeth hereupon that what ſoeuer Chriſt hath [i] common vnto him with his heauenly Father, the ſame of neceſſitie muſt be *giuen* him, but naturally and [k] eternally giuen, not beſtowed by way of beneuolence and fauor, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [l] where the Fathers giue it out for a rule, that whatſoeuer Chriſt is ſayd in Scripture to haue

c *Natiuitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quàm Deus ſubſiſtit qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit. Hilar. de trinit. lib. 5. Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut pater, ſed ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & æqualis habet. Rufin. in Symb. Apoſt. ca. 9. Filium aliunde non deduco ſed de ſubſtantia patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem. Tertul. contra Prax.* d *Epheſ. 1. 15.* πᾶσα πατριὰ, *quicquid alteri quoniſmodo dat eſſe.* e *Iac. 1. 17. Pater luminum ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐκ πνεύματος δηλονότι. Pachym. in Dionyſ. de cœl. Hierar. ca. 1. Pater eſt principium totius diuinitatis quia ipſe à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo & filius eſt genitus & Spiritus ſanctus procedit. Aug. de trin. lib. 4. ca. 20. Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen vbique patris vſurpat, quia pater nimirum eſt* αἰτία θεότητος. f *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero deriuatio totius & propagatio. Tertul. contra Prax.* g *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt. Hilar. de trin. lib. 5. Nihil niſi natum habet filius. Hilar. lib. 4.* h Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. *Heb. 1. 3.* Εἰσὶν ἀπόρροιαι τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινεῖς ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου. *Sap. 7. 25. 26.* i *Nihil in ſe diuerſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans. Hilar. de ſynod. aduerſ. Aria. In trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud. Vincent. Lir. ca. 19.* k *Vbi author æternus eſt ibi & natiuitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut natiuitas ex authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna natiuitas eſt. Hilar. de trin. lib. 12. Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio generatio: ita Spiritui ſancto præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio proceſſio. Aug. de trin. lib. 5. cap. 15.* l Ὅσα λέγει γεγραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτῷ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα. *Theodoret. fol. 42. & ex Greg. Nazi. orat. 2. de fil. ibid. 44.*

haue *receyued*, the ſame we ought to applie onely to the manhood of Chriſt, their aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath receyued *by grace*, but to that which he hath receyued of the Father by eternall natiuitie or birth it reacheth not. Touching vnion of deitie with manhood it is by grace, becauſe there can be no greater grace ſhewed towards man, then that God ſhould vouchſafe to vnite to mans nature the perſon of his onely begotten Sonne. Becauſe the Father [a] loueth the Sonne as man, he hath by vniting deitie with manhood, *giuen* all things into his hands. It hath [b] *pleaſed* the Father that in him all fulneſſe ſhould dwell. The name which he hath aboue all names is [c] *giuen* him. As the Father hath life in himſelfe, the Sonne in himſelfe hath life alſo by the [d] *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a fountaine of life is that [e] *coniunction of the nature of God with the nature of man* in the perſon of Chriſt, [f] *which gift* (ſayth Chriſt to the woman of Samaria) if thou didſt knowe and in *that reſpect* vnderſtand *who it is* which asketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aske of him that he might giue thee liuing water. The vnion therefore of the fleſh with deitie is to *that fleſh* a gift of principall grace and fauour. For by vertue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted aboue the dignitie of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe vnder it. This admirable vnion of God with man can inforce in that higher nature [g] no alteration, becauſe vnto God there is nothing more naturall then not to be ſubiect to any change. Neyther is it a thing impoſſible that the word beeing made fleſh ſhould be that which it was not before as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the incarnation of the Sonne of God conſiſteth *meerely in the vnion* of natures, which vnion doth adde perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demaunded what the perſon of the Sonne of God hath attayned by aſſuming manhood, ſurely the whole ſumme of all is this, to bee as wee are truly, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof hee is made capable of meaner offices then otherwiſe his perſon could haue admitted, the onely gaine he thereby purchaſed for himſelfe was to be capable of loſſe and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly bee ſayd concerning the incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking vpon him our nature was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to aduance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which hee tooke, nor to infuſe into it the naturall forces and properties of his deitie. As therefore wee haue ſhewed how the Sonne of God by his incarnation hath changed the maner of that perſonall ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitarie, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neyther are the *properties of mans nature* in the perſon of Chriſt by force and vertue of the ſame coniunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limites which our ſubſtance is bordered withall; nor the *ſtate and qualitie* of our ſubſtance ſo vnaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo neere copulation with deitie. God from vs can receiue nothing, wee by him

a *Iohn* 3.
b *Epheſ.* 1.
c *Phil.* 2.
d *Iohn* 5. 26.
e 1. *Iohn* 5. 20. *Hic eſt verus Deus, & vita æterna.*
f *Iohn* 4. 10.
g ὥστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κατὰ τὸ ἀτρεπτον τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον. *Theod. dial.* Ἀτρεπτος: *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt. Tertul. de car. Chr. Maieſtati ſuæ Dei corporea natiuitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit. Leo de natiuit. ſer.* 8. Μένει δὲ ἓν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, θεὸς μένει καὶ τὸ ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀναλαμβάνων ἀνάρξιον. *Theophil. In ſermone ſeruil tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei. Hilar. de trin. lib.* 12.

him haue obteyned much. For albeit the naturall properties of deitie bee not communicable to mans nature, the ſupernaturall gifts, graces and effects thereof are. The honor which our fleſh hath by beeing the fleſh of the Sonne of God is in many reſpects great. If wee reſpect but that which is common vnto vs with him, the glorie prouided for him and his in the kingdome of heauen, his right and title thereunto euen in that he is man differeth from other mens, becauſe he is that man of whome God is himſelfe a part. Wee haue right to the ſame inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which hee hath, his beeing ſuch as wee cannot reach, and ours ſuch as he cannot ſtoupe vnto. Furthermore to be the way, the truth and the life; to be the wiſedome, righteouſneſſe, ſanctification, reſurrection; to be the peace of the whole world, the hope of the righteous, the heire of all things; to be that ſupreme head whereunto all power both in heauen and in earth is giuen; theſe are not honors common vnto Chriſt with other men, they are titles aboue the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Chriſt euen in that hee is man, but man with whome deitie is perſonally ioyned, and vnto whome it hath added thoſe excellencies which make him more then worthie thereof. Finally, ſith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himſelfe, yet by making it his owne inſeparable habitation, wee cannot now conceiue how God ſhould without man either [a] exerciſe diuine power, or receiue the glorie of diuine praiſe. For man is in [b] both an aſſociate of deitie. But to come to the grace of *vnction*, did the parts of our nature the ſoule and bodie of Chriſt receiue by the influence of deitie wherewith they were matcht no abilitie of operation, no vertue or qualitie aboue nature? Surely as the ſword which is made fierie, doth not onely cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſſe which ſimplie it hath, but alſo burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; ſo there is no doubt but the deitie of Chriſt hath inabled that nature which it tooke of man to doe more then man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare eſſentiall properties of deitie excepted) hee hath imparted vnto it all things, hee hath repleniſht it with all ſuch perfections as the ſame is any way apt to receiue, [c] at the leaſt according to the exigence of that œconomie or ſeruice for which it pleaſed him in loue and mercie to be made man. For as the partes degrees and offices of that myſticall adminiſtration did require which hee voluntarily vndertooke, the beames of deitie did in operation alwayes accordingly either [d] reſtrayne or enlarge themſelues. From hence wee may ſomewhat coniecture how the powers of that ſoule are illuminated, which beeing ſo inward vnto God cannot chooſe but be priuie vnto all things which God worketh, and muſt therefore of neceſſitie bee indued with knowledge ſo farre-forth [e] vniuerſall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to deitie it ſelfe. The ſoule of Chriſt that ſawe in this life the face of God, was heere through ſo viſible preſence of deitie filled with all manner [f] graces and vertues in that vnmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him wee reade it written, that God with the oyle of gladnes annointed [g] him [h] aboue his [i] fellowes. And as God hath in Chriſt vnſpeakeablie glorified the nobler, ſo likewiſe

[a] Μετέχειν ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. *Theod.*
[b] ἡ δεξιὰ τῆ θεῷ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἣ πῶς ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὕτη τὸν ἀναθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀναγαγοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. *Gregor. Nyſs. Apud Theod.*
Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκαθάρισεν ἑαυτῷ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. *Chryſ. in Pſal.41.*
[c] *Luc.2.47.*
[d] ὑσυχάζοντος μὲν τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ σωράζεσθαι καὶ σαυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένης δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ γνῶσιν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρησιμεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. *Theodoret. & Iren.lib.3.aduerſ.hereſ.*
Math.27.46.
[e] *Col.2.3.*
[f] *Iſa.11.2.*
[g] *Iſa.61.1. Luc.4.18. Act.4.27.*
[h] *Heb.1.9.*
[i] *2.Cor.1.21. 1.Iohn 2.20. 27.*

likewiſe the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily ſubſtance of man. Where alſo that muſt againe be remembred which we noted before concerning degrees of the influence of deitie proportionable vnto his owne purpoſes, intents and counſels. For in this reſpect his bodie which by naturall condition was corruptible wanted the gift of euerlaſting immunitie from death paſſion and diſſolution, till God which gaue it to be ſlaine for ſinne had for righteouſneſſe ſake reſtored it to life with certaintie of endleſſe continuance. Yea in this reſpect the very glorified body of Chriſt reteined in it [a] the skarres and marks of former mortalitie. But ſhall we ſay that in heauen his glorious body by vertue of the ſame cauſe hath now power to preſent it ſelfe in all places and to be euery where at once preſent? We nothing doubt but God hath many wayes aboue the reach of our capacities exalted that body which it hath pleaſed him to make his owne, that body wherewith he hath ſaued the world, that body which hath beene and is the roote of eternall life, the inſtrument wherewith deitie worketh, the ſacrifice which taketh away ſinne, the price which hath ranſomed ſoules from death, the leader of the whole armie of bodies that ſhall riſe againe. For though it had a beginning from vs, yet God hath giuen it vitall efficacie, heauen hath endowed it with celeſtiall power, that vertue it hath from aboue, in regard whereof all the Angels of heauen adore it. Notwithſtanding [b] a body ſtill it continueth, a body conſubſtantiall with our bodies, a bodie of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one ſumme all that hetherto hath beene ſpoken touching this point, there are but foure things which concurre to make complete the whole ſtate of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his deitie, his manhood, the coniunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being ioyned in one. Fower principall hereſies there are which haue in thoſe things withſtood the truth, *Arians* by bending themſelues againſt the deitie of Chriſt; *Apollinarians* by mayming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Neſtorians* by renting Chriſt aſunder, and deuiding him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches* by confounding in his perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there haue beene fower moſt famous auncient generall Councels, the Councell of *Nice* to define againſt *Arians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Councell of *Conſtantinople*, the Councell of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutichians* the *Calcedon* Councell. In fower words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indiuiſibly, diſtinctly*, the firſt applyed to his being God, and the ſecond to his being man, the third to his being of both one, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that one both, we may fully by way of abridgement compriſe whatſoeuer antiquitie hath at large handled either in declaration of Chriſtian beliefe, or in refutation of the foreſaid hereſies. Within the compaſſe of which fower heads, I may truly affirme, that all hereſies which touch but the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, whether they haue riſen in theſe later dayes, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facilitie brought to confine themſelues. Wee conclude therefore that to ſaue the world it was of neceſſitie the Sonne of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt as hath beene declared.

[a] *Iohn 20. 27.*

[b] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάςασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μένον, σῶμα δὲ ἡμῶν τὸν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφήν. *Theod. fol. 80.*

55 Hauing

Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery where, and in what ſenſe it may be graunted he is euery where preſent according to the fleſh.

55 Hauing thus farre proceeded in ſpeech concerning the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, his two natures, their coniunction, that which he either is or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiueth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Chriſt in vs is that receipt of the ſame medicine, whereby we are euery one particularly cured, in as much as Chriſts incarnation and paſſion can be auaileable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can we participate him without his preſence, we are briefely to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Chriſt both otherwiſe and in the Sacraments themſelues. All things are in ſuch ſort deuided into finite and infinite, that no one ſubſtance, nature or qualitie, can be poſſibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are ſtinted, all effects that proceede from them, all the powers and habilities whereby they worke, whatſoeuer they do, whatſoeuer they may, and whatſoeuer they are is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and alſo the preſeruation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe euery thing is for ſome end, neither can that thing be auaileable to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well exceſſes as defects are oppoſite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth periſh but only through exceſſe or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth giue pertection, it followeth that meaſure is likewiſe the preſeruation of all things. Out of which premiſes we may conclude not only that nothing created can poſſiblie be vnlimited, or can receiue any ſuch accident, qualitie or propertie as may reallie make it infinite (for then ſhould it ceaſe to be a creature) but alſo that euery creatures limitation is according to his owne kinde, and therefore as oft as wee note in them any thing aboue their kinde, it argueth that the ſame is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerfull then they are. Such as the ſubſtance of each thing is ſuch is alſo the preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is that [a] God ſhould withdrawe his preſence from any thing, becauſe the very ſubſtance of God is infinite. Hee filleth heauen and earth although hee take vp no roome in either, becauſe his ſubſtance is immateriall, pure, and of vs in this world ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit [b] no part of vs be euer abſent from him who is preſent whole vnto euerie particular thing, yet his preſence with vs wee no way diſcerne further then onely that God is preſent, which partly by reaſon, and more perfectly by faith we know to be firme and certaine. Seeing therefore that preſence euery where is the ſequele of an infinite and incomprehenſible ſubſtance, (for what can be euerie where but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire whether Chriſt be euerie where is to inquire of a naturall propertie, a propertie that cleaueth to the Deitie of Chriſt. Which deitie being common vnto him with none but only the Father and the holie Ghoſt, it followeth that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the ſoule nor the bodie of Chriſt, and conſequentlie not Chriſt as man, or Chriſt according to his humane nature can poſſibly be euery where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of limitation and reſtraint doe either point out the principall ſubiect whereunto euery ſuch attribute adhereth,

a *Pſal.*139.7.8. *Ierem.*23.24.

b *Ideo Deus vbique eſſe dicitur quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus quia non parti rerum partem ſui præſentem præbet, & alteri parti alteram partem, ſed non ſolum vniuerſitati creaturæ verumetiam cuilibet parti eius totus pariter adeſt.* Auguſt. Epiſt.57.

or

or elſe they intimate the radicall cauſe out of which it groweth. For example, when wee ſay that Chriſt as man, or according to his humane nature ſuffered death, wee ſhew what nature was the proper ſubiect of mortalitie; when wee ſay that as God or according to his deitie hee conquered death, wee declare his deitie to haue beene the cauſe, by force and vertue whereof hee rayſed himſelfe from the graue. But neither is the manhood of Chriſt that ſubiect whereunto vniuerſall preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe originall by force whereof his perſon is inabled to be euery where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentiallie preſent with all things, in that hee is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe manhood and the partes thereof can neither be the cauſe nor the true ſubiect of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainly to ſhew a true immediate reaſon wherfore the manhood of Chriſt can neither bee euery where preſent, nor cauſe the perſon of Chriſt ſo to bee, we acknowledge that of Saint *Auguſtine* concerning Chriſt moſt true, [a] *In that he is perſonally the word hee created all things, in that hee is naturally man hee himſelfe is created of God*, and it doth not appeare that any one creature hath power to bee preſent with all creatures. Whereupon, neuertheleſſe it will not follow that Chriſt cannot therfore be thus preſent, becauſe he is himſelfe a creature, for as much as onely infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſiblie ſtand with the eſſence or being of any creature, as for preſence with all things that are, ſith the whole race, maſſe, and body of them is finite, Chriſt by being a *creature* is not *in that reſpect* excluded from poſſibilitie of preſence with them. That which excludeth him therefore as man from ſo great largneſſe of preſence, is only his being *man*, a creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of nature hath ſet thoſe boundes of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute vnto it any thing more then a creature *of that ſort* can admit, were to giue it an other nature, to make it a creature of ſome other kinde then in truth it is. Furthermore if Chriſt in that he is man be euery where preſent, ſeeing this commeth not by the nature of manhood it ſelfe, there is no other way how it ſhould grow but either by the grace of vnion with deitie, or by the grace of vnction receiued from deitie. It hath beene alreadie ſufficiently prooued that by force of vnion the properties of both natures are imparted *to the perſon only* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conueyed or tranſlated into the other; it hath beene likewiſe prooued that natures vnited in Chriſt continue the very ſame which they are where they are not vnited. And concerning the grace of vnction, wherein are conteyned the gifts and vertues which Chriſt as man hath aboue men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent then we are, they take not from him the nature and ſubſtance that wee haue, they cauſe not his ſoule nor bodie to bee of an other kinde then ours is. Supernaturall endowments are an aduancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that nature whereto they are giuen. The ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt hath no preſence, neither can haue but onely locall. It was not therfore euery where ſeene nor did it euery where ſuffer death, euery where it could not be intombed, it is not euery where now being exalted into heauen. There is no prooſe in the world ſtrong to inforce that Chriſt had a true bodie but by the true and naturall properties of his bodie. Amongſt which proper-

[a] *Quod ad verbum attinet, creator eſt, quod ad hominem creatura eſt.* Aug. Epiſt. 57. *Deus qui ſemper eſt & ſemper erat fit creatura.* Leo de Natiu. *Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere compellantur. Non proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere Chriſtum eſſe creaturam.* Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Eph. 3

ties, definite or locall preſence is chiefe, [a] *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſayth Tertullian) *that he dyed, was buried, and roſe againe, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature whereof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with bloud, ſupported with bones, wouen with ſinews, imbrodered with veines?* If his Maieſticall body haue now any ſuch new property, by force whereof it may euery where really euen *in ſubſtance* preſent it ſelfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Maieſtie of his eſtate extinguiſht the veritie of his nature. [b] *Make thou no doubt or queſtion of it* (ſaith S. Auguſtine) *but that the man Chriſt Ieſus is now in that very place from whence he ſhall come in the ſame forme and ſubſtance of fleſh, which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but giuen thereunto immortalitie. According to this forme he ſpreadeth not out himſelfe into all places. For it behoueth vs to take great heed, leaſt while we goe about to maintaine the glorious deitie of him which is man, we leaue him not the true bodily ſubſtance of a man* According to Saint *Auguſtines* opinion therefore that Maieſticall body which wee make to be euery where preſent, doth thereby ceaſe to haue the ſubſtance of a true bodie. To conclude, wee hold it in regard of the fore-alleaged proofes a moſt infallible truth that Chriſt as man is not euery where preſent. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Chriſt is euery where preſent as man, which peraduenture in ſome ſenſe may be wel enough granted. His humane ſubſtance in it ſelfe is naturally abſent from the earth, his ſoule and body not on earth but in heauen only. Yet becauſe this ſubſtance is inſeparably ioyned to that perſonall word which by his very diuine eſſence is preſent with all things, the nature which cannot haue in it ſelfe vniuerſall preſence, hath it *after a ſort* by being *no where ſeuered* from that which euery where is preſent. For in as much as that infinite word is not diuiſible into partes, it could not in part but muſt needes be wholy incarnate, and conſequently whereſoeuer the word is, it hath with it manhood, elſe ſhould the word be in part or ſomewhere God only, and not man which is impoſſible. For the *perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God and perfect man whereſoeuer, although the partes of his manhood being finite, and his deitie infinite, we cannot ſay that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimplie euery where, as we may ſay that his deitie is, and that his perſon is by force of deitie. For *ſomewhat of the perſon* of Chriſt is not euery where in that ſort, namely his manhood, the *only coniunction* whereof with deitie is extended as farre as deitie, the actuall *poſition* reſtrained and tied to a certaine place, yet preſence *by way of coniunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Againe, as the manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort bee euerie where ſayd to be preſent, becauſe that perſon is euery where preſent, from whoſe diuine ſubſtance manhood no where is ſeuered: ſo the ſame vniuerſalitie of preſence may likewiſe ſeeme in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely; by *cooperation* with deitie, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by it ſelfe illuminate the world, but after that the Sunne and Moone were created, the world ſithence hath *by them* allwayes enioyed the ſame. And that deitie of Chriſt which before our Lords incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now worke nothing wherein the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt as man hath [c] all power both in heauen and earth giuen him. He hath as man not as God only [d] ſupreme dominion ouer quicke and dead, for ſo much his aſcenſion

into

a *Tertul de car. Chriſt.*

b *Auguſt. Ep. 57*

c *Matth. 28.*

d *Rom. 14. 8.*

into heauen and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God doe import. The Sonne of God which did firſt humble himſelfe by taking our fleſh vpon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the fleſh obedient ſo farre as to ſuffer death euen the death of the croſſe for all men becauſe ſuch was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of deitie, the later an humiliation of manhood, [a] for which cauſe there followed vpon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, for with power he created the world, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth, ſo God hath glorified in heauen that nature which yeelded him obedience, and hath giuen vnto Chriſt euen in that he is man ſuch fulneſſe of power ouer the whole world, that hee which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humilitie and patience what ſoeuer God did require, doth now [b] raigne in glory till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came downe from heauen, and deſcended into the loweſt partes of the earth, is aſcended farre aboue all heauens, that ſitting at the right hand of God he might from thence fil all things with the gracious and happy fruites of his ſauing preſence. Aſcenſion into heauen is a plaine locall tranſlation of Chriſt according to his manhood from the lower to the higher partes of the world. Seſſion at the right hand of God is the actuall exerciſe of that regencie and dominion wherein the manhood of Chriſt is ioyned and matched with the deitie of the Sonne of God. Not that his manhood was before without the poſſeſſion of the ſame power, but becauſe the full vſe thereof was ſuſpended til that humilitie which had beene before as a vaile to hide and conceale maieſtie were layd aſide. [c] After his riſing againe from the dead then did God ſet him at his right hand in heauenly places farre aboue all principalitie and power, and might, and domination, and euery name that is named not in this world only but alſo in that which is to come, and hath [d] put al things vnder his feet, and hath appointed him ouer all the head to the Church which is his body, the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all. The [e] ſcepter of which ſpiritual regiment ouer vs in this preſent world is at the length to be yeelded vp into the hands of the Father which gaue it, that is to ſay, the vſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to gouerne. This gouernment therefore hee exerciſeth both as God and as man, as God by eſſentiall preſence with all things, as man by cooperation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how hee worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the ſoule of man are the will and vnderſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth vnto all things, and from the other nothing wich deitie doth worke is hid, ſo that by knowledge and aſſent the ſoule of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the deitie of Chriſt worketh. And euen the body of Chriſt it ſelfe, although the definite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kinde of infinite and vnlimited preſence likewiſe. For his body being a part of that nature which whole nature is preſently ioyned vnto deitie whereſoeuer deitie is, it followeth that his bodily ſubſtance hath euery where a preſence of true coniunction with deitie. And for as much as it is by vertue of that coniunction made the body of the Sonne of God, by whom alſo it was made a ſacrifice for the ſin of the whole world, this giueth it a *preſence of force and efficacie* throughout all generations of men. Al-

[a] *Phil.2.9. Heb.2.9. Reuel.5.12.*

[b] *Luc.24.27. Act.3.21. Epheſ.4.9.*

[c] *Epheſ.1.20.*

[d] *Pſal.8.6. Heb.2.8.*

[e] *1.Cor.15.*

beit therefore nothing be *actuallie* infinite *in subsistente* but God only in that he is God, neuertheleſſe as euery number is infinite by poſſibilitie of addition, and euery line by poſſibilitie of extenſion infinite, ſo there is no ſtint which can be ſet to the value or merite of the ſacrificed body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limites, boundes of efficacie vnto life it knoweth none, but is alſo it ſelfe infinite in *poſsibilitie of application*. Which things indifferently euery way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the world, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret he doth performe both as God by eſſentiall preſence of deitie, and as man in that order, ſenſe and meaning which hath bene ſhewed.

The vnion or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.

56 We haue hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Chriſt hath of vs, and wee of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpeciall intereſt, propertie, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof we may from that which hath bene before ſufficiently proued, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two principles, that *euery originall cauſe impartеth it ſelfe vnto thoſe things which come of it*, and *what ſoeuer taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giueth it being*. It followeth hereupon, that the Sonne of God being light of light, muſt needes be alſo light [a] in light. The perſons of the Godhead, by reaſon of the vnitie of their ſubſtance, doe as neceſſarily remaine one within an other, as they are of neceſſitie to be diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the offspring of the other two, onely of three one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiuiſible eſſence or ſubſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſiblie admit ſeperation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarilie* by it ſelfe which hath no ſubſtance but *indiuiduallie* the very ſame whereby others ſubſiſt with it, ſeeing that the multiplication of ſubſtances *in particular* is neceſſarily required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt apart, which haue the ſelfeſame generall nature, and the perſons of that Trinitie are not three particular ſubſtances to whome one *generall* nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance, *which it ſelfe is particular*, yet they all three haue it, and their ſeuerall wayes of hauing it are that which maketh their perſonall diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt offspring which is the Sonne, remaineth eternallie in the Father; the Father eternallie alſo in the Sonne, no way ſeuered or diuided by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle vnitie of their ſubſtance. The Sonne in the Father as light in that light, out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which cauſeth and leaueth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternall being is of the Father, which eternall being is his life, therefore hee by the Father liueth. Againe, ſith all things doe accordingly loue their offspring as themſelues are more or leſſe conteined in it, he which is thus the onely begotten, muſt needes be in this degree the onely beloued of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternall deriuation of being and life from him, muſt needes be

[a] In the boſome of the Father. *Ioh.* 1. 18. *Ecce dico alium eſſe patrem & alium filium; non diuiſione alium ſed diſtinctione.* Tertull. Cont. Prax. *Nec in numerum plu-ralem deſſuit incorporea generatio, nec in diuiſionem cadit, vbi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur.* Ruſin. in Symbol.

bee in him through an eternall affection of loue. His incarnation cauſeth him alſo as man to bee now in the Father, and the Father to bee in him.. For in that hee is man, hee receiueth life from the Father as from the fountaine of that euerliuing deitie, which in the perſon of the word hath combined it ſelfe with manhoode, and doth thereunto impart ſuch life as to no other creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe the [a] loue of the Father towardes him is more then it can bee towardes any other, neither can any attaine vnto that perfection of loue which he beareth towardes his heauenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God as Chriſt, whether wee conſider him as the perſonall word of God, or as the naturall ſonne of man. All other things that are of God haue God in them and bee them in himſelfe likewiſe. Yet becauſe their ſubſtance and his wholy differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongſt themſelues is in no ſort like vnto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very eſſence of all things, without which influence of deitie ſupporting them their vtter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things haue both receiued their firſt being and their continuance to bee that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offſpring, his influence is in them, and the perſonall wiſedome of God is for that very cauſe ſayd to excell in nimbleneſſe or agilitie, to [b] pearce into all intellectuall, pure and ſubtile ſpirites, to goe through all, and to reach vnto euerie thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame wiſedome bee that which ſupporteth, [c] beareth vp, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoeuer God doth worke, the handes of all three perſons are ioyntlie and equallie in it according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend vpon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father bee firſt, the Sonne next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequentlie neareſt vnto euery effect which groweth from all three, neuertheleſſe, they all being of one eſſence, are likewiſe all of one efficacie. Dare any man vnleſſe hee bee ignorant altogether how inſeperable the perſons of the Trinitie are, perſwade himſelfe that euery of them may haue their ſole and ſeuerall poſſeſſions, or that [d] wee being not partakers of all, can haue fellowſhip with any one? The Father as goodneſſe, the Sonne as wiſedome, the Holie Ghoſt as power doe all concurre in euery particular, outwardlie iſſuing from that one onely glorious deitie which they all are. For that which mooueth God to worke is goodneſſe, and that which ordereth his worke is wiſedome, and that which perfecteth his worke is power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought foorth were eternally and before all times in God as a worke vnbegun is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it vnto effect. Therefore whatſoeuer wee doe behold now in this preſent world, it was inwrapped within the bowels of diuine mercy, written in the Booke of eternall wiſedome, and held in the handes of omnipotent power, the firſt foundation of the world being as yet vnlayd. So that all things which God hath made are in that reſpect the [e] offſpring of God, they are in him as effects in their higheſt cauſe, hee likewiſe actuallie is in them, the aſſiſtance and influence of his deitie is their life. Let hereunto ſauing efficacie bee added, and it bringeth foorth a ſpe-

a *Luk.3.22. Joh.3.34.35. 5.20.10.17. 14.31.15.10.*

b *Sap.7.23.*

c *Heb.1.3.*

d *Joh.14.23.*

e *Act.17.28.29. Iob.1.4.1.10. Iſa.40.26.*

ciall offspring amongſt men, containing them to whome God hath himſelfe giuen the gracious and amiable name of [a] ſonnes. We are by nature the ſonnes of Adam. When God created Adam hee created vs, and as many as are deſcended from Adam haue in themſelues the roote out of which they ſpring The ſonnes of God wee neither are all nor any one of vs otherwiſe then only by grace and fauour. The ſonnes of God haue Gods owne naturall Sonne as a [b] ſecond Adam from heauen, whoſe race and progenie they are by ſpirituall and heauenly birth. God therefore louing eternally his Sonne, he muſt needes eternally [c] in him haue loued and preferred before all others them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Sauiour, and not as in their creator onely. It was the purpoſe of his *ſauing* goodnes, his *ſauing* wiſedome, and his *ſauing* power which inclineth it ſelfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, haue by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the worke which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originallie from the Father, and commeth not to vs but [d] by the Sonne, nor by the Sonne to anye of vs in particular but * through the Spirite. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of Corinth [e] the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the fellowſhip of the holie Ghoſt. Which three S. Peter comprehendeth in one, [f] the *participation of diuine nature*. We are therefore in God through Chriſt eternally according to that intent and purpoſe, whereby we were choſen to be made his in this preſent world before the world it ſelfe was made, wee are in God through the knowledge which is had of vs, and the loue which is borne towards vs from euerlaſting. But in God wee actually are no longer then onely from the time of our actuall adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowſhip of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loueth, ſo that they which are in the Church are thereby knowne to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by eternall foreknowledge ſaueth vs not without our actuall and reall adoption into the fellowſhip of his Saincts in this preſent world. For in him wee actually are by our actuall [g] incorporation into that ſocietie which hath him for their head; and doth make together with him one bodie (he and they in that reſpect hauing [h] one name) for which cauſe by vertue of this myſticall coniunction, we are of him and in him euen [i] as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould be made continuate with his. We are in Chriſt becauſe he [k] knoweth and loueth vs euen as parts of himſelfe. No man actually is in him but they [l] in whome he actually is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God hath not life, [m] I am the Vine, and you are the branches: He which abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruite, but the branch ſeuered from the vine withereth. We are therefore adopted ſonnes of God to eternall life by participation of the onely begotten Sonne of God, whoſe life is in the [n] welſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too colde an interpretation, whereby ſome men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but onely that the ſelfeſame nature which maketh vs to be men, is in him, and maketh him man as wee are.

For

a 1. *Iohn* 3.1.
b 1. *Cor.* 15.47.
c *Ephe.* 1.3.4.
d 1. *Iohn* 5.11.
* *Rom.* 8.10.
e 2. *Cor.* 13.13.
f 2. *Pet.* 1.4.
g *Col.* 2.10.
h 1. *Cor.* 12.12.
i *Ephe.* 5.30.
k *Iohn* 15.9.
l *Iohn* 5.12.
m *Iohn* 15. 5.6.
n *Iohn* 14.19. *Ephe.* 5.23.

For what man in the world is there which hath not ſo farre-forth communion with Ieſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtaine the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeake of the myſterie of our [a] coherence with Ieſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt as Eue was in Adam. Yea by grace wee are euery of vs in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature we are in thoſe our firſt parentes. God made Eue of the rib of Adam. And his Church he frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Sonne of man. His bodie crucified and his bloud ſhed for the life of the world, are the true element of that heauenly being, which maketh vs [b] ſuch as himſelfe is of whome we come. For which cauſe the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bones*, a true nature extract out of mine owne bodie. So that in him euen according to his manhood, wee according to our heauenly beeing are as branches in that roote out of which they growe. To [c] all things hee is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light, [d] eternall by being made the ſonne of man for vs, and by being in vs a Sauiour, whether wee reſpect him as God, or as man. Adam is in vs as an originall cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which cauſeth death, Chriſt as the [e] cauſe originall of reſtauration to life; the perſon of Adam is not in vs but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriueth into all men by propagation, Chriſt hauing Adams nature as we haue, but incorrupt, deriueth not nature but incorruption, and that immediatly from his owne perſon into all that belong vnto him. As therefore we are reallie partakers of the bodie of ſinne and death receiued from Adam, ſo except we be truly partakers of Chriſt, and as reallie poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all we ſpeake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which [f] quickneth vs is the Spirit of the ſecond Adam, and his fleſh that wherewith hee quickneth. That which in him made our nature vncorrupt, was the vnion of his deitie with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation which onely taketh hold vpon ſinfull fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend vnto him. This cauſed his voluntarie death for others to preuaile with God, and to haue the force of an expiatorie ſacrifice. The bloud of Chriſt as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſinne, becauſe [g] *through the eternall ſpirit he offereth himſelfe vnto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice auaileable to take away ſinne, is the ſame which quickneth it, raiſed it out of the graue after death, and exalted it vnto glorie. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in vs as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of Communion with Chriſt muſt needes conſiſt in the participation of his ſpirit, which Cyprian in that reſpect well termeth [h] *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſocietie that can be betweene man and him which is both God and man in one. Theſe things [i] S. Cyrill duely conſidering, reproueth their ſpeeches, which taught that onely the deitie of Chriſt is the vine whereupon we by faith doe depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any man doubt but that euen from the fleſh of Chriſt our very bodies doe receiue that life which ſhall make them glorious at the later

a *Ioh.14.20. Iohn 15.4.*

b *1.Cor.15.48.*

c *Iohn 1.*

d *Iohn 6.57.*

e *Heb.5.9.*

f *1.Cor.15.45. 22.*

g *Heb.9.4.*

h *Cypr. de cœna Dom.cap.6.*

i *Cyril.in Ioh. lib.10.cap.13.*

later day, and for which they are alreadie accompted partes of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they shall liue, were it not that heere they are ioyned with his bodie which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortalitie, a cause by remouing through the death and merit of his owne flesh that which hindred the life of ours. Christ is therefore both as God and as man, that true Vine whereof wee both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient [a] Fathers disclaime. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they [b] speake of, to signifie what our very bodies through mysticall coniunction receiue from that vitall efficacy which we know to be in his, and from bodily mixtures they borrow diuers [c] similitudes rather to declare the truth, then the manner of coherence betweene his sacred and the sanctified bodies of Saints. Thus much no Christian man will denie, that when Christ sanctified his owne flesh, giuing as God and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himselfe only but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life which was first receiued in him might passe from him to his whole race as malediction came from *Adam* vnto all mankinde. Howbeit, because the worke of his Spirit to those effects is in vs preuented by sinne and death possessing vs before, it is of necessitie that as well our present sanctification vnto newnesse of life, as the future restauration of our bodies should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacie, merit or vertue of his bodie and bloud, without which foundation first layd there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainely himselfe by degrees. It pleaseth him in mercie to accompte himselfe incomplete and maimed [d] without vs. But most assured wee are that wee all receiue of his fulnesse, because he is in vs as a mouing and working cause, from which many blessed effects are reallie found to ensue, and that in sundry both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternall happinesse. It must bee confest that of Christ, working as a Creator, and a gouernour of the world by prouidence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby hee inhabiteth whom he saueth. Againe, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth hee equally worke in all them in whom hee dwelleth [e] *Whence it is* (sayth Saint *Augustine*) *that some be holier then others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully then in others?* And because the diuine substance of Christ is equally in all, his humane substance equallie distant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Christ wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needes consist in such effects as being deriued from both natures of Christ really into vs, are made our owne, and wee by hauing them in vs are truely sayde to haue him from whom they come, Christ also more or lesse to inhabit and impart himselfe as the graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which reallie flow into vs from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with euery part of the Church, as touching his person which can no way diuide it selfe,

a *Nostra quippe & ipsius coniunctio nec miscet personas nec vnit substantias, sed affectum consociat & confederat voluntates.* Cipria. de cæn Dom. b *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & sanguine alitur?* Iræ. lib. 4. aduers. hæres. cap. 34. c *Vnde consideranda est non solum ἕνωσις seu cum formitate affectionum Christum in nobis esse, verumetiam participatione naturali (id est reali & vera) quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram aly ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit vt vnum quid ex vtriusque factum videatur, sic communicatione corporis & sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est & nos in ipso.* Cyrill in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13.

d *Ephe. 1. 23. Ecclesia complementum eius qui implet omnia in omnibus.* τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

e *Aug. Epist. 57*

selfe or be possest by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christs person, and besides the mysticall copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actuall influence of grace whereby the [a] life which we liue according to godlines liue, and from him we receiue those perfections wherein our eternall happines consisteth. Thus we participate Christ partly by imputation, as when [b] those things which he did and suffered for vs are imputed vnto vs for righteousnesse, partly by habituall and reall infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our soules and bodies made like vnto his in glorie. The first thing of his so infused into our harts in this life is the [c] Spirit of Christ, whereupon because the rest of what kinde so euer doe all both necessarilie depende and infalliblie also insue, therefore the Apostles terme it sometimes [d] the seede of God, sometime the [e] pledge of our heauenly inheritance, sometime the [f] hansell or earnest of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the mysticall bodie of our Sauiour Christ, and be in number as the starres of heauen, diuided successiuely by reason of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled [g] euery one to Christ their head, and [h] all vnto euery particular person amongst themselues, in as much as the same Spirit, which annointed the blessed soule of our Sauiour Christ, doth so formalize, vnite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limmes compacted into one body, by being quickned al with one & the same soule. That wherein we are partakers of Iesus Christ by imputation, agreeth equallie vnto all that haue it. For it consisteth in such acts and deedes of his as could not haue longer continuance then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong vnto any other but to him from whome they come, and therefore how men either then or before or sithence should be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Againe, a deede must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is, or if at all it be imputed, they which haue it by imputation must haue it such as it is whol. So that degrees being neither in the personal presence of Christ, nor in the participation of those effects which are ours by imputation only, it resteth that we wholy apply them to the participation of Christs infused grace, although euen in this kinde also the first beginning of life, the seede of God, the first fruites of Christs Spirit be without latitude. For we haue hereby onely the being of the Sonnes of God, in which number how farre soeuer one may seeme to excell an other, yet touching this that all are sonnes, they are all equals, some happily better sonnes then the rest are, but none any more a sonne then another. Thus therefore we see how the Father is in the Sonne, and the Son in the Father, how they both are in all things, & all things in them, what communion Christ hath with his Church and euery member thereof, is in him by originall deriuation, and he personally in them by way of mysticall association wrought through the gift of the holy Ghost, which they that are his, receiue from him, and together with the same, what benefit soeuer the vitall force of his body and bloud may yeeld, yea by steps and degrees they receiue the complete measure of al such diuine grace, as doth sanctifie and saue throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a state of fellowship in glorie with him

a Gal.2.20.
b Esa.53.5. Ephe.1.7.
c Rom.8.9. Gal.4.6.
d 1.Ioh.3.9.
e Eph.1 14.
f Rom.8.23.
g 1.Cor.12.27. Ephes.4.15.
h Rom.12.5 Ephes.4.25.

him whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glorie. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we haue of Christ includeth no such kinde of grosse surmise.

The necessitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Christ.

57 It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the vse of the holie Sacraments, assigne vnto them no ende but onely *to teach* the minde, by other senses, that which the word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and carelesse regard of so heauenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whome that opinion is most strong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we haue to learne, if all the benefits we reape by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times haue opportunitie of vsing the better meanes to that purpose, will surely hold the worse in lesse estimation. And vnto infants which are not capable of instruction, who would not thinke a meere superfluitie that any Sacrament is administred, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach receiuers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore vndoubtedly some other more excellent and heauenly vse. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diuersly interpreted and disputed of then any other part of religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfesame thing, as euery mans wit hath taken hold of some especiall consideration aboue the rest, so they haue accordingly seemed one to crosse another as touching their seuerall opinions about the necessitie of Sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the dutie which euery communicant doth vndertake, and we may well determine concerning the vse of Sacraments, that they serue as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of christian charity, prouocations to godlines, preseruations from sinne, memorials of the principall benefits of Christ, respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for euer vnto the new Testament, as other rites were before with the old; regard the weakenes which is in vs, and they are warrants for the more securitie of our beliefe; compare the receiuers of them with such as receiue them not, and Sacraments are markes of distinction to seperate Gods owne from strangers, so that in all these respects they are found to be most necessarie. But their chiefest force and vertue consisteth not herein so much as in that they are heauenly Ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordeined to be administred in his Church, first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vitall or sauing grace of Christ vnto all that are capable thereof, and secondly as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them vnto whome he importeth grace. For sith God in himselfe is inuisible, and cannot by vs be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heauenly wisdome, that men for some speciall intent and purpose should take notize of his glorious presence, he giueth them some plaine and sensib'e token whereby to know what they cannot see. For Moses to see God and liue was impossible, yet [a] Moses by fire knew where the glorie of God extraordinarily was present. The [b] Angell, by whom God indued the waters of the poole called *Bethesda* with supernatural vertue to heale, was not seene of any, yet the time of the Angels presence knowne by the troubled

a *Exod.3.2.*

b *Ioh.5.4.*

troubled motions of the waters themſelues. The Apoſtles [a] by fierie tongues which they ſaw, were admoniſhed when the ſpirit, which they could not behold, was vpon them. In like manner it is with vs. Chriſt and his holy Spirit with all their bleſſed effects, though entring into the ſoule of man wee are not able to apprehend or expreſſe how, do notwithſtanding giue notize of the times when they vſe to make their exceſſe, becauſe it pleaſeth Almightie God to communicate by ſenſible meanes thoſe bleſſings which are incomprehenſible. Seeing therefore that grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiued from God himſelfe the author of Sacraments, and not from any other naturall or ſupernaturall quality in them, it may be hereby both vnderſtood that Sacraments are neceſſarie, and that the manner of their neceſſitie to life ſupernaturall is not in all reſpects as foode vnto naturall life, becauſe they containe *in themſelues* no vitall force or efficacie, they are not phyſicall but *morall inſtruments* of ſaluation, duties of ſeruice and worſhip, which vnleſſe we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable. For all receiue not the grace of God which receiue the ſacrament of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to beſtow the grace of ſacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace alſo they that receiue by ſacraments or with ſacrament, receiue it from him & not from them. For of Sacraments the very ſame is true which Salomons wiſdome obſerueth in the braſen Serpent: [b] *Hee that turneth towards it was not healed by the thing he ſawe, but by thee ô Sauiour of all.* This is therefore the neceſſitie of ſacraments. That ſauing grace which Chriſt originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by ſacraments he ſeuerally deriueth into euery member thereof. Sacraments ſerue as the inſtruments of God to that end and purpoſe, morall inſtruments the vſe whereof is in our hands the effect in his; for the vſe we haue his expreſſe commandement, for the effect his conditionall promiſe; ſo that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant aſſurance, as contrarywiſe where the ſignes and ſacraments of his grace are not either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really giue what they promiſe, and are what they ſignifie. For we take not baptiſme nor the Euchariſt for bare *reſemblances* or memorials of things abſent, neither for *naked ſignes* and teſtimonies aſſuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for meanes effectuall, whereby God when we take the ſacraments deliuereth into our hands that grace auailable vnto eternall life, which grace the ſacraments [c] repreſent or ſignifie. Ther haue grown in the doctrin cõcerning ſacramẽts many difficulties for want of diſtinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong vnto each ſacrament. For by this it hath come to paſſe, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſme, and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſarie, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denyed but ſundry the ſame effects and benefits which grow vnto men by the one Sacrament may rightly be attributed vnto the other. Yet then doth baptiſme chalenge to it ſelfe but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receiue Chriſt Ieſus in baptiſme once as the firſt beginner, in the Euchariſt often as being by continuall degrees the finiſher of our life. By baptiſme therefore we receiue Chriſt Ieſus,

b Wiſd. 16.17. *Spiritus Sancti minus eſt gratiam implere myſterij.* Ambr. in Luc. cap. 3. *Sanctificatis elementis effectum, non propria ipſorum natura præbet, ſed virtutis diuinæ potentius operatur.* Cypr. de Chriſm.

c *Dum homini bonum inuiſibile redditur, foris ei eiuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur, vt foris excitetur & intus reparetur. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicinæ.* Hugo de Sacram. li 1. ca. 3. *Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratiæ ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa ægrotum non curant ſed medicina.* Idem li. 1. ca. 4.

Chriſt Ieſus, and from him that ſauing grace which is proper vnto baptiſme. By the other ſacrament wee receiue him alſo, imparting therein himſelfe and that grace which the Euchariſt properly beſtoweth. So that each ſacrament hauing both that which is generall or common, and that alſo which is peculiar vnto it ſelfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Chriſt, which properly belongeth to any one ſacrament, is not otherwiſe to be obteined but by the ſacrament whereunto it is proper.

The ſubſtance of Baptiſme, the rites or ſolemnities thereunto belonging, and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.

58 Now euen as the ſoule doth organize the bodie, and giue vnto euery member thereof that ſubſtance, quantitie and ſhape which nature ſeeth moſt expedient, ſo the inward grace of ſacraments may teach what ſerueth beſt for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Chriſtian religion, much leſſe here to be neglected. Grace intended by ſacraments was a cauſe of the choice, and is a reaſon of the fitnes of the elements themſelues. Furthermore, ſeeing that the grace which here we receiue, doth no way depend vpon the natural force of that which we preſently behold, it was of neceſſitie that words of expreſſe declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himſelfe ſhould be added vnto viſible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other doe moſt aſſuredly bring to paſſe. In writing and ſpeaking of the bleſſed Sacrament we [a] vſe for the moſt part vnder the name of their *ſubſtance* not onely to compriſe that whereof they outwardly and ſenſiblie conſiſt, but alſo the ſecret grace which they ſignifie and exhibit. This is the reaſon wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or ſtricter to abridge the number of ſacraments, we finde grace expreſly mentioned as their true eſſentiall forme; elements as the matter whereunto that forme doth adioyne it ſelfe. But if that be ſeperated which is ſecret, and that conſidered alone which is ſeene, as of neceſſitie it muſt in all thoſe ſpeeches that make diſtinction of ſacraments frō ſacramental grace, the name of a ſacrament in ſuch ſpeeches can imply no more then what the *outward ſubſtance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward ſubſtance of a ſacrament, there is required an outward forme, which from ſacramentall elements receiue from ſacramentall words. Hereupon it groweth that many [c] times there are three things ſaid to make vp the ſubſtance of a Sacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which ſhadoweth or ſignifieth grace, and the word which expreſſeth what is done by the element. So that whether we conſider the outward by it ſelfe alone, or both the outward and inward ſubſtance of any Sacraments, there are in the one reſpect but two eſſentiall parts, and in the other but three that concurre to giue Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, becauſe definitions are to expreſſe but the moſt immediat and neereſt parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off although not ſpecified in defining, are notwithſtanding in nature implyed and preſuppoſed, we muſt note that in as much as ſacraments are actions religious and myſticall, which nature they haue not vnleſſe they proceede from a ſerious meaning; and what euery mans priuate

a *Euchariſtia duabus ex rebus conſtat terrena & celeſti.* Irenæ. aduerſ. hæreſ. li. 4. c. 34. *Arcanarum rerum ſymbola non nudis ſignis, ſed ſignis ſimul & rebus conſtant.* Heluet. confeſ. prior. Art. 2.

b *Sacramentum eſt cum res geſta viſibilis longe aliud inuiſibile intus operatur,* Iſidor Etymol. lib. 1. *Sacramentum eſt per quod ſub tegumento rerum viſibilium diuina virtus ſalutem ſecretius operatur.* Gregor. Mag. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum ſignificans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum.* Occa. ſent. lib. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum proprie non eſt ſignum cuiuſlibet rei ſacræ, ſed tantum rei ſacræ ſanctificantis homines.* Th. 1 2. q. 101. 4. & q. 102. 5. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum paſſionis Chriſti, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo eſt commemoratio præteriti, demonſtratio præſentis, & prognoſticon futuri.* Th. 3. q. 60. 3. *Sacramenta ſunt ſigna & ſymbola viſibilia rerum inuiſibilium, per quæ, ſeu per media Deus virtute ſpiritus ſancti in nobis agit.* Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Idem Bœm confeſſ. ca. 11.

c *Sacramenta conſtant verbo, ſignis, & rebus ſignificatis.* Confeſſ. Heluet. poſt. cap. 19.

uate minde is, as we cannot know, ſo neither are we bound to examine, therefore alwayes in theſe caſes the knowne intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, and where the contrary is not [a] manifeſt, we may preſume that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other orders, rites, prayers, leſſons, ſermons, actions, and their circumſtances whatſoeuer they are to the outward ſubſtance of baptiſme but things acceſſorie, which the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principall: Againe, conſidering that ſuch ordinances haue beene made to adorne the ſacrament, [b] not the ſacrament to depend on them; ſeeing alſo that they are not of the ſubſtance of baptiſme, and that baptiſme is farre more neceſſarie then any ſuch incident rite or ſolemnitie ordeined for the better adminiſtration thereof, [c] if the caſe be ſuch as permitteth not baptiſme to haue the decent complements of baptiſme, better it were to inioy the body without his furniture, then to wait for this till the opportunitie of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which premiſſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to haue beene no abſurd collection, that in caſes of neceſſitie which will not ſuffer delay till baptiſme be adminiſtred with vſuall ſolemnities (to ſpeake the leaſt) it may be tollerably giuen without them, rather then any man without it ſhould be ſuffered to depart this life.

a *Si aliud miniſtri agere intendant, putà ſacrũ illudere myſterys, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat nihil agitur. Sine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exercers quidem poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt.* Lancel. inſt. iur. canon. li. 2. tit. 2. §. hoc tamen.

b *Acceſſorium non regulat principale ſed ab eo regulatur* 42. de regul. iur. in Sext. l. 3. *ff quod iuſſu.*

c *Eſt nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolemnibus, tamen vbi aqua deeſt euidens poſcit ſubueniendum eſt.* lib. 185 de reg iur.

59 They which denye that any ſuch caſe of neceſſitie can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate baptiſme, without the decent rites and ſolemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations haue riſen from a falſe interpretation which *certaine men* haue made of the ſcripture, grounding a neceſſitie of externall baptiſme vpon the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen.* For by *water and the Spirit* wee are in that place to vnderſtand (as they imagin) no more then if the Spirit alone had bin mentioned, and water not ſpoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, becauſe elſewhere it is not improbable that *the holie Ghoſt and fire* do but ſignifie the holie Ghoſt in operation reſembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing fire in one place may be, therefore water in an other place is but a metaphor, Spirit the interpretation thereof, and ſo the words do only meane, that vnleſſe a man be borne againe of the Spirit, he can not enter into the kingdome of heauen. I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in expoſitions of ſacred ſcripture, that where a litterall conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding arte, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would do the ſubſtance of metrals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howſoeuer ſuch voluntarie exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe, yet in places which vſually ſerue, as this doth concerning regeneration by water and the

The ground in ſcripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward baptiſme hath beene built.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 143. Priuate baptiſme firſt roſe vpon a falſe interpretation of the place of S. Iohn 3. 5. *vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit*: and where certaine do interpret the word *water* for the materiall and elementall water, when as our Sauiour Chriſt taketh water there by a borrowed ſpeech for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For euen as in another place *Matth.* 3. 11. by fire and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth: So in this place by water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which cleanſeth the filth of ſinne, and cooleth the broyling heate of an vnquiet conſcience, as water waſheth the thing which is foule, and quencheth the heate of the fire.

holie Ghoſt, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, leſſe is permitted. To hide the generall conſent of antiquitie agreeing in the literall interpretation, they cunningly affirme that *certaine* haue taken thoſe words as meant of materiall water, when they know that of all the ancient there is not one to be named that euer did otherwiſe either expound or alleadge the place then as implying externall baptiſme. Shall that which hath alwayes [a] receiued this and no other conſtruction be now diſguiſed with a toy of noueltie? Muſt we needes at the only ſhew of a criticall conceipt without any more deliberation, vtterly condemne them of error, which will not admit that fire in the words of Iohn is quenched with the name of the holie Ghoſt, or with the name of the Spirit, water dryed vp in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the law hath two things plainely and expreſſely ſpecified, *water*, and the *Spirit*; water as a dutie required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelues were more then needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attaine perhaps in the end to be thought wittie, but with ill aduiſe. Finally if at [b] the time, when that baptiſme which was meant by Iohn, came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelfe, we finde the Apoſtles that had been, as we are, before baptiſed, new baptized with the holie Ghoſt, and in this their later baptiſme as well a [c] viſible deſcent of fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on vs he accompliſh likewiſe the heauenly worke of our new birth not with the Spirit alone, but with water thereunto adioyned, ſith the faithfulleſt expounders of his words are his owne deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully vtter.

a *Minime ſunt mutanda quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt. D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 23.*

b *Act.* 1. 3. Iohn baptized with water, but you ſhall within few dayes be baptized with the holie Ghoſt.

c *Act.* 2. 3.

59 To this they adde, that as we erre by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleaged, ſo our ſecond ouerſight is, that we thereupon inferre a neceſſitie ouer rigorous and extreame. The true neceſſitie of baptiſme a fewe propoſitions conſidered will ſoone decide. All things which either are knowne [d] *cauſes*, or ſet *meanes*, whereby any great good is vſually procured, or men deliuered from grieuous euill, the ſame we muſt needes confeſſe neceſſarie. And if *regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſarie to eternall life, would Chriſt himſelfe haue taught Nicodemus that to ſee the kingdome of God is [e] impoſſible, ſauing onely for thoſe men which are borne from abone? His words following in the next ſentence are a proofe ſufficient that to our regeneration *his Spirit* is no leſſe [f] neceſſarie then regeneration it ſelfe neceſſarie vnto life. Thirdly, vnleſſe as the Spirit is a neceſſarie inward cauſe, ſo *water* were a neceſſarie outward meane to our regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould wee giue vnto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new borne, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, euen

What kinde of neceſſitie in outward baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeede is. *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 143. Secondly this error [of priuate baptiſme] came by a falſe and vnneceſſary concluſion drawne of that place. For although the ſcripture ſhould ſay that none can be ſaued but thoſe which haue the Spirit of God, and are baptized with materiall and elementall water, yet ought it to be vnderſtanded of thoſe which can cõueniently and orderly be brought to baptiſme, as the ſcripture ſaying that who ſo doth not beleeue the Goſpell is condemned alreadie. *Iohn* 3. 18. meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell and haue diſcretion to vnderſtand it when they heare it, and cannot beere ſhut vnder this condemnation either thoſe that be borne deafe, and ſo remaine, or little infants, or naturall fooles that haue no wit to conceiue what is preached.

d Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναίτιον· ἢ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ ὅτι κακὸν ἀποκωλύει, ἢ περισπᾷ. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo vt cauſa fieri non poteſt vt viuatur: & ea ſine quibus fieri nequit vt bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod ambueatur, aut non adſit. Ariſt. Metaph.* 5. *ca.* 5.

e *Iohn.* 3. 3.

f 5.

euen

euen of *water*? Why are wee taught that [a] with water God doth purifie and cleanſe his Church? Wherefore do the Apoſtles of Chriſt terme baptiſme [b] a bath of regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giuing men aduiſe to receiue outward baptiſme, and in perſwading them it did auaile [c] to remiſſion of ſinnes? If outward baptiſme were a cauſe in it ſelfe poſſeſſed of that power either naturall or ſupernaturall, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſiblie grow, it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects doe neuer preuent the neceſſarie cauſes out of which they ſpring, no man could euer receiue grace before baptiſme: which being apparently both knowne and alſo confeſt to be otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not baptiſme a cauſe of grace, yet the grace which is giuen them with their [d] baptiſme doth ſo farre-forth depend on the very outward ſacrament, that God will haue it imbraced not only as a ſigne or token what we receiue, but alſo as an inſtrument or meane whereby we receiue grace, becauſe baptiſme is a ſacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receiue the ſame might thereby be [e] incorporated into Chriſt, and ſo through his moſt pretious merit obteine as well that ſauing grace of imputation which taketh away [f] all former giltines, as alſo that [g] infuſed diuine vertue of the holie Ghoſt, which giueth to the powers of the ſoule their firſt diſpoſitiō towards future newneſſe of life. There are that eleuate too much the ordinarie and immediate meanes of life, relying wholie vpon the bare conceipt of that eternall election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of meanes without which wee are not actuallie brought to inioy what God ſecretly did intend, and therefore to build vpon Gods election if wee keepe not our ſelues to the waies which he hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a ſelfe-deceiuing vanitie. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, after the Goſpell of God embraced and the ſacrament of life receiued, he feareth not [h] then to put them in the number of elect Saincts, he [i] then accompteth them deliuered from death, and cleane purged from all ſinne. Till then notwithſtanding their preordination vnto life which none could know of ſauing God, what were they in the Apoſtles owne [k] accompt but children of wrath as well as others, plaine aliens altogether without hope, ſtrangers vtterly without God in this preſent world? So that by Sacraments and other ſenſible tokens of grace we may boldly gather that he, whoſe mercie vouchſafeth now to beſtow the meanes, hath alſo long ſithence intended vs that whereunto they leade. But let vs neuer thinke it ſafe to preſume of our owne laſt end by bare coniecturall collections of his firſt intent and purpoſe, the meanes failing that ſhould come betweene. Predeſtination

a *Epheſ.5.26.*
b *Tit.3.5.*
c *Act.2.38.*
d *Fideles ſalutem exiſtia elementis non quærunt, etiamſi in iſtis quærunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per illa tribuitur. Hugo de Sacram. l.2. c.3.*
e *Suſceptus à Chriſto Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens non idem eſt poſt lauacrum qui ante baptiſmum fuit, ſed corpus regenerati ſit caro crucifixi. Leo ſerm. 4. de paſ. Dom.*
f *Caro abluitur vt anima emaculetur. Tertul. de carn. reſur.*
Homo per aquam baptiſmi licet à ſorde ideò eſſe videntur ſanus tamen ad alter efficitur, cum peccato natus ſine peccato renaſcitur, prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innouatur, perſonâ tingitur & natura mutatur. Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiphan. homil.3.
Τριττὸν γέννημα ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε λογικόν, τὸ ἐν σώματος, τὸ ἐν βαπτίσματος, τὸ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Πότε γὰρ ἡ τῆς βαπτίσματος χάρις ἢ ἐπίδοσις ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καταλειμμένη οὐκ ἔφλασε, τῆς δὲ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστῳ ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσις ἰσχναν. *Gregor. homil. de ſanct. bapt.*
g *Vnde gentalis auxilio ſuperioris aui labe deterſa in expiatum pectus ac plenum deſuper ſe lumen infundit. Cypr. epiſt. ad Donat.* Οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀκουσίων ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφεσιν τὸ ὑδωρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ ἐπιγνώμονα ἐγκλήματα ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τὸ δικαιοῦν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καθάπερ τοὺς πατρώους, καὶ τὸν τὸ πνεύματος δωρεὰν τῷ μετανοίᾳ χαρίζεται. *Theodoret. Epito. diuin. dogmat. Baptiſmi eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam nouam & innocentem. Conſeſſ. Heluet. cap. 20.*
h *Epheſ.1.1.*
i *5.8.*
k *2.3.*
12.

bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall [a] vocation, wherein our baptiſme is implied. For as we are not naturallie men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifeſt ordinarie courſe of diuine diſpenſation new borne, but by that baptiſme which both declareth and maketh vs Chriſtians. In which reſpect we iuſtly hold it to be the dore of our actuall entrance into Gods houſe, the firſt apparent [b] beginning of life, a ſeale perhaps to the [c] grace of *election* before receiued, but to our ſanctification heere a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old Valentinian heretiques ſome, which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the ſacraments of Chriſt, pretending that as ignorance had made vs ſubiect to all miſerie, ſo the full redemption of the inward man, and the worke of our reſtauration, muſt needes belong vnto [d] *knowledge only*. They draw very neere vnto this error, who fixing wholie their mindes on the knowne neceſſitie of faith [e] imagin that nothing but faith is neceſſarie for the attainement of all grace. Yet is it a branch of beliefe that ſacraments are in their place no leſſe required then beliefe it ſelfe. For when our Lord and Sauiour promiſeth eternall life, is it any otherwiſe then as he promiſed reſtitution of health vnto Naaman the Syrian, namely with this condition [f] *Waſh and be cleane?* or as to them which were ſtung of Serpents, health by [g] beholding the brazen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelfe which giueth ſaluation doe [h] require baptiſme, it is not for vs that looke for ſaluation to ſound and examine him whether vnbaptized men may be ſaued, but ſeriouſly to [i] doe that which is required, and religiouſly to feare the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his will to haue all men baptized and not acquainted vs with any cauſe why baptiſme is neceſſarie, our ignorance in the reaſon of that he inioyneth might perhaps haue hindered ſomewhat the forwardneſſe of our obedience thereunto: whereas now being taught that baptiſme is neceſſarie to take away ſinne, how haue we the feare of God in our hearts if care of deliuering mens ſoules from ſinne do not moue vs to vſe all meanes for their baptiſme? [k] Pelagius which denyed vtterly the guilt of originall ſinne, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſitie of baptiſme, did notwithſtãding both baptize infants, and acknowledge their baptiſme neceſſarie for *entrance into the kingdome of God*. Now the lawe of Chriſt which in theſe conſiderations maketh baptiſme neceſſarie, muſt be conſtrued and vnderſtood according to rules of [l] naturall equitie. Which rules if they themſelues did not follow in expounding the lawe of God, would they euer be able to proue that [m] the ſcripture in ſaying, *Whoſo believeth not the Goſpell of Chriſt is condemned alreadie, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and haue diſcretion when they heare to underſtand it, neither ought it to be applyed vnto infants, deafe men and fooles?* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the lawe of Chriſt is naturall equitie. And (becauſe equitie ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly conſeſt

a *Rom.8.30.*

b Ἀρχὴ μὲν ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. *Baſil. de Sp.S.ca.10.*

c *T.C. lib.3. page* 134. Hee which is not a Chriſtian before he come to receiue baptiſme, cannot be made a Chriſtian by baptiſme, which is only the ſeale of the grace of God before receiued.

d *Irenæ. contra hæreſ. lib.1. ca.18.*

e *Hic ſceleſtiſſimi illi prouocant queſtiones. Adeo dicunt baptiſmum non eſſe neceſſarium quibus fides ſatis eſt. Tertul. de baptiſ. Huic nulla proderit fides qui cum poſſit non percipit ſacramentum. Bernard. epiſt.70. ad Hugon.*

f 2.*Reg.*5.14.

g *Num.*21.8.

h *Marc.*16.16.

i *Inſtitutio ſacramentorum quantum ad Deum authorem diſpenſationis eſt, quantum vero ad hominũ obedientem neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominum ſaluare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt ſine iſtis ad ſalutem peruenire. Hug. de ſacra. lib.1.cap.5.*

k *Pelagius aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam ſed propter regnum cælorum baptiſmum paruulis conferendum. Euſeb. Emiſ. hom.5. de Paſch.*

l *Benignius leges interpretanda ſunt, quo voluntas earum conſeruetur. l. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuſc.*

m *T.C. lib.1.page* 143.

that

that *there may be in diuers caſes* life by vertue of inward baptiſme euen where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibilitie. For example, to thinke that a man whoſe baptiſme the crowne of martyrdome preuenteth, doth looſe, in that caſe, the happineſſe which ſo many thouſands enioy, that only haue had the grace to belieue, and not the honor to ſeale the teſtimonie thereof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Againe, [a] when ſome certaine opinatiue men in Saint Barnards time began priuately to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſayd, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water*, therefore life, without either actuall baptiſme *or martyrdome* in ſtead of baptiſme, cannot *poſſible* be obteined at the hands of God: Bernard conſidering that the ſame equitie which had moued them to thinke the neceſſitie of Baptiſme no barre againſt the happie eſtate of vnbaptiſed Martyrs is as forcible for the warrant of their ſaluation, in whome, although there be not the ſufferings of holie Martyrs, there are the vertues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings and made them pretious in Gods ſight, profeſſed himſelfe an enimie to that ſeueritie and ſtrictneſſe which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, ſayth he, if a man deſirous of baptiſme be ſuddainely cut off by death, in whome there wanted neither ſound faith, deuout hope, nor ſincere charitie (God be merciſull vnto me and pardon me if I erre) but verily of ſuch a ones ſaluation in whome there is no other defect beſides his faultleſſe lacke of baptiſme, deſpaire I cannot, nor induce my minde to thinke his faith voide, his hope confounded, and his charitie fallen to nothing, only becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibilitie withholdeth. *Tell me I beſeech you* (ſayth Ambroſe) *what there is in any of vs more then to will, and to ſeeke for our owne good. Thy ſeruant Valentinian O Lord did both.* (For Valentinian the Emperour dyed before his purpoſe to receiue baptiſme could take effect.) *And is it poſſible that he which had purpoſely thy Spirit giuen him to deſire grace, ſhould not receiue thy grace which that ſpirit did deſire? Doth it moue you that the outward accuſtomed ſolemnities were not done? As though conuerts that ſuffer martyrdome before baptiſme did thereby forfeit their right to the crowne of eternall glorie in the kingdome of heauen. If the bloud of Martyrs in that caſe be their baptiſme, ſurely his religious deſire of baptiſme ſaueth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath beene therefore conſtantly held as well touching other belieuers as martyrs, that baptiſme taken away by neceſſitie, is ſupplyed by deſire of baptiſme, becauſe with [b] equitie this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching infants which dye vnbaptiſed, ſith they neither haue the ſacrament it ſelfe, nor any ſenſe or conceipt thereof, the iudgement of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tyed vnto ſacraments, and beſides ſuch is the lenitie of God that vnto things altogether impoſſible he bindeth no man, but where we cannot doe what is inioyned vs accepteth our will to doe in ſtead of the deede it ſelfe; Againe, for as much as there is in their Chriſtian parents and in the Church of God a preſumed deſire that the ſacrament of baptiſme might be giuen them yea a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be giuen, remorſe of equitie hath moued diuers of the [c] ſchoole diuines in theſe cõſideratiõs ingenuouſlie to grant, that God almerciful to ſuch as are not inthẽſelues able to deſire baptiſme imputeth the ſecret deſire that others haue in

a *Bernard. epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.*

b *Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria iniuriam ſemel dicauit animum in martyrium mihi videtur impleſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo vt dixi ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, & ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati. Ioſeph. lib. de imper. ration.*

c *Gerſ. ſerm. in natiuit. Beate Mar. Caietan. in 3. Tho. 9. 68. art. 1. & 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de ſacr. c. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in clyp. aduerſ. barel. ca. de baptiſ.*

in their behalfe, and accepteth the ſame as theirs rather then caſteth away their ſoules for that which no man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his grace vnto infants without baptiſme, in that caſe the very circumſtance of their naturall birth may ſerue as a iuſt argument, whereupon it is not to be miſliked that men in charitable preſumption doe gather a great likelihood of their ſaluation, to whome the benefit of Chriſtian parentage being giuen, the reſt that ſhould follow is preuented by ſome ſuch caſualtie as man hath himſelfe no power to auoid. For wee are plainely taught of God, [a] that the ſeede of faithfull parentage is holie from the very birth. Which albeit wee may not ſo vnderſtand, as if the children of belieuing parents were without ſinne, or grace from baptiſed parents deriued by propagation, or God by couenant and promiſe tyed to ſaue any in meere regard of their parents beliefe: yet ſeeing that to all profeſſors of the name of Chriſt this preheminence aboue infidels is freely giuen, the fruite of their bodies bringeth into the world with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe meanes wherewith the ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall be ſanctified, it is not to be thought that he which as it were from heauen hath nominated and deſigned them vnto holineſſe by ſpeciall priuiledge of their very birth, will himſelfe depriue them of regeneration and inward grace, only becauſe neceſſitie depriueth them of outward ſacraments. In which caſe it were the part of charitie to hope, and to make men rather partiall then cruell iudges, if we had not thoſe faire apparencies which heere we haue. Wherefore a neceſſitie there is of receiuing, and a neceſſitie of adminiſtring the ſacrament of baptiſme; the one peraduenture not ſo abſolute as ſome haue thought, but out of all peraduenture the other more ſtreight and narrowe, then that the Church which is by office a mother vnto ſuch as craue at her hands the ſacred myſterie of their new birth, ſhould repell them and ſee them dye vnſatisfied of theſe their ghoſtlie deſires, rather then giue them their ſoules rites with omiſſion of thoſe things that ſerue [b] but onlie for the more conuenient and orderly adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide wee graunt that thoſe ſentences of holie ſcripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſarie to eternall life, are no preiudice to their ſaluation that want them by ſome ineuitable neceſſitie, and without any fault of their owne; ſo it ought in reaſon to be likewiſe acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himſelfe maketh baptiſme neceſſarie, neceſſarie whether wee reſpect the good receiued by baptiſme or the teſtimonie thereby yeelded vnto God of that humilitie and meeke obedience, which repoſing wholie itſelfe on the abſolute authoritie of his commandement, and on the truth of his heauenly promiſe, doubteth not but from creatures deſpicable in their owne condition and ſubſtance to obteine grace of ineſtimable value, or rather not from them but from him, yet by them as by his appointed meanes, howſoeuer he by the ſecret wayes of his owne incomprehenſible mercie may be thought to ſaue without baptiſme, this cleereth not the Church from guiltineſſe of bloud, if through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſitie lets and impediments of leſſe regard ſhould cauſe a grace of ſo great moment to be withheld, wherein our mercileſſe ſtrictneſſe may be our owne harme, although not theirs towards whome we ſhew it;

[a] 1. Cor. 7. 12.

[b] T. C. lib. 3. page 218. It is in queſtion whether there be any ſuch neceſſitie of baptiſme as that for the miniſtring thereof the common decent orders ſhould be broken.

and

and we for the hardneſſe of our harts may periſh, albeit they through Gods vnſpeakeable mercie do liue. God which did not afflict that innocent, whoſe Circumciſion Moſes had ouer-long deferred, tooke reuenge vpon [a] Moſes himſelfe for the iniurie which was done through ſo great neglect, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand that they whome Gods owne mercie ſaueth without vs are on our parts notwithſtanding and as much as in vs lyeth euen deſtroyed, when vnder vnſufficient pretenſes wee defraude them of ſuch ordinarie outward helps as wee ſhould exhibit. Wee haue for Baptiſme no day ſet as the Iewes had for Circumciſion, neither haue wee by the law of God but onely by the Churches diſcretion a place thereunto appointed. Baptiſme therefore euen in the meaning of the law of Chriſt belongeth vnto infants capable thereof from the [b] very inſtant of their birth. Which if they haue not howſoeuer, rather then looſe it by beeing put off becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance doth not ſolemnely enough concurre, the Church as much as in her lieth, wilfully caſteth away their ſoules.

a *Exod.* 4. 24.

b *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus aliter non ponitur, præſentia dies debetur. lib.* 14. *D. de reg. iur.*

61 The auncient it may be were too ſeuere, and made the neceſſitie of baptiſme more abſolute then reaſon would, as touching infants. But will [c] any man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigor herein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtaine and tolerate defects of locall or of perſonall ſolemnities belonging to the ſacrament of baptiſme? The Apoſtles themſelues did neither vſe nor appoint for baptiſme any certaine time. The Church for generall baptiſme heretofore made choice of two chiefe dayes in the yeare, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtome, when certaine Churches in Sicilie began to violate without cauſe, they were by [d] Leo Biſhop of Rome aduiſed rather to conforme themſelues to the reſt of the world in things ſo reaſonable, then to offend mens mindes through needleſſe ſingularitie: howbeit alwayes prouiding that neuertheleſſe in apparent perill of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, feare of ſhipwrack, and the like exigents, no reſpect of times ſhould cauſe this ſingular defenſe of true ſafetie to be denyed vnto any. This of Leo did but confirme that ſentence which [e] Victor had many yeares before giuen, extending the ſame exception as wel vnto *places* as times. That which Saint Auguſtine ſpeaketh of women haſting to bring their children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weake proofe that *vvhen neceſſitie did not leaue them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their owne home. Which anſwere diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſicke Iew carried in bed to the place of baptiſme, and not baptiſed at home in priuate. The cauſe why ſuch kind of baptiſme barred men afterwards from entring into holie orders, the reaſon wherefore it was obiected againſt Nouatian, in what reſpect

What things in baptiſme haue been diſpenſed with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſſitie.

c *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 146. The authors themſelues of that error that they cannot be ſaued which are not baptiſed, did neuer ſeeke no remedie of the miſchiefe in womens or priuate baptiſme. *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 219. What plainer teſtimonie can there be then that of Auguſtine which noteth the vſe of the Church to haue beene to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion that their children could not be ſaued if they were not baptized. *Contr. lit. Petil. lib.* 2. *ca.* 13. I would alſo know of him what he will anſwere to that which is noted of a chriſtian Iew deſperatly ſicke of the palſey, that was with his bed caried to the place of baptiſme, *Socr. lib.* 7. *ca.* 4. What will he anſwere to this that thoſe which were baptized in their beds were thereby made vnapt to haue any place amongſt the clergie [as they call them] doth it not leaue a note of infamie in thoſe which had procured that baptiſme ſhould be miniſtred in priuat houſes? *Euſeb. lib.* 6. *ca.* 43. What vnto the Emperours decree which vpon authoritie of the auncient lawes, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth that the holie things ſhould be adminiſtred in any mans priuat houſe? *Iuſt. Nouel.* 57. d *Leo epiſt.* 4. *ad Epiſ. Sicil.* e *Vict. epiſt. ad Theopb. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

reſpect and how farre forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon ſet downe in the Councill of Neocæſarea after this manner. *A man which hath beene baptized in ſickneſſe, is not after to be ordeined Prieſt.* For it may be thought, *that ſuch do rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedie, then of a voluntarie minde lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, vnleſſe their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcitie of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in Iuſtinians imperiall Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe, ſeeing it only forbiddeth men to haue the myſteries of God adminiſtred in their priuat Chappels, leaſt vnder that pretenſe heretiques ſhould doe ſecretly thoſe things which were vnlawfull? In which conſideration he therefore commandeth that if they would vſe thoſe priuat oratories otherwiſe then only for their priuate prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoint them a Clarke whome they might entertaine for that purpoſe. This is plaine by later Conſtitutions made in the time of Leo: [a] *It was thought good* (ſayth the Emperour) *in their iudgement which haue gone before, that in priuat Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holie Communion but Prieſts belonging vnto greater Churches. Which order they tooke as it ſeemeth for the cuſtodie of religion, leaſt men ſhould ſecretly receiue from heretiques, in ſtead of the foode the bane of their ſoules, pollution in place of expiation.* [b] Againe, *Whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixt reuerend Synod requireth baptiſme as others haue likewiſe the holie ſacrifices and myſteries to be celebrated only in temples hallowed for publique vſe and not in priuate oratories; which ſtrict decrees appeare to haue beene made heretofore in regard of heretiques, which entered cloſely into ſuch mens houſes as fauoured their opinions, whome vnder colour of performing with them ſuch religious offices they drew from the ſoundneſſe of true religion: now that peruerſe opinions through the grace of Almightie God are extinct and gone, the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that priuat Oratories may hence forward inioy that libertie which to haue graunted them heretofore had not bin ſafe.* In ſumme, all theſe things alleaged are nothing, nor will it euer be proued while the world doth continue, but that the practiſe of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſitie hath made for priuat baptiſme alwayes more then againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſme by any man in caſe of neceſſitie*, was the [c] voyce of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, or any other of the auncient againſt it. The boldneſſe of ſuch as pretending *Teclaes* example, tooke openlie vpon them both Baptiſme, and all other publique functions of Prieſthood, Tertullian ſeuerely controlleth, ſaying: [d] *To giue Baptiſme is in truth the Biſhops right. After him it belongeth vnto Prieſts and Deacons, but not to them without authoritie from him receyued. For ſo the honor of the Church requireth, which being kept, preſerueth peace. Were it not in this reſpect the laitie might do the ſame, all ſorts might giue euen as all ſorts receiue.* But becauſe emulation is the mother of ſchiſmes, *let it content thee* (which art of the order of laie men) *to do it in neceſſitie when the ſtate of time or place or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſſe priuiledged that helpe when the circumſtance of other mens dangers craueth it.* What hee graunteth generally to laie perſons of the houſe of God, the ſame wee cannot ſuppoſe hee denieth to any ſort or ſexe conteyned vnder that name, vnleſſe himſelfe did reſtraine the limits of his owne ſpeech, eſpecially ſeeing that Tertullians rule of interpretation

is

a *Leo conſt. 4.*
b *Idē Conſt. 15.*
c *I. C. lib. 1. pag 145.* To allow of womens baptiſing is not only contrarie to the learned writers now, but alſo contrarie to all learned antiquitie, and cõtrary to the practiſe of the Church whileſt there was any tolerable eſtate. *Tertull. de virgin. veland. & lib. de baptiſ. Epipha. lib. 1. & lib. 2. cont. hæreſ.* S. Auguſtine although he ſeeme to allow of a laie mans baptiſme in time of neceſſitie *cont. epiſt. Parmen. lib. 2. ca. 13* yet there he mentioneth not womens baptiſme: and in the fourth Councill of Carthage ca. 100. it is ſimply without exception decreed, that a womã ought not to baptiſe.
d *Tertul. de baptiſ.*

is [a] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified vnder that which is generall, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which Tertullian doth [b] denie is that women may be called to beare, or publiquely take vpon them to execute offices of eccleſiaſticall order, whereof none but men are capable. As for Epiphanius he ſtriketh on the very ſelfeſame anuile with Tertullian. And in neceſſitie if S. Auguſtine allow as much vnto lay men as Tertullian doth, his *not mentioning* of women is but a ſlender proofe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councill of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſſe ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed willing to ſtoupe as other poſitiue ordinances doe to the countermaunds of neceſſitie. Iudge therefore what the auncient would haue thought if in their dayes it had beene heard which is publiſhed in ours, [c] that becauſe, *The ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the inſtitution of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament*, therefore firſt, *if the whole inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if baptiſme be priuate his inſtitution is broken, in as much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for baptiſme it ſhould be done in the congregation*, from whoſe ordinance in this point *wee ought not to ſwarue, although wee know that infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without baptiſme.* O ſir, you that would ſpurne thus at ſuch as in caſe of ſo dreadfull extremitie ſhould lye proſtrate before your feete, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their moſt neede, you that would damme vp your eares and harden your hearts as iron againſt the vnreſiſtable cryes of ſupplicants calling vpon you for mercie with termes of ſuch inuocation as that moſt dreadfull perplexitie might miniſter if God by miracle did open the mouthes of infants to expreſſe their ſuppoſed neceſſitie, ſhould firſt imagin your ſelfe in their caſe and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceede out of your mouth, and your anſwere out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My ſonne the rites and ſolemnities of baptiſme muſt be kept, we may not* [d] *do ill that good may come of it, neither are ſoules to be deliuered from eternall death and condemnation by breaking orders which Chriſt hath ſet*, would you in their caſe your ſelfe be ſhaken off with theſe anſwers, and not rather imbrace incloſed with both your armes a ſentence which now is no Goſpell vnto you, [e] *I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice?* To acknowledge Chriſts inſtitution the ground of both ſacraments, I ſuppoſe no Chriſtian man will refuſe: for it giueth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the forme of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to vs they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing Chriſts inſtitution conteineth, beſides that which maketh complete the eſſence or nature, other things that only are parts as it were of the furniture of ſacraments, the difference betweene theſe two muſt vnfold that which the generall termes of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for baptiſme be a part of Chriſts inſtitution, it is but his inſtitution as *ſacrifice*, baptiſme his inſtitution as *mercie*, in this caſe. He which requireth both mercie and ſacrifice reiecteth his owne inſtitution of ſacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice

a *Subiectum eſt generalis ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur quia in ipſo continetur. Tertul. de veland. virg. Poſito genere ſupponitur ſpecies. Azo. in lib. 2. C. de tranſact.*

b *Non permittitur mulieri in eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec vllius virilis muneris nedum ſacerdotalis officij ſortem ſibi vendicare. Tertul. de veland. virgi.*

c *T.C. lib. 1. pa. 144.* The ſubſtance of the ſacrament dependeth chiefly of the inſtitution and word of God, which is the forme and as it were the life of the ſacrament. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 144.* Although part of the inſtitution be obſerued, yet if the whole inſtitution be not, it is no ſacrament. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 146.* The orders which God hath ſet are, that it ſhould bee done in the congregation and by the Miniſter. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 146.* And I will further ſay, that although that the infants which dye without baptiſme ſhould be aſſuredly damned, (which is moſt falſe) yet ought not the orders which God hath ſet in his Church be broken after this ſort.

d *Noſtro peccato alterius ſaluti cõſulere nõ debemus. Aug. li. cõtr. mendac. ca. 17.*

e *Matth. 9. 13.*

would

would hinder mercie from being ſhewed. Externall circumſtances euen in the
a Matth.23.23. holieſt and higheſt actions are but the a *leſſer things of the lawe*, whereunto thoſe actions themſelues being compared are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance that they *muſt be done*, ſo in that extremitie before ſuppoſed if our accompt of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accompted of; were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſts inſtitution touching *Mint and Commin*, a diſobedience to his inſtitution concerning loue? But ſith no inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tyed baptiſme to publique aſſemblies as it hath done all men vnto baptiſme, away with theſe mercileſſe and bloudie ſentences, let them neuer be found ſtanding in the bookes and writings of a Chriſtian man, they ſauour not of Chriſt nor of his moſt gratious and meeke ſpirit, but vnder colour of exact obedience they nouriſh crueltie and hardneſſe of hart.

Whether baptiſme by women be true baptiſme, good and effectuall to them that receiue it.

62 To leaue priuate baptiſme therefore and to come vnto baptiſme by women, which b they ſay is no more a ſacrament, then any other ordinarie waſhing or bathing of a mans bodie; the reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch, as making baptiſme by women void, becauſe women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needs generallie annihilate the baptiſme of all vnto whome their conceipt ſhall applie this exception, whether it be in regard of ſexe, of qualitie, of inſufficiencie, or what ſoeuer. For if want of calling do fruſtrate baptiſme, they that baptiſe without calling do nothing be they women or men. To make women teachers in the houſe of God were a groſſe abſurditie, ſeeing c the Apoſtle hath ſayd, *I permit not a woman to teach*; And againe, d *Let your women in Churches be ſilent*. Thoſe extraordinarie gifts of ſpeaking with toongs and prophecying, which God at that time did not onely beſtow vpon men, but on women alſo, made it the harder to hold them confined with priuate bounds. Whereupon the Apoſtles ordinance was neceſſarie againſt womens publique admiſſion to teach. And becauſe when lawe hath begun ſome one thing or other well, it giueth good occaſion either to drawe by iudicious expoſition out of the very lawe it ſelfe, or to annexe to the lawe by authoritie and iuriſdiction things of like conueniencie, therefore e Clement extendeth this Apoſtolique Conſtitution to baptiſme. For (ſayth he) *If wee haue denyed them leaue to teach, how ſhould any man diſpenſe with nature and make them miniſters of holie things, ſeeing this vnskilfulneſſe is a part of the Gracians impietie, which for the ſeruice of women Goddeſſes haue women Prieſts?* I ſomewhat maruell that men which would not willinglie be thought to ſpeake or write but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly auouch Clement for a f witneſſe, that *as when the Church began not onely to decline but to fall away from the ſinceritie of religion it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, ſo it borrowed this, and would needs haue women Prieſts as the Heathens had, and that this was one occaſion of bringing baptiſme by women into the Church of God.* Is it not plaine in their owne eyes that firſt by an euidence which forbiddeth women to be miniſters of Baptiſme, they

b *T.C.lib.1.page* 144. On this point, whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not only the dignitie but alſo the being of the ſacrament. So that I take the baptiſme of women to be no more the holie ſacrament of baptiſme then any other dayly or ordinarie waſhing of the childe.

c 1.*Tim.*2.12.
d 1.*Tim.*14.34.

e *Clem.Conſt. Apoſtol.lib.*3. *ca.*9.

f *T.C. lib.*1. *page* 144.

they endeuour to ſhew how women were admitted vnto that function in the waine and declination of Chriſtian pietie; Secondly, that by an euidence reiecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they would proouе ſuch affection towards Heathens as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the paterne of their example; and thirdly, that out of an euidence which nameth the Heathens as beeing in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no women Prieſts, they gather the Heathens to haue beene one of the firſt occaſions why it had? So that throughout euery branch of this teſtimonie their iſſue is *yea*, and their euidence directlie *no*. But to womens baptiſme in priuat by occaſion of vrgent neceſſitie, the reaſons that only concerne ordinarie baptiſme in publike are no iuſt preiudice, neither can we by force thereof diſproue the practiſe of thoſe Churches which (neceſſitie requiring) allow Baptiſme in priuate to be adminiſtred by women. Wee may not from lawes that prohibit any thing with reſtraint conclude abſolute and vnlimited prohibitions. Although wee denie not but they which vtterly forbid ſuch baptiſme may haue perhaps wherewith to iuſtifie their orders againſt it. For euen things lawfull are [a] well prohibited, when there is feare leaſt they make the way to vnlawfull more eaſie. And it may be the libertie of baptiſme by women at ſuch times doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to doe it where no ſuch neceſſitie is. But whether of permiſſion beſides law, or in preſumption againſt law they do it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, voyd, and as though it were neuer giuen? They which haue not at the firſt their right baptiſme, muſt of neceſſitie be rebaptiſed, becauſe the law of Chriſt tyeth all men to receiue Baptiſme. Iteration of Baptiſme once giuen hath beene alwayes thought a manifeſt contempt of that auncient Apoſtolique Aphoriſme, [b] *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme,* baptiſme not onely one in as much as it hath euery where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth vnto all men the ſame grace, but one alſo for that it ought not to be receiued by any one man aboue once. Wee ſerue that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be ioyned with him: wee embrace that faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innouation: that baptiſme we receiue which is but one, becauſe it cannot be receiued often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of baptiſme, and yet teach that wee are by baptiſme borne anew, that by baptiſme wee are admitted into the heauenlie ſocietie of Saincts, that thoſe things be reallie and effectuallie done by baptiſme which are no more poſſible to be often done, [c] then a man can naturallie be often borne, or ciuillie be often adopted into any ones ſtocke and familie? This alſo is the cauſe why they that preſent vs vnto Baptiſme are intitled for euer after our Parents in God, and the reaſon why there wee receiue new names in token that by Baptiſme wee are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died and riſen from the dead but once, ſo the Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſinne, and beginneth in vs a new condition of life, is by one onely actuall adminiſtration for euer auaileable, according to that in the Nicene Creede, *I beleeue one baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes.* And becauſe ſecond baptiſme was euer [d] abhord in the Church of God as a kind of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate baptiſme are driuen vnder ſome pretenſe or other to make the former baptiſme voyde.

[a] *Licita prohibentur, ne ſi permitterentur eorum occaſione perueniatur ad illicita. l. neque tamen. Inſt. de aſſeth. tut. l. Officium. D. de rei vind.*

[b] *Ephes. 4. 5.*

[c] *Vna eſt natiuitas de terra, alia de cœlo; vna de carne, alia de Spiritu; vna de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; vna de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quomodo enim vterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec baptiſmus iterari. Proſp. Senten. 331. Eia fratres lacteum genitalis fontis ad lacticem connolate, vt ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire. Zeno tract. ad font.*

[d] *Auguſt. de bapti. cont. Don. li. 3. ca. 14.*

[e] Tertullian

a Tertul. de baptism.
b Cypr. epist. 71.

a Tertullian the first that proposed to the Church, b Agrippinus the first in the Church that accepted, and against the vse of the Church Nouatian the first that publiquely began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore vpon these two grounds, a true perswasion that baptisme is necessarie, and a false that the baptisme which others administred was no baptisme. Nouatianus his conceipt was that none can administer true baptisme but the true Church of Iesus Christ, that he and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest he accompted them wicked and prophane persons, such as by baptisme could clense no man, vnlesse they first did purifie themselues, and reforme the faules wherewith he charged them. At which time c S. Cyprian with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptise, and were of nothing more certainely perswaded then that heretiques are as rotten branches cut off from the life and bodie of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reuerse that baptisme which is giuen by heretiques. These held and practised their owne opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loued awhit the lesse, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrarie mind. In requitall of which ingenious moderation the rest that withstood them did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in error but not in heresie. The Bishop of Rome against their nouelties vpheld as beseemed him the auncient and true Apostolique Customes, till they which vnaduisedly before had erred became in a manner all d reconciled friends vnto truth, and sawe that heresie in the ministers of baptisme could no way euacuate the force thereof; e such heresie alone excepted, as by reason of vnsoundnes in the highest articles of Christian faith, presumed to change, and by changing to maime the substance, the forme of baptisme. In which respect the Church did neither simplie disanull, nor absolutely ratifie baptisme by heretiques. For the baptisme which Nouatianists gaue stoode firme, where as they whome f Samosatenians had baptised were rebaptised. It was likewise ordered in the g Counsell of Arles, that if any Arrian did reconcile himselfe to the Church they should admit him without new baptisme, vnlesse by examination they found him not baptised in the name of the Trinitie. Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria h maketh report how there liued vnder him a man of good reputation and of very auncient continuance in that Church, who being present at the rites of baptisme, and obseruing with better consideration then euer before what was there done, came and with weeping submission craued of his Bishop not to denye him baptisme, the due of all which professe Christ, seeing it had beene so long sithence his euill hap to be deceiued by the fraude of heretiques, and at their hands (which till now he neuer throughlie and dulie waighed) to take a baptisme full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a baptisme in nothing like vnto that

c Euseb. lib. 7. ca. 1. 2. 3. Cypr. epist. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76.

d Illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos hereticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem reuoluti nouum emisere decretum. Hieron. cont. Luciser. vide & August. cont. Crescon. lib. 3. ca. 2. 3. & epist. 48.

e Dicitis fieri non posse vt in falso baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator rigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absoluat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos hæreticos pertinere, qui falsauerunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus vnus sit, alter patrem vult in persona filij cognosci, alter carnem subducens filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: & cæteri huiusmodi, qui à sacramento Catholicis alieni nascuntur. Optat. lib. 1.

f Synod. Nicæ. ca. 19.
g Synod. 1. Arelat. ca. 8.
h Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 7. ca. 8.

that which the true Church of Chriſt vſeth. The Biſhop greatly moued thereat, yet durſt not aduenture to rebaptiſe, but did the beſt he could to put him in good comfort vſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelfe with things that were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of Gods people to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poore man that ſaw himſelfe in this ſort anſwered but not ſatiſfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continuall perplexitie, whereof the Biſhop remained fearefull to giue releaſe: perhaps too fearefull, if the baptiſme were ſuch as his owne declaration importeth. For that the ſubſtance thereof was rotten at the very firſt, is neuer by tract of time able to recouer ſoundnes. And where true baptiſme was not before giuen, the caſe of rebaptiſation is cleare. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſme is not voide in regard of hereſie, and therefore much leſſe through any *other morall* defect in the miniſter thereof. Vnder which ſecond pretenſe Donatiſts notwithſtanding tooke vpon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſme, and themſelues to rebaptiſe their owne frye. For whereas ſome fortie yeares after the martyrdome of bleſſed Cyprian the Emperour Diocletian began to [a] perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their religion to burne vp their ſacred bookes, there were in the Church it ſelfe *Traditors* content to deliuer vp the bookes of God by compoſition, to the end their owne liues might be ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt whoſe conſtancie was greater, it fortuned that after, when one Cæcilian was ordeined Biſhop in the Church of Carthage, whome others endeuoured in vaine to defeate by excepting againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not preuaile, deſperately ioyned themſelues in one, and made a Biſhop of their owne crue, accompting from that day forward their faction the onely true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was Maiorinus, whoſe ſucceſſor Donatus being the firſt that wrote in defence of their ſchiſme, the birds that were hatched before by others haue their names from him. Arrians and Donatiſts began both about one time. Which hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their owne ſinewes, wrought as hope of ſucceſſe led them, the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude ſo farre, that after long and troubleſome experience the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate reſolution, whether error may doe more by the curious ſubtiltie of ſharp diſcourſe, or elſe by the meere appearance of zeale and deuout affection, the later of which two aides gaue Donatiſts beyond all mens expectation as great a ſway as euer any ſchiſme or hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian world where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſarie cauſe to bend it ſelfe againſt others that aymed directly at a farre higher marke the deitie of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts haue their foorth by the ſpace of threeſcore yeares and aboue, euen from tenne yeares before Conſtantine till the time that [b] Optatus Biſhop of Mileuis publiſhed his bookes againſt Parmenian. During which terme and the ſpace of that ſchiſmes continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other ſecular and worldly meanes to helpe them forward, theſe ſpeciall aduantages. Firſt, the very occaſion of

[a] *Circa an.* 300

[b] *Circa an.* 370.

their breach with the Church of God a iuſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors* ſeemed plauſible, they eaſily perſwaded their hearers that ſuch men could not bee holy as held communion & fellowſhip with them that betray religion. Againe, when to daſle the eyes of the ſimple, and to proue that it can bee no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretenſe of the Creed Apoſtolique, *I beliue the Holy Catholique Church*, wee neede not thinke it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And auouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſme, they had for this point whole volumes of S. Cyprians owne writing together with the iudgement of diuers Affrican Synods whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their iuſt cauſe very greatly preiudiced, both for that they could not enforce the dutie of mens communion with a Church confeſt to be in many things blameworthie, vnleſſe they ſhould oftentimes ſeeme to ſpeake as halfe defendors of the faults themſelues, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof as their aduerſaries; and to withſtand iteration of baptiſme, the other branch of the Donatiſts hereſie, was impoſſible without manifeſt and profeſt reiection of Cyprian, whome the world vniuerſally did in his life time admire as the greateſt amongſt prelates, and now honor as the loweſt in the kingdome of heauen. So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the teachers error is the peoples triall, harder and heauier by ſo much to beare, as he is in worth and regard greater that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was ods betweene Cyprians cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of founder vnderſtanding in that point, but not diuiding himſelfe from the body of the Church by ſchiſme as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, [a] ſaith Vincentius, *Of one and the ſame opinion we iudge (which may ſeeme ſtrange) the authors catholique, and the followers hereticall; we acquit the maiſters, and condemne the ſchollers; they are heires of heauen which haue written thoſe bookes, the defendors whereof are troden downe to the pit of hell.* The inuectiues of Catholique writers therefore againſt them are ſharpe; the words of [b] imperiall edicts by Honorius and Theodoſius made to bridle the very bitter, the puniſhments ſeuere in reuenge of their folly. Howbeit for feare (as we may coniecture) leaſt much ſhould be derogated from the baptiſme of the Church, and baptiſme by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of then was meete, if on the one ſide that which heretiques had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reuerſed which the Catholique Church had well and religiouſly done, diuers better minded then aduiſed men thought it fitteſt to meete with this inconuenience by rebaptiſing Donatiſts as well as they rebaptiſed Catholiques. For ſtay whereof the [c] ſame Emperours ſaw it meete to giue their law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both ſides cut off not only heretiques which rebaptiſed whome they could peruert, but alſo Catholique and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like vnto ſuch as before had taken baptiſme at the hands of heretiques, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore in proceſſe of time, though with much adoe, wearied, and at the length worne out by the conſtancie of that truth which teacheth, that euill miniſters of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waſt to none but themſelues onely, and that the foulenes of their hands can neither

a *Vincent. Lirin. aduerſ. hereſ. cap. 11.*

b *Vide C. Theo. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Aduerſarios & l. Nullus circa an. 405.*

c *Siquis C. Ne. ſanct. baptiſ. circa an. 413.*

neither any whit impaire the vertue nor ſtaine the glorie of the myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſſe by vertuous and good men, as Cyprian caried aſide with hatred againſt hereſie, and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whome enuie and rancor couered with ſhow of godlines, made obſtinate to cancell whatſoeuer the Church did in the ſacrament of Baptiſme, hath of later daies in an other reſpect farre different from both the former, bene brought freſhly againe into practiſe. For the Anabaptiſt rebaptizeth, becauſe, in his eſtimation the baptiſme of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we giue it vnto infants which haue not faith, whereas according vnto Chriſts inſtitution as they conceiue it, true baptiſme ſhould alwayes preſuppoſe actuall beliefe in receiuers, and is otherwiſe no baptiſme. Of theſe three errors there is not any but hath bene able at the leaſt to alledge in defenſe of it ſelfe many faire probabilities. Notwithſtanding, ſith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes conſtantly maintained, that to rebaptiſe them which are knowne to haue receiued true baptiſme is vnlawfull; that if baptiſme ſeriouſly be adminiſtred in the ſame element and with the ſame forme of words which Chriſts inſtitution teacheth, there is no other defect in the world that can make it fruſtrate, or depriue it of the nature of a true ſacrament; and laſtly, that baptiſme is onely then to be readminiſtred, when the firſt deliuerie thereof is void in regard of the forealleaged imperfections and no other, ſhall we now in the caſe of baptiſme, which hauing both for matter and forme the ſubſtance of Chriſts inſtitution, is by a fourth ſort of men voided for the onely defect of eccleſiaſticall authoritie in the Miniſter, thinke it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare ſtrength of their very breath by ſaying, *Wee take ſuch baptiſme to be no more the ſacrament of baptiſme, then any other ordinarie bathing to be a ſacrament?* [a] It behooueth generally all ſorts of men to keepe themſelues within the limits of their owne vocation. And ſeeing God from whome mens ſeuerall degrees and preheminences doe proceede, hath appointed them in his Church, at whoſe hands his pleaſure is that wee ſhould receiue both baptiſme and all other publique medicinable helps of ſoule, perhaps thereby the more to ſettle our harts in the loue of our ghoſtly ſuperiors, they haue ſmall cauſe to hope that with him their voluntarie ſeruices will be accepted who thruſt themſelues into functions either aboue their capacitie or beſides their place, and ouerbouldly intermedle with dueties whereof no charge was euer giuen them. They that in any thing exceede the compaſſe of their owne order doe as much as in them lyeth to diſſolue that order which is the harmonie of Gods Church. Suppoſe therefore that in theſe and the like conſiderations the law did vtterly prohibit baptiſme to bee adminiſtred by any other then perſons thereunto ſolemnely conſecrated; what neceſſitie ſoeuer happen. Are not [b] many things firme being done, although in part done otherwiſe then poſitiue rigor and ſtrictnes did require? Nature is much as is poſſible inclineth vnto validities and preſeruations. Diſſolutions and nullities of things done are not onely not fauoured, but hated when either vrged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach, if therefore at any time it come to paſſe, that in teaching publiquely, or priuately in deliuering this bleſſed ſacrament of regeneration, ſome vnſanctified hand contrary to Chriſts ſuppoſed

a *Num.* 16.10. *Leuit.*10.1. 1.*Sam.*13.11. 2.*Sam.*6.6. 2.*Chron.*26.16. *Heb.*5.4.

b 9.q 2.c.*Lugdunenſis.c.ex literis Decretal. de matrim.contract.Damaſ. Burchard.reg.* 169.*Prohibita fieri ſi facta non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles contrarium obtinet.*

ordinance do intrude it ſelfe, to execute that whereupon the lawes of God and his Church haue deputed others, which of theſe two opinions ſeemeth more agreeable with equitie, ours that diſallow what is done a miſſe, yet make not the force of the word and ſacraments, much leſſe their nature and very ſubſtance to depend on the Miniſters authoritie and calling, or elſe [a] theirs which defeate, diſanull, and annihilate both, in reſpect of that one onely perſonall defect, there being not any law of God which ſaith that if the Miniſter be incompetent his word ſhall be no word, his baptiſme no baptiſme? He which teacheth and is not ſent looſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher; his vſurped actions haue in him the ſame nature which they haue in others, although they yeeld him not the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes be peeres, the caſe of doctrine and the caſe of baptiſme both alike, ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore ſhould the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptiſe make baptiſme to me vaine? They [b] graunt that the matter and the forme in ſacraments are the onely parts of ſubſtance, and that if theſe two be reteiued, albeit other things beſides bee vſed which are inconuenient, the ſacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtred but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? when by theſe faire ſpeeches they haue put vs in hope of agreement, wherefore ſup they vp their words againe, interlacing ſuchfriuolous interpretations and gloſes as diſgrace their ſentence? What ſhould moue them, hauing named they *matter* and the *forme* of the ſacrament, to giue vs preſently warning, that the meane by *the forme* of the ſacrament *the inſtitution*, which expoſition darkneth whatſoeuer was before plaine? For whereas in common vnderſtanding that *forme*, which added to the element doth make a ſacrament, and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, conteineth onely the words of vſuall application, they ſet it downe (leaſt common Dictionaries ſhould deceiue vs) that *the forme* doth ſignifie in their language *the inſtitution*, which inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to incloſe the miniſters vocation within the compaſſe of ſome eſſentiall part of the ſacrament. A thing that can neuer ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the [c] miniſter be *no circumſtance but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the* worke of baptiſme? What if the miniſters vocation be a matter [d] *of perpetuall neceſſitie and not a ceremonie variable as times and occaſions require? What if his calling be a principall part of the inſtitution of Chriſt?* Doth it therefore follow that the miniſters authoritie is [e] *of the ſubſtance of the ſacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the forme it ſelfe, yea more incident? For whereas in caſe of neceſſitie the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the element of water lawfull, and others which like not ſo well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarilie the *words* of Chriſts inſtitution were altered, and

a *T.C.l.1.p.144.* As S. *Paul* ſaith that a man can not Preach which is not ſent, *Rom.*10.15 no not although he ſpeake the words of the Scripture and interpret them: So I can not ſee how a man can baptize vnleſſe he be ſent to that end, although he powre water and rehearſe the words which are to be rehearſed in the miniſterie of Baptiſme.

b *T.C.l.1.p 165* If either the matter of the Sacrament, or the forme of it, which is the inſtitution [which things are onely ſubſtantiall parts] were wanting, there ſhould then haue bin no Sacrament at all miniſtred. But they being retained and yet other things vſed which are not conuenient, the Sacrament is miniſtred, but not ſincerely.

c *T.C.lib.*3. *pag.*117.

d *T.C.lib* 3. *pag.*121.

e *T.C.lib.*3. *pag.*135. The miniſter is of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, conſidering that it is a principall part of Chriſts inſtitution. *Bez. Epiſt.*2. *Deſit aqua, & tamen baptiſmus alicuius differi cum ædificatione non poſſit nec debeat, ego certe quouis alio liquore non minus ritè quàm aqua baptiſarim. T.C.lib.*3. *pag.*138. Shew me why the breach of the inſtitution in the forme ſhould make the Sacrament vnauailable and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the miniſter] *T.C.ibid.* Howſoeuer ſome learned and godly giue ſome libertie in the change of the elements of the holy Sacrament, yet I doe not ſee how that can ſtand. *Idem. pag.*137. I would rather iudge him baptiſed which is baptiſed into the name of Chriſt without adding the Father and the holy Ghoſt when the element of water is added, then when the other words being duely kept, ſome other liquor is vſed.

men

men baptiſed in *the name of Chriſt* without either mention made of the Father or of the holy Ghoſt, neuertheleſſe in denying that baptiſme adminiſtred by priuat perſons ought to be reckoned of as a ſacrament they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider, that baptiſme is an action in part morall, in part eccleſiaſticall, and in part myſticall: morall, as being a dutie which men performe towards God; eccleſiaſticall, in that it belongeth vnto Gods Church as a publique dutie; finally myſticall, if we reſpect what God doth thereby intend to worke. The greateſt morall perfection of baptiſme conſiſteth in mens deuout obedience to the lawe of God, which law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoeuer wee doe is hatefull in his ſight, who therefore is ſayde to reſpect *aduerbs* more then *verbes*, becauſe the end of his lawe in appointing what wee ſhall doe is our owne perfection, which perfection conſiſteth chiefely in the vertuous diſpoſition of the minde, and approueth it ſelfe to him not by *doing*, but by doing *well*. Wherein appeareth alſo the difference betweene humaine and diuine lawes, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*; the one doe but claime the deede, the other eſpecially the minde. So that according to lawes which principallie reſpect the heart of men, workes of religion being not religiouſly perfourmed, cannot morallie be perfect. Baptiſme as an eccleſiaſticall worke is for the manner of performance ordered by diuers eccleſiaſticall lawes, prouiding that as the ſacrament it ſelfe is a gift of no meane woorth, ſo the miniſterie thereof might in all circumſtances appeare to bee a function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the myſticall perfection of baptiſme outwardly, is the element the word, and the ſerious application of both vnto him which receiueth both, whereunto if wee adde that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſinnes by vertue of Chriſts owne compact ſolemnelie made with his Church, to accompliſh fullie the ſacrament of Baptiſme, there is not any thing more required. Now put the queſtion whether baptiſme adminiſtred to infants without any ſpirituall calling bee vnto them both a true ſacrament and an effectuall inſtrument of grace, or elſe an acte of no more accompt then the ordinarye waſhings are. The ſumme of all that can be ſaide to defeate ſuch baptiſme is, that thoſe things which haue no beeing can worke nothing, and that Baptiſme without the power of ordination is as iudgement without ſufficient iuriſdiction, voide, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this we anſwere, that the fruite of Baptiſme dependeth onely vpon the Couenant which God hath made; that God by Couenant requireth in the elder ſort Faith and Baptiſme, in Children the Sacrament of Baptiſme alone, whereunto hee hath alſo giuen them right by ſpeciall priuiledge of birth within the boſome of the holie Church; that infants therefore, which haue receiued Baptiſme complete as touching the myſticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his owne couenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſinne, for as much as all other lawes concerning that which in baptiſme is either morall or eccleſiaſticall, doe binde the Church which giueth baptiſme, and not the infant which receiueth it of the Church. So that if any thing bee therein amiſſe, the harme which groweth by violation of holie ordinances muſt altoge-

ther reſt where the bondes of ſuch ordinances holde. For that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in iuriſdictions may ſomewhat appeare by the very opinion which men haue of them. The nullitie of that which a iudge doth by way of authoritie without authoritie, is knowne to all men, and agreed vpon with full conſent of the whole world, euery man receiueth it as a generall edict of nature, whereas the nullitie of baptiſme in regard of the like defect is onely a fewe mens new vngrounded and as yet vnapproued imagination. Which difference of generalitie in mens perſwaſions on the one ſide, and their paucitie whoſe conceipt leadeth them the other way hath riſen from a difference eaſie to obſerue in the things themſelues. The exercile of vnauthoriſed iuriſdiction is a grieuance vnto them that are vnder it, whereas they that without authoritie preſume to baptiſe, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are foode, and the miniſters thereof as parents or as nurſes, at whoſe hands when there is neceſſitie but no poſſibilitie of receiuing it, if that which they are not preſent to doe in right of their office be of pitie and compaſſion done by others, ſhall this be thought to turne cæleſtiall bread into graueſl, or the medicine of ſoules into poiſon? Iuriſdiction is a yoke which lawe hath impoſed on the necks of men in ſuch ſort that they muſt indure it for the good of others, how contrary ſoeuer it be to their owne particular appetites and inclinations, iuriſdiction bridleth men againſt their wils, that which a iudge doth preuaile by vertue of his very power, and therefore not without great reaſon, except the law haue giuen him authoritie, whatſoeuer he doth, vaniſheth. Baptiſme on the other ſide being a fauour which it pleaſeth God to beſtowe, a benefit of ſoule to vs that receiue it, and a grace which they that deliuer are but as meere veſſels either appointed by others or offered of their owne accord to this ſeruice; of which two if they be the one it is but their owne honor, their owne offence to be the other; can it poſſiblie ſtand with [a] equitie and right, that the faultines of their preſumption in giuing baptiſme ſhould be able to preiudice vs, who by taking baptiſme haue no way offended? I know there are many ſentences found in the bookes and writings of the auncient Fathers to proue both eccleſiaſticall and alſo morall defects in the miniſter of baptiſme, a barre to the heauenly benefit thereof. Which ſentences we alwayes ſo vnderſtand, as [b] Auguſtine vnderſtoode in a caſe of like nature the words of Cyprian. When infants baptiſed were after their parents reuolt carried by them in armes to the ſtewes of Idols, thoſe wretched creatures as S. Cyprian thought, were not only their owne ruine but their childrens alſo; *Their children*, whome this their apoſtaſie profaned, *did looſe what chriſtian baptiſme had giuen them being newly borne.* They loſt (ſaith S. Auguſtine) the grace of baptiſme, *if we conſider to what their parents impietie did tend*, although the mercy of God preſerued them, and will alſo in that dreadfull day of accompt giue them fauourable audience pleading in their owne behalfe, *The harme of other mens perfidiouſnes it lay not in vs to auoyde.* After the ſame manner whatſoeuer we reade written, if it ſound to the preiudice of baptiſme through any either morall or eccleſiaſticall defect therein, wee conſter it, as equitie and reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offendor onely, which doth, as farre as concerneth himſelfe and them, which wittingly concurre with him, make the ſacrament of God fruitleſſe. S. Auguſtines

a *Factum alterius alij nocere non debet.* Vlp. l. de pupillo. §. ſi plurimum. Item Alphen. l. Pater familias. De hære. inſti. *Maleficia tenent authores ſuos non alios.* l. Sancimus 22. C. de pæn.

b *Auguſt. Epi.* 23

guſtines [a] *doubtfulnes* whether baptiſme by a lay man may ſtand or ought to be readminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was content to profeſſe himſelfe vnreſoluted. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plaine enough, but the manner of deliuering his iudgement being modeſt, they make of a vertue an imbecilitie, and impute his calmenes of ſpeech to an irreſolution of minde. His diſputation in that place is againſt Parmenian, which held, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt if they fall into any hereſie doe thereby looſe the power which they had before to baptiſe, and that therefore baptiſme by heretiques is meerely voide. For anſwer whereof he firſt denyeth that hereſie can more depriue men of power to baptiſe others then it is of force to take from them their owne baptiſme; and in the ſecond place he farther addeth, that if heretiques did looſe the power which before was giuen them by ordination, and did therefore vnlawfully vſurpe as oft as they tooke vpon them to giue the ſacrament of baptiſme, it followeth not that baptiſme by them adminiſtred without authoritie is no baptiſme. For then what ſhould we thinke of baptiſme by lay men to whome authoritie was neuer giuen? I doubt (ſaith S. Auguſtine) whether any man which carrieth a vertuous and godly minde will affirme that the baptiſme which lay men do in caſe of neceſſitie adminiſter ſhould be iterated. *For to doe it vnneceſſarily is to execute an other mans office; neceſſitie vrging, to doe it is then either no fault at all* (much leſſe ſo grieuous a crime that it ſhould deſerue to be termed by the name of [b] ſacrilege) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it euen of very purpoſe vſurped and giuen vnto any man by euery man that liſteth, yet that which is giuen cannot poſſibly be denyed to haue beene giuen, how truly ſoeuer we may ſay it hath not beene giuen lawfully. Vnlawfull vſurpation a penitent affection muſt redreſſe. If not, the thing that was giuen ſhall remaine to the hurt and detriment of him which vnlawfully either adminiſtred or receiued the ſame, yet ſo that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all beene giuen.* Whereby we may plainely perceiue, that S. Auguſtine was not himſelfe vncertaine what to thinke, but doubtfull whether any well minded men in the whole world could thinke otherwiſe then he did. Their [c] argument taken from a ſtolen ſeale may returne to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men giue or graunt to others muſt appeare to haue proceeded of their owne accord. This being manifeſt, their gifts and graunts are thereby made effectuall both to barre themſelues from reuocation, and to aſſecure the right they haue giuen. Wherein for further preuention of miſchiefes that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, trecherie, and fraude of men, it is both equall and meete that the ſtrength of mens deedes and the inſtruments which declare the ſame ſhould ſtrictlie depend vpon diuers ſolemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſſe betweene God and vs, becauſe ſith wee neede not doubt leaſt the treaſures of his heauenly grace ſhould without his conſent bee paſt by forged conueyances, nor leaſt hee ſhould denye at any time his owne acts, and ſeeke to reuoke what hath beene conſented vnto before, as there is no ſuch feare of daunger through deceipt and falſehoode in this caſe, ſo neither hath the circumſtance of mens perſons that waight in baptiſme which for good and iuſt conſiderations in the cuſtodie of ſeales of office it ought to haue. The grace of Baptiſme

a *T.C.l.3.p.136* *Auguſtine* ſtandeth in doubt whether Baptiſme by a Lay-man be auaileable or no. *Cont. lit. Parmen. li.2.ca.13.* where by all likelyhood he was out of doubt that that which was miniſtred by a woman whoſe vnpraeſſe herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

b *T.C.l.3.p.116.* The ſacriledge of priuate perſons, women eſpecially in adminiſtring the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme.

c *T.C.l.3.p.139* As by the ſeale which the Prince hath ſet apart to ſeale his graunts with, when it is ſtollen and ſet to by him that hath no authoritie, there groweth no aſſurance to the party that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the ſeale of God which a woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhee hath ſtollen it and put it to, not only without, but contrary to the Commandement of God, I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

Baptiſme commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſterie of baptiſme vnto ſpeciall men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authoritie might giue being, or adde force to the ſacrament it ſelfe. That infants haue right to the ſacrament of baptiſme wee all acknowledge. Charge them wee cannot as guilefull and wrongfull poſſeſſors of that whereunto they haue right by the manifeſt will of the donor, and are not parties vnto any defect or diſorder in the manner of receiuing the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we haue ſufficiently before declared that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, mens owne faults are their owne harmes. Wherefore to counteruaile this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that which more truely and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that miniſter baptiſme, wherein the miniſterie of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the ſame analogie which lawes of wedlocke haue to our firſt natiuitie and birth. So that if nature do effect procreation notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach euen of natures lawe made that the entrance of all mankinde into this preſent world might be without blemiſh, may we not iuſtly preſume that grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultines in them that tranſgreſſe the order which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumciſion for explication what is true in this queſtion of baptiſme. Seeing then that euen they which [a] condemne Sephora the wife of Moſes for taking vpon her to circumciſe her ſonne, a thing neceſſarie at that time for her to doe, and as I thinke very hard to reproue in her, conſidering how Moſes, becauſe himſelfe had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremitie performe the office; whereupon, for the ſtay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needs fall into their hands; whoſe fact therein whether we interpret, as ſome haue done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the exerciſe of Iewiſh rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelfe through her husbands ouerſight, in a matter of his owne religion, brought vnto theſe perplexities and ſtreights, that either ſhe muſt now indure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her owne childe, which ſhe could not doe but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhe fumingly both threw downe the foreskin at his feete, and vpbraided him with the crueltie of his religion: or if we better like to follow their more iudicious expoſition which are not inclinable to thinke that Moſes was matcht like Socrates, nor that Circumciſion could now in Eleazer be ſtrange vnto her, hauing had Gerſom her elder ſonne before Circumciſed, nor that any occaſion of coller could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſerie as doth [b] naturally moue compaſſion and not wrath, nor that Sephora was ſo impious as in the viſible preſence of Gods deſerued anger to ſtorme at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the hiſtorie it ſelfe can enforce any ſuch affection, but do onely

a *Exod. 4. 24.*

T. C. lib. 1. pa. 44 I ſay that the vnlawfulnes of that fact doeth appeare ſufficiently, in that ſhe did it before her huſband Moſes, which was a prophet of the Lord, to whome that office of circumciſion did appertaine. Beſides that ſhe did cut off the foreskin of the infant not of minde to obey the commandement of God, or for the ſaluation of the childe, but in a choler only, to the end that her husband might be eaſed and haue releaſe: which minde appeareth in her both by her words, & by caſting away in anger the foreskin which ſhe had cut off. And if it be ſaid that the euent declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that Moſes forthwith waxed better, and was recouered of his ſickenes, I haue ſhewed before that if we meaſure things by the euent, we ſhall oftentimes iuſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſnes of the righteous from them.

b *Mala paſſi non iraſcimur ſed compatimur.* Boet. de conſol

only declare how after the act performed ſhe *touched* the feete of Moſes ſaying, [a] *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum, Thou art vnto me an husband of bloud*, which might be very well the one done and the other ſpoken euen out of the flowing aboundance of commiſeration and loue, to ſignifie with hands layd vnder his feete that her tender affection towards him had cauſed her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aſide, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of death with effuſion of bloud; the ſequele thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument that God was ſatiſfied with that ſhe did, as may appeare by his owne teſtimonie declaring how there followed in the perſon of Moſes preſent releaſe of his grieuous puniſhment vpon her ſpeedie diſcharge of that dutie which by him neglected had offended God, [d] euen as after execution of iuſtice by the hands of Princes the plague was immediatly taken away, which former impunitie of ſinne had cauſed; in which ſo manifeſt and plaine caſes not to make that a reaſon of the euent which God himſelfe hath ſet downe as a reaſon, were falſely to accuſe whome he doth iuſtifie and without any cauſe to traduce what we ſhould allow: yet ſeeing they which will haue it a breach of the law of God for her to circumciſe in that neceſſitie, are not able to denie but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed was to the innocent child which receiued it true Circumciſion, why ſhould that defect whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakened be to baptiſme a deadly wound? Theſe premiſſes therefore remaining as hitherto they haue bene layd, becauſe the commandement of our Sauiour Chriſt which committeth [c] ioyntly to publique Miniſters both doctrine and baptiſme doth no more by linking them together import that the nature of the ſacrament dependeth on the Miniſters authoritie and power to preach the word then the force and vertue of the word doth on licence to giue the ſacrament; and conſidering that the worke of externall miniſterie in baptiſme is only a preeminence of honor which they that take to themſelues and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, doe but themſelues in their owne perſons by meanes of ſuch vſurpation incurre the iuſt blame of diſobedience to the law of God, farther alſo in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deeds ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoeuer is miſconceiued, and that baptiſme by women ſhould ceaſe to be baptiſme as oft as any man will thereby gather the children which dye vnbaptiſed are damned, which opinion if the act of baptiſme adminiſtred in ſuch manner did enforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether voyde; laſt of all whereas generall and full conſent of the godlie learned in all ages doth make for validitie of baptiſme, yea albeit adminiſtred in priuat and euen by women, which kinde of baptiſme in caſe of neceſſitie diuers reformed Churches doe both allow and

a Where the vſuall tranſlation hath *Exod.* 4. 25. She cut away the foreskinne of her ſonne, and caſt it at his feete, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloudie husband vnto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhe ſaid, O bloudy husband becauſe of the circumciſion: the words as they lie in the originall, are rather to be thus interpreted, And ſhee cut off the fore skinne of her ſonne. Which being done, ſhee touched his feete [the feet of Moſes] and ſaid, thou art to me an husband of bloud (in the plurall number, thereby ſignifying effuſion of bloud.) And the Lord withdrewe from him at the very time when ſhe ſaid, A husband of bloud in regard of circumciſion.

b *Pſal.* 106. 30.

c *T. C. lib.* 3. *page* 142. Seeing they onely are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments which are bidden to preach the word, and that the publike Miniſters haue onely this charge of the word; and ſeeing that the adminiſtration of both theſe are ſo linked together, that the deniall of licence to doe one is a deniall to doe the other, as of the contratie part licence to one is licence to the other; conſidering alſo that to miniſter the Sacraments is an honour in the Church which none can take vnto him but he which is called vnto it as was Aaron: and further, for as much as the baptiſing by priuate perſons and by women eſpecially confirmeth the dangerous errour of the condemnation of young Children which die without Baptiſme; laſt of all ſeeing we haue the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the Baptiſme by women, and of the reformed Churches now againſt the Baptiſme by priuate men, we conclude that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by priuate perſons, and eſpecially by women is meerely both vnlawfull and voide.

defend,

defend, ſome others which doe not defend tolerate, few in compariſon and they without any iuſt cauſe doe vtterly diſanull and annihilate, ſurely whoſoeuer through defects on either ſide the Sacrament may be without fruit, as well in ſome caſes to him which receiueth as to him which giueth it, yet no diſability of either part can ſo farre make it fruſtrate and without effect as to depriue it of the very nature of true baptiſme, hauing all things els which the ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently inferre that the adminiſtration of this ſacrament by priuat perſons, be it lawfull or vnlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meerely voyde.

Interrogatories in Baptiſme touching faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life

63 All that are of the race of Chriſt, the Scripture nameth them *children of the promiſe* which God hath made. The promiſe of eternall life is the ſeede of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainement of life but through the onely begotten Sonne of God, nor by him otherwiſe then being ſuch as the Creede Apoſtolique deſcribeth, it followeth that the articles thereof are principles neceſſarie for all men to ſubſcribe vnto whome by baptiſme the Church receiueth into Chriſts ſchoole. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable concluſions or demonſtratiue principles. Concluſions haue ſtrong and inuincible proofes as well in the ſchoole of Ieſus Chriſt as elſewhere. And principles bee grounds which require no proofe in any kinde of ſcience, becauſe it ſufficeth if either their certaintie bee euident in it ſelfe, or euident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it ſelfe ſuch as no mans knowledge is euer able to ouerthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our ſoules, haue their euidence where they had their originall, and as receiued from thence we adore them, we hold them in reuerend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute aboue them, we giue vnto them that aſſent which the oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt becauſe miſcreants in skorne haue vpbraided vs, that the higheſt point of our wiſedome is [a] *Beliefe*. That which is true and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, muſt haue principles of reuealed trueth whereupon to build it ſelfe, and an habit of faith in vs wherewith principles of that kinde are apprehended. [b] The myſteries of our religion are aboue the reach of our vnderſtanding, aboue diſcourſe of mans reaſon, aboue all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſts familie is beliefe. Which beliefe conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge as in acknowledgement of all things that heauenly wiſedome reuealeth; the affection of faith is aboue her reach, her loue to Godward aboue the comprehenſion which ſhe hath of God. And becauſe onely for belieuers all things may be done, he which is goodnes it ſelfe loueth them aboue all. Deſerue we then the loue of God, becauſe we beleeue in the Sonne of God? What more oppoſite then faith and pride? When God had created all things, he looked vpon them & loued them, becauſe they were all as himſelfe had made them. So the true reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth loue belieuers is becauſe their beliefe is [c] the gift of God, a gift then which fleſh and bloud in this world cannot poſſibly receiue a greater. And as to loue them of whome wee receiue good things is dutie, becauſe they ſatiſfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want, ſo to loue them on whome

a *Apoſtata maledictum.* οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ἀμαθίας δεῖ σοφίας. *Nazi. Orat. 1. cont. Iulia.*

b οὐχ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἀκούων, οὐ καταλαμβανόμενον φύσεως τὰ ἀμίκτερα. *Iuſt. Mart, Expoſ. fid.*

c *Matth. 16. 17 Iohn 1. 12.*

whom we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our owne vertue. Seeing therefore no religion enioyeth Sacraments the ſignes of Gods loue, vnleſſe it haue alſo that faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more conuenient then that our firſt admittance to the actuall receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of baptiſme ſhould be [a] conſecrated with profeſſion of beliefe, which is to the kingdome of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth infidels both from that and from all other ſauing grace? We finde by experience that although faith be an intellectuall habit of the minde, and haue her ſeate in the vnderſtanding, yet an euill morall diſpoſition obſtinately wedded to the loue of darknes dampeth the very light of heauenly illumination and permitteth not the minde to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are louers of pleaſure more then louers of God. Their aſſent to his ſauing truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weake to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtreame of corrupt affection carrieth them a cleane contrarie way. That the minde therefore may abide in the light of faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to haue no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of darkenes. Two couenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith [b] Iſidore) do make in baptiſme, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the faith of Chriſt. In like ſort [c] S. Ambroſe, *He which is baptiſed* forſaketh the intellectuall Pharao the Prince of this world ſaying, *Abrenuncio, Thee ô Satan and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandats I forſake vtterly.* [d] Tertullian hauing ſpeech of wicked Spirits, *Theſe* (ſayth he) *are the Angels which we in baptiſme renounce.* The declaration of [e] Iuſtine the Martyr concerning baptiſme ſheweth, how ſuch as the Church in thoſe dayes did baptiſe made profeſſion of Chriſtian beliefe, and vndertooke to liue accordingly. Neither do I thinke it a matter eaſie for any man to proove that euer baptiſme did vſe to be adminiſtred without interrogatories of theſe two kindes. Whereunto [e] S. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath ſayd, that the baptiſme *which ſaueth* vs is not (as legall purification were) a cleanſing of the fleſh from outward impuritie, but ἐπερώτημα *an interogatiue triall of a good conſcience towards God.*

a *Spiritus Sanctus habitator templi non efficitur quod Antiſtitem non habet veram fidem, Hierom. aduerſ. Luciferian. cap. 4.*

b *Iſid. de Offic. Eccleſi. li. 2. ca. 24*

c *Ambroſ. Hexam. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

d *Tertul. de ſpectac.*

e Ὅσοι ἂν πιστεύσωσι καὶ πιστώσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δυνάμεθα ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. *Iuſtin. Apol.*

e 1. Pet. 3. 21.

64 Now the fault which they finde with vs concerning interrogatories is our mouing of theſe queſtions vnto infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretenſes to ſcorne at the baptiſme of Children, firſt becauſe the ſcriptures he ſaith do no where giue commandement to baptiſe infants; ſecondly, for that as there is no commandement ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to haue bene done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; thirdly, in as much as the word preached and the Sacraments muſt goe together, they which are not capable of the one are no fit receiuers of the other; laſt of all ſith the order of baptiſme continued from the firſt beginning hath in it thoſe things which are

Interrogatories propoſed vnto infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by godfathers. They prophane holy Baptiſme in toying fooliſhly, for that they aske queſtions of an infant which cannot anſwere and ſpeake vnto them as was wont to be ſpoken vnto men, and vnto ſuch as being conuerted anſwered for themſelues and were Baptiſed. Which is but a mockerie of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures. Gal. 6. 7. Admon. to the Parlia. The ſame defended in T. C. li. 1. pag. 168.

vnfit

vnfit to be applied vnto ſucking children, it followeth in their conceipt that the baptiſme of ſuch is no baptiſme but plaine mockerie. They with whome we contend are no enimies to the baptiſme of infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazard ſo many ſoules by letting them runne on till they come to ripenes of vnderſtanding that ſo they may be conuerted and then baptiſed as infidels heretofore haue bene; they beare not towards God ſo vnthankefull mindes as not to acknowledge it euen amongſt the greateſt of his endleſſe mercies, that by making vs his owne poſſeſſion ſo ſoone, many aduantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are preuented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happines) the firſt thing whereof we haue occaſion to take notize is, how much hath bene done alreadie to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the baptiſme of infants they eſteeme as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted euen in ſpeciall loue and fauour to his owne people; they denie not the practiſe thereof accordingly to haue bene kept as deriued from the hands and continued from the dayes of the Apoſtles themſelues vnto this preſent. Only it pleaſeth them not that to infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed in baptiſme. This they condemne as fooliſh, toyiſh, prophane mockerie. But are they able to ſhew that euer the Church of Chriſt had any publique forme of baptiſme without interrogatories; or that the Church did euer vſe at the ſolemne baptiſme of infants to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſſe in this caſe? [a] Boniface a Biſhop in S. Auguſtines time knowing that the Church did vniuerſallie vſe this cuſtome of baptiſing infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learne from S. Auguſtine the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſayth he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young infant and ſhould aske of thee whether that infant when he commeth vnto riper age will be honeſt and iuſt or no, thou wouldeſt anſwere* (*I know*) *that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſſe is not in the power of a mortall man. If I ſhould aske what good or euill ſuch an infant thinketh, thine anſwere hereunto muſt needes be againe with the like vncertaintie. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe, how is it that when ſuch are brought vnto baptiſme, their parents there vndertake what the childe ſhall afterwards doe, yea they are not doubtfull to ſay it doth that which is impoſſible to be done by infants? at the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirme it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwere, ſuch as not only may preſſe me with the bare authoritie of cuſtome but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficultie, whether it may truly be ſayd for infants at the time of their baptiſme that they do belieue, the effect of S. Auguſtines anſwere is yea, but with this diſtinction, [b] a preſent *actuall habite of faith there is not* in them, there is deliuered vnto them that ſacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the articles of faith, *becauſe* the habite of faith which afterwards doth come with yeares, is but *a farther* building vp of the ſame edifice, the *firſt foundation whereof was layd by the ſacrament* of baptiſme. For that which there we profeſſed without any vnderſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing elſe but only bring vnto ripenes the very ſeed that was ſowne before? We are *then belieuers* becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſſe of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actuall beliefe, the very ſacrament of faith is a ſhield

a *Auguſt. epiſt.* 23.

b *Sicut credere reſpondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei ſacramentum percipiendo. Auguſt.*

as ſtrong as after this the faith of the ſacrament againſt all contrarie internall powers. Which whoſoeuer doth thinke impoſſible, is vndoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian beliefe, though he be baptiſed, then are theſe innocents which at their baptiſme albeit they haue no conceipt or cogitation of faith are, notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple we may accompt them and terme them belieuers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith then infants, why not infants much more at the time of their ſolemne initiation by baptiſme the ſacrament of faith, whereunto they not only conceyue nothing oppoſite, but haue alſo that [a] grace giuen them which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe out of which our beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of belieuers, all honored with that title, euen hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saincts, becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habite of faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eye of the world, the ſecond faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the readie direct way to become both, if all things after be ſuteable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſayth S. Auguſtine) *would not happilie content ſuch perſons as are vncapable or vnquiet, but to them which hauing knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I haue not for eaſe of my ſelfe obiected againſt you that cuſtome only, then which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable I haue done that litle which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were S. Auguſtine now liuing, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction that [b] to ſay of a child *it is elect* and to ſay it doth belieue are all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able preciſely to affirme the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* we ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* termes are needles in this caſe. We ſpeake of infants *as the rule of pietie* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelues in ordinarie talke a charitable kinde of libertie to name men of their owne ſort *Gods deare children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of hypocriſie) ſhould not me thinks be ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in generall hath ſayd that *of ſuch* is the kingdome of heauen, which kingdome is the inheritance of Gods elect, and do withall behold how his prouidence hath called them vnto the firſt beginnings of eternall life, and preſented them at the wellſpring of new birth wherein originall ſinne is purged, beſides which ſinne there is no hinderance of their ſaluation knowne to vs, as themſelues will graunt, hard it were that hauing ſo many faire inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to vtter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming [c] the like of others, whoſe ſafetie neuertheles we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples be only for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to infants in baptiſme, and be anſwered vnto by others as in their names, they may conſider that baptiſme implyeth a couenant or league betweene God and man, wherein as God doth beſtowe preſently remiſſion of ſinnes and the holy Ghoſt, binding alſo

a *Multum mirabilis res eſt quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus & quorundam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoſcentes Deum non ſicut Deum glorificauerunt: & ad templum Dei pertinent paruuli ſanctificati ſacramento Chriſti regenerati ſpiritu Sancto, qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deum. Vnde quem potuerunt illi noſſe nec habere iſti potuerunt habere antequam noſſe. Auguſt. epiſt. 57.*

b T.C. lib. 1. pag. 169. If children could haue faith, yet they that preſent the childe cannot preciſely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no; we are to thinke charitablie and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more preciſely ſayd that it hath faith, then it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

c 2. *Iohn.* 1.

himselfe to adde in processe of time what grace soeuer shall be farther necessarie for the attainement of euerlasting life; so euery baptised soule receyuing the same grace at the hands of God tyeth likewise it selfe for euer to the obseruation of his lawe no lesse then the Iewes [a] by Circumcision bound themselues to the lawe of Moses. The law of Christ requiring therefore faith and newnes of life in all men by vertue of the couenant which they make in baptisme, is it toyish that the Church in baptisme exacteth at euery mans hands an expresse profession of faith and an irreuocable promise of obedience by way of [b] solemne stipulation? That infants may contract and couenant with God, [c] the law is plaine. Neither is the reason of the law obscure. For sith it tendeth we cannot sufficiently expresse how much to their owne good, and doth no way hurt or endaunger them to begin the race of their liues herewith, they are as equitie requireth admitted hereunto, and in fauour of their tender yeares such formall complements of stipulation as being requisite are impossible by themselues in their owne persons to be performed leane is giuen that they may [d] sufficiently discharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deafe nor dumb men, neither furious persons, nor children can receiue any ciuill stipulation, yet this kinde of ghostlie stipulation they may through his indulgence who respecting the singular benefit thereof accepteth children brought vnto him for that ende, entreth into articles of couenant with them and in tender commiseration graunteth that other mens professions and promises in baptisme made for them shall auaile no lesse then if they had bene themselues able to haue made their owne. None more fit to vndertake this office in their behalfe then such as present them vnto baptisme. A wrong conceipt that none may receiue the sacrament of baptisme but they whose parents at the least the one of them are by the soundnes of their religion and by their vertuous demeanor knowne to be men of God, hath caused [e] some to repell children whosoeuer bring them if their parents be misperswaded in religion, or for other mis-deserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold baptisme, vnlesse the father, albeit no such exception can iustly be taken against him, do notwithstanding make profession of his faith, and auouch the child to be his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed the ministers of holie things, they make themselues inquisitors of mens persons a great deale farther then needeis. They should consider that God hath ordained baptisme in fauor of mankind. To restraine fauors is an odious thing, to enlarge them acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the Ciuill lawe gaue diuers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and had them liuing, those immunities they held although their children were all dead if warre had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason to repute them by a courteous construction of law as [f] liuemen in that the honor of their seruice done to the common wealth would remaine alwayes. Can it hurt vs in exhibiting the graces which God doth bestow on men, or can it preiudice his glorie if the selfesame equitie guide and direct our hands? When God made his couenant with such as had Abraham to their father, was onlie Abrahams immediate issue, or onlie his lineall posteritie according

a *Gal.5.3.*

b *Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum factumue se quod interrogatus est respondet. l.5.§. 1.ff.de oblig.& act. In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide iubes? Fide iubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Instit. de verb.obl. li.3. tit.15.*

c *Gen.17.14.*

d *Accommodat illis mater eccle-sia aliorum pedes vt veniant, aliorum cor vt credant, aliorum linguam vt fateantur; vt quoniam quod ægri sunt alio peccante prægrauantur, sic cum sani fiant alio pro eis confitente saluentur. Aug.serm.10.de verb.Apost.*

e *T.C.lib.1. pag.172.*

f *Hi enim qui pro reb.ceciderunt in perpetuum per gloriam viuere intelliguntur. Instit.lib.2.tit. 25.§.1.*

according to the flesh included in that couenant? Were not Proselites as well as Iewes alwayes taken for the sonnes of Abraham? Yea because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort as touching prouidence and care for the meanest that belong vnto them, the seruants which Abraham had bought with monie were as capable of Circumcision being newly borne as any naturall child that Abraham himselfe begat. Be it then that baptisme belongeth to none but such as either belieue presently, or else being infants are the children of *beleeuing parents*. In case the Church do bring children to the holie font whose naturall parents are either vnknowne, or knowne to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that seuerity to take compassion vpon their offspring (for [a] it is the Church which doth offer them to baptisme by the ministerie of presenters) were it not against both equitie and dutie to refuse the mother of beleeuers her selfe, and not to take her in this case for a faithfull parent? It is not the vertue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can giue vs the true holines which we haue by vertue of our new birth. Yet euen through the common faith and spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no qualitie of parents can preiudice) I say through the faith of the Church of God vndertaking the motherly care of our soules, so farre forth we may be, and are in our infancie sanctified as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of baptisme, and to be interessed in the rites of our new birth for their pieties sake that offer vs thereunto. *It commeth sometime to passe* (saith S. Augustine) *that the children of bondslaues are brought to baptisme by their Lords, sometime the parents being dead, the friends aliue vndertake that office; sometime strangers or virgins consecrated vnto God, which neither haue nor can haue children of their owne, take vp infants in the open streets and so offer them vnto baptisme, whome the crueltie of vnnaturall parents casteth out and leaueth to the aduenture of vncertaine pitie.* As therefore he which did the part of a neighbour, was a neighbour to that wounded man whome the parable of the Gospell describeth: so they are fathers although strangers, that bring infants to him which maketh them the sonnes of God. In the phrase of some kinde of men they vse to be termed *witnesses*, as if they came but to see and testifie what is done. It sauoureth more of pietie to giue them their old accustomed name of fathers and mothers in God, whereby they are well put in minde what affection they ought to beare towards those innocents, for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their owne dutie. But because the answere which they make to the vsuall demaunds of stipulation proposed in baptisme is not their owne, the Church doth best to receiue is of them in that forme which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a Gardian doth in the name of his Guard or pupill standeth by naturall equitie forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And shall we iudge it a thing vnreasonable, or in any respect vnfit, that infants by words which others vtter should though vnwittingly yet truly and forcibly binde themselues to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith [b] Ne-

[a] *Offeruntur quippe paruuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quamuis & ab ipsis si & ipsi boni fideles sunt, quam ab vniuersa societate sanctorum atq; fidelium. Augustin. epist. 23.*

Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ σπλάγχνα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὰ τέκνα τῶν πίστει προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ Σωτῆρι. *Iustin. resp. ad Orthod.*

[b] *Si Arriana aut Sabelliana hæreseos adiector esses & non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum vteretur, communicarem tecum testamenti sacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem sic apud te agerem, quid dicerem? quid respon-*

deres? hunc obsecrò illud in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum esse? Si verò in negotio quamuis in grabo non importuna defensio, ea que non absurdè causam erroris diceres, si pertinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica vrbe natus, catholica fide institutus, catholico baptismate regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quasi cum Arriano aut Sabelli ato possum? quod vtinam fuisset. Maius dolorem in malis editum quam de bonis lapsum. minus fidem non habitam quàm amissam. Non ita quum autem, hæresim, non iniquum aut graue aliquid postulo. Hoc fac in catholica fide editus quod fueras pro peruersitate falsitatis. Cassia. de incarn. lib. 6. cap. 5.

ſtorius the Heretique was charged as hauing fallen from his firſt profeſſion and broken the promiſe which hee made to God in the armes of others. Of ſuch as prophaned themſelues being Chriſtians with irreligious delight in the enſignes of idolatrie, heatheniſh ſpectacles, ſhowes, and ſtage playes, * Tertullian to ſtrike them the more deepe claymeth the promiſe which they made in baptiſme. Why were they dumbe being thus chalenged? Wherefore ſtood they not vp to anſwere in their owne defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were friuolous, that all which others vndertooke for them was but mockerie and profanation? That which no heretique, no wicked liuer, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelfe beene baptiſed was euer ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfully receiued cuſtomes, is now their voyce that reſtore as they ſay the auncient puritie of religion.

* Tertul. l. de ſpectac.

Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

65 In Baptiſme many things of very auncient continuance are now quite and cleane aboliſht, for that the vertue and grace of this ſacrament had bene therewith ouerſhadowed as fruit with too great aboundance of leaues. Notwithſtanding to them which thinke it alwayes imperfect reformation that doth but ſheare and not flea, our retaining certaine of thoſe former rites, eſpecially the *dangerous* ſigne of the Croſſe hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable ouerſight. *The Croſſe* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meere inuention of man, ſhould not therefore at all haue bene added to the ſacrament of baptiſme. To ſigne childrens foreheads with a Croſſe, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas they ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Sauiour Chriſt. That reaſon which moued the Fathers to vſe ſhould moue vs not to vſe the ſigne of the Croſſe. They liued with Heathens which had the Croſſe of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſſe, and therefore wee ought to abandon it euen as in like conſideration Ezechias did of old the braſen ſerpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the Croſſe, a Ceremonie the vſe whereof hath bene profitable although wee obſerue it not as the ordinance of God but of man. For, ſaith [a] Tertullian, *If of this and the like cuſtomes thou ſhouldeſt require ſome commandement to be ſhewed thee out of ſcriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to iuſtifie tradition, vſe or cuſtome in this behalfe, *either thou mayſt of thy ſelfe perceiue, or elſe learne of ſome other that doth.* Leaſt therefore the name of tradition ſhould bee offenſiue to any, conſidering how farre by ſome it hath bene and is abuſed, wee meane by [b] traditions, ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian religion, eſtabliſhed with that authoritie which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerued, till like authoritie ſee iuſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that traditions Eccleſiaſticall are not rudely and in groſſe to be ſhaken off, becauſe the inuentors of them were men. Such as ſay they allow no [c] inuention of men to be mingled with the outward adminiſtration of Sacraments, and vnder that pretence condemne our vſing the ſigne of the Croſſe, haue belike ſome ſpeciall diſpenſation themſelues to violate their

a Tertul. de coro. militis.

b Traditiones non ſcriptas ſi doctrinam reſpiciant cum doctrina ſcripta conuenire debere dicimus. Quod ad ritualem & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & edificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inſtituti autem & moris, nempe ineptas & ſuperſtitioſas patronis ſuis reſignamus. Goulart. Geneuenſ. annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. 74.

c T.C. lib. 1. pag. 171. They ſhould not haue beene ſo bolde as to haue brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme; and ſo mingle the ceremonies and inuentions of men with the Sacraments and inſtitutions of God.

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owne rules. For neither can they indeed decently nor doe they euer baptiſe any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inuentions ſhould not bee mingled with ſacraments and inſtitutions of God.* They ſeeme to like very well in baptiſme the cuſtome of Godfathers [a] *becauſe ſo generally all Churches haue receiued it.* Which cuſtome being of God no more inſtituted then the other (howſoeuer they pretend the other hurtfull, and this profitable) it followeth that euen in their owne opinion, if their words doe ſhew their mindes, there is no neceſſitie of ſtripping ſacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies as mans wiſedome hath at any time clothed them withall and conſequently that either they muſt reforme their ſpeech as ouergenerall, or elſe condemne their owne practiſe as vnlawfull. Ceremonies haue more in waight then in ſight, they worke by commonnes of vſe much, although in the ſeuerall acts of their vſage wee ſcarcely diſcerne any good they doe. And becauſe the vſe which they haue for the moſt part is not perfectly vnderſtood, ſuperſtition is apt to impute vnto them greater vertue then indeede they haue. For preuention whereof when wee vſe this Ceremonie wee alwaies plainely expreſſe the end whereunto it ſerueth, namely, for a ſigne of rememberance to put vs in minde of our dutie. But by this meane they ſay wee make it a great deale [b] worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commaunded to draw two lines in token of the dutie which wee owe vnto Chriſt, our practiſe with this expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpell*, and cauſeth an other *Word* to haue place in the Church of Chriſt where no voyce ought to bee heard but his. By which good reaſon the authors of thoſe graue admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen vp, which held that *ſitting* at Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of legall Ceremonies in our Sauiour Chriſt.* For although it bee the word of God that ſuch Ceremonies are expired; yet ſeeing it is not the word of God that men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord, theſe haue their doome as well as others, *Guiltie of a new deuiſed Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpeciall diſlike they haue to heare that Ceremonies now in vſe ſhould be thought ſignificant, whereas in truth ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needes be vaine. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not maſters of that they do. For if wee looke but into ſecular and ciuill complements, what other cauſe can there poſſiblie bee giuen why to omit them where of courſe they are looked for, for where they are not ſo due to vſe them bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great iealouſie, I would know I ſay what reaſon wee are able to yeeld why things ſo light in their owne nature ſhould waigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſauing onely in regard of that which they vſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt [c] himſelfe impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies euen in domeſticall intertainement to a colder degree of louing affection, and take the contrarie in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſſe done as what was ſignified leſſe by the one then by the other? For to that very end he referreth in part of thoſe gracious expoſtulations, *Simon, ſeeſt thou this woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe thou gaueſt me no water for my feete, but ſhe hath waſhed my feete with teares, and wiped them with the heares*

a *T.C.l.1.p.176*

b *T.C.l.1.p.170* The profitable ſignification of the croſſe maketh the thing a great deale worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church, whereas there ought to bee no Doctor heard in the Church but onely our Sauiour Chriſt. For although it be the word of God that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the croſſe of Chriſt, yet is it not the word of God that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawne a croſſe one ouer another in the childs forehead.

c *Luke 7.44.*

of her head; thou gaueſt mee no kiſſe, but this woman ſince the time I came in hath not ceaſed to kiſſe my feete; mine head with oyle thou dideſt not anoint, but this woman hath annointed my feete with ointment. Wherefore as the vſuall dumb Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike according to that they import, euen ſo religion hauing likewiſe her ſilent rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to iudge of their qualitie is that which they meane or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſitie ſignifie becauſe it is of their very nature to bee ſignes of intimation preſenting both themſelues vnto outward ſenſe and beſides themſelues ſome other thing to the vnderſtanding of beholders) vnleſſe they bee either greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignifie agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them as againſt euill and vnlawfull Ceremonies, much leſſe of excepting againſt them onely in that they are not without ſenſe. And if euery religious Ceremonie which hath bene inuented of men to ſignifie any thing that God himſelfe alloweth were the publication of an other Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt, ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the world is or can bee without continuall vſe of ſome Ceremonies which men haue inſtituted, and that to ſignifie good things (vnleſſe they bee vaine and friuolous Ceremonies) it would follow that the world hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not dayly proclaime new Goſpels, a ſequele the manifeſt abſurditie whereof argueth the rawneſſe of that ſuppoſall out of which it groweth. Now the [a] cauſe why antiquitie did the more *in actions of common life* honor the Ceremonie of the Croſſe might bee for that they liued with infidels. But that which they did in the ſacrament of baptiſme was for the ſelfeſame good of belieuers which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſſe is for vs an admonition no leſſe neceſſarie then for them to glory in the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, and not to hang downe our heads as men aſhamed thereof although it procure vs reproch and obloquie at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of feare to incurre diſgrace and ignominie. Now whereas ſome things are worthie of reproch, ſome things ignominious onely through a falſe opinion which men haue conceiued of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion muſt by reaſon and religion be [b] taught what it ſhould bee aſhamed of, and what not. But be we neuer ſo well inſtructed what our duty is in this behalfe, without ſome preſent admonition at the very inſtant of practiſe, what wee know is many times not called to minde till that bee done whereupon our iuſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupply the abſence of ſuch as that way might do vs good when they ſee vs in

a T.C. lib. 1. pag. 170. It is knowne to all that haue read the Eccleſiaſticall ſtories, that the Heathen did obiect to Chriſtians in times paſt in reproch that the God which they beleiued on was hanged vpon a Croſſe. And they thought good to teſtifie that they were not aſhamed therefore of the Sonne of God by the often vſing of the ſigne of the Croſſe. Which carefulnes and good minde to keepe amongſt them an open profeſſion of Chriſt crucified although it bee to be commended, yet is not this meanes ſo. For they might otherwiſe haue kept it and with leſſe daunger then by this vſe of croſſing. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a marke of his curſe ot it, and whereby it might bee perceiued to come out of the forge of mans braine, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the ſwadling cloutes to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a ſuperſtition in it that they would do nothing without Croſſing. But if it we e grauhted that vpon this conſideration which I haue before mentioned, the auncient Chriſtians did well, yet it followeth not that wee ſhould ſo do. For wee liue not amongſt thoſe nations which do caſt vs in the teeth or reproch vs with the Croſſe of Chriſt Now that wee liue amongſt Papiſts that do not contemne the croſſe of Chriſt, but which eſteeme more of the wodden Croſſe then of the true Croſſe which is his ſufferings, we ought now to do cleane contrariwiſe to the ould Chriſtians, and aboliſh all vſe of theſe croſſes. For contrarie diſeaſes muſt haue contrary remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians to deliuer the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did often vſe the Croſſe, the Chriſtians now to take away the ſuperſtitious eſtimation of it ought to take away the vſe of it.

b *Ephes.*5.12. *Rom.*6.21.

in danger of ſliding, there are [a] iudicious and wiſe men which thinke wee may greatly relieue our ſelues by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authoritie we feare and would be loath to offend, if in deed they were preſent with vs. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle vnto many offences. Let the minde haue alwayes ſome whome it feareth, ſome whoſe authoritie may keepe euen ſecret thoughts vnder awe. Take Cato, or if he be too harſh and rugged, chuſe ſome other of a ſofter mettle, whoſe grauitie of life and ſpeech thou loueſt, his minde and countenance carrie with thee, ſet him alwaies before thine eyes either as a watch or as a paterne. That which is crooked wee cannot ſtreighten but by ſome ſuch leuell. If men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maimes of our weake fleſh, haue thought theſe fancied remembrances auaileable to awaken ſhamefaſtnes, that ſo the boldnes of ſinne may bee ſtayed ere it looke abroad, ſurely the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt which hath to that vſe conuerted the Ceremonie of the Croſſe in Baptiſme, it is no Chriſtian mans part to deſpiſe, eſpecially ſeeing that by this meane where nature doth earneſtly importe aide, religion yeeldeth her that readie aſſiſtance then which there can bee no help more forcible, ſeruing onely to relieue memorie, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſinne. The minde while we are in this preſent life [b] whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoeuer exerciſe it ſelfe, worketh nothing without continuall recourſe vnto imagination the onely ſtorehouſe of wit, and peculiar chaire of memorie. On this anuile it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by meanes whereof as the pulſe declareth how the hart doth worke, ſo the very [c] thoughts and cogitations of mans minde bee they good or bad do no where ſooner bewray themſelues, then through the creueſſes of that wall wherewith nature hath compaſſed the cels and cloſets of fancie. In the forehead nothing more plaine to bee ſeene then the feare of contumely and diſgrace. For which cauſe the ſcripture (as with great probabilitie it may bee thought) deſcribeth them [d] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercie hath vndertaken to keepe from finall confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporall marke on his choſen, but to note that he giueth his elect ſecuritie of preſeruation from reproch, the feare whereof doth vſe to ſhew it ſelfe [e] in that part. Shall I ſay that the ſigne of the Croſſe (as wee vſe it) is in ſome ſort a meane to worke our [f] preſeruation from reproch? Surely the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelfe in ſinne is ſeldome prouoked thereunto in any groſſe and grieuous maner, but natures ſecret ſuggeſtion obiected againſt it ignominie as a barre. Which conceipt being entred into that palace of mans fancie, the gates whereof haue imprinted in them that holy ſigne which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoeuer Chriſt hath wrought and wee vowed againſt ſinne, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that Chriſtian men neuer want a moſt effectuall though a ſilent teacher to auoid whatſoeuer may deſeruedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould bee aſhamed of we are by the croſſe admoniſhed faithfully of our dutie at the very moment when admonition doth moſt neede. Other things there are which deſerue honor and yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent world, as of old the very truth of religion it ſelfe, till God by his owne outſtretched arme made the glorie thereof to ſhine ouer all the earth.

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[a] *Senec. Epi. 11. lib. 1.*

[b] Τὸ γοῦν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ ἐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. *Ariſt. de anim. l. 1. c. 1.* Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει. ἡ δὲ λογιστικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. *lib. 3. ca. 11.* Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὰ νοητικὰ ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοῦ. ἐν ᾧ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισαι ἀκτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως δὲ, ὅταν θεωρῇ ἄνευ φαντασμάτων ἢ, κινεῖται. *lib. 3. ca. 8.*

[c] *From homini triſtitiæ, hilaritati, clementiæ, ſeueritatis index eſt. Plin. lib. 11.*

[d] *Ezech. 9. 4. Apoc. 7. 3. 9. 4.*

[e] Ἐρυθριάσαντας γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. *Ariſt. Eth. 4. c. 9.*

[f] *Ca roſignatur vt & anima muniatur. Tert. de reſur. car.*

a *Cypr. Epi. 56. ad Thibaritanos.*

Whereupon [a] S.Cyprian exhorting to martyrdome in times of heathenish perſecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage vnto them with other arguments the verie Ceremonie of that Croſſe whereof we ſpeake. Neuer let that hand offer ſacrifice to idols which hath alreadie receyued the bodie of our Sauiour Chriſt and ſhall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *arme your foreheads* vnto all boldnes that *the ſigne of God* may be kept ſafe. Againe, when it pleaſed God that the furie of their enemies being bridled the Church had ſome little reſt and quietnes, (if ſo ſmall a libertie but onely to breath betweene troubles may bee tearmed quietnes and reſt) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt through former perſecutions, hee giueth due and deſerued prayſe in the ſelfeſame manner, [b] *You that were readie to endure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death; you that haue couragiouſly withſtoode the world, yee haue made your ſelues both a glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your brethren to follow. Thoſe mouthes which had ſanctified themſelues with foode comming downe from heauen loathed after Chriſts owne bodie and bloud to taſt the poyſoned and contagious ſcraps of idols; thoſe foreheads which the ſigne of God had purified kept themſelues to bee crowned by him, the touch of the* [c] *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that ſigne which they had in baptiſme a kinde of barre or preuention to keepe them euen from apoſtaſie, whereunto the frailtie of fleſh and bloud ouermuch fearing to indure ſhame, might peraduenture the more eaſily otherwiſe haue drawne them. We haue not now through the gracious goodnes of almighty God, thoſe extreame conflicts whjch our fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies euery where offered to the name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelues infidels and vnbeleeuers. Howbeit, vnleſſe we be ſtrangers to the age wherein we liue, or els in ſome partiall reſpect diſſemblers of that wee howerly both heare and ſee, there is not the ſimpleſt of vs but knoweth with what diſdaine and ſcorne Chriſt is honored farre and wide. Is there any burthen in the world more heauie to beare then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieueth as theirs doth whoſe qualitie no way making them leſſe worthie then others are of reputation, onely the ſeruice which they do to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of religion treadeth them downe? Doth any contumely which wee ſuſtaine for religions ſake pierce ſo deeply as that which would ſeeme euen of meere conſcience religiouſly ſpitefull? when they that honour God are deſpiſed; when the chiefeſt ſeruice of honor that man can doe vnto him is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honor him and that with greateſt ſinceritie doe with more then heathenish petulancie trample vnder foote almoſt whatſoeuer either wee or the whole Church of God by the ſpace of ſo many ages haue beene accuſtomed vnto for the comlier and better exerciſe of our religion according to the ſoundeſt rules that wiſedome directed by the word of God and by long experience confirmed hath beene able with common aduice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehende; when no man fighting vnder Chriſtes banner can bee alwayes exempted from ſeeing or ſuſtayning thoſe indignities, the ſting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to bee mooued thereat, is a thing impoſſible to fleſh and bloud: if this bee any obiect for patience to worke on,

b *Cypr. de lapſ.*

c *Erant enim ſuppliees coronarij. Tertul. lib. de coro. mil.* In the ſeruice of idols the doores of their Temples, the ſacrifices, the altars, the Prieſts and the ſupplicants that were preſent wore garlands.

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the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tyeth vs is our vowed obedience of Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that wee euer made to obey Chriſt and to ſuffer willingly all reproches for his ſake was made in baptiſme; and amongſt other memorials to keepe vs mindfull of that vow wee cannot thinke that the ſigne which our new baptiſed foreheads did there recieue is either vnfit or vnforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will ſay) the croſſe in our foreheads, but in our harts the faith of Chriſt that armeth vs with patience, conſtancie and courage. Which as wee graunt to bee moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe nor not the meaneſt helps that ſerue though it bee but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance towards the higheſt ſeruices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that ſuch Ceremonies are auaileable at the leaſt as memorials of dutie, or do thinke that himſelfe hath no neede to bee ſo put in minde what our duties are, it is but reaſonable that in the one the publique experience of the world ouerwaigh ſome few mens perſwaſion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condiſcende vnto common imbecilitie. Seeing therefore that to feare ſhame which doth worthily follow ſinne, and to beare vndeſerued reproch conſtantly is the generall dutie of all men profeſſing Chriſtianitie, ſeeing alſo that our weakenes while we are in this preſent world doth neede towards ſpirituall duties the helpe euen of corporall furtherances, and that by reaſon of naturall intercourſe betweene the higheſt and the loweſt powers of mans minde in all actions, his phancie or imagination carrying in it that ſpeciall note of remembrance then which there is nothing more forcible where either too weake or too ſtrong a conceipt of infamie and diſgrace might do great harme, ſtandeth alwayes readie to put forth a kinde of neceſſarie helping hand, wee are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable vſe of this Ceremonie, and not to thinke it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his marke applyed [b] vnto that part where baſhfullnes appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould bee at no time aſhamed of his ignominie. But to preuent ſome inconueniences which might enſew if the ouer ordinarie vſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to bee of leſſe obſeruation or regard where it moſt auaileth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar as the cuſtome heretofore hath bene: although to condemne the whole Church of God when it moſt flouriſhed in zeale and pietie, to marke that age with the brand of error and ſuperſtition onely, becauſe they had this Ceremonie more in vſe then we now thinke needefull, boldly to affirme that this their practiſe grew ſo ſoone through a fearefull malediction of God vpon the Ceremonie of the Croſſe as if wee knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which haue proceeded from humane inuention, is as we take it a cenſure of greater zeale then knowledge. Men whoſe iudgements in theſe caſes are growne more moderate, although they retaine not as wee do the vſe of this Ceremonie, perceiue notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to bee out of ſquare, and do therefore not onely [c] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo thinke it ſufficient to anſwere in excuſe of themſelues, * *This ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent euen of old wee iudge not at this day a matter neceſſary*

a Ἔστω δὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκολουθοῦν τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ μνημονικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. *Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. ca. 6.*

b *Ozias rex lepra varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino vbi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur. Cypr. de vnit. Eccleſ. ca. 19.*

c *Goulart. Annot. in Cyp. lib. ad Demetr. ca. 19. Quamuis veteres, Chriſtiani externo ſigno crucis uſi ſunt id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, & doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore q̃ pollet reuipſit pios ſeruauit immunes.*

* *Idem annot. in Cypr. ep. 56. cap. 7.*

neceſſarie for all Chriſtian men to obſerue. As for their laſt vpſhot of all towards this marke, they are of opinion that if the auncient Chriſtians to deliuer the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did well and with good conſideration vſe often the ſigne of the Croſſe in teſtimonie of their faith and profeſſion before infidels which vpbraided them with Chriſts ſufferings, now that wee liue with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the ſigne of the Croſſe (becauſe contrarie diſeaſes ſhould alwayes haue contrarie remedies) we ought to take away all vſe thereof. In which conceipt they both wayes greatly ſeduce themſelues, firſt for that they imagin the Fathers to haue had no vſe of the Croſſe, but with reference vnto infidels, which miſperſwaſion we haue before diſcouered at large; and ſecondly by reaſon that they thinke there is not any other way beſides vniuerſall extripation to reforme ſuperſticious abuſes of the Croſſe. Wherein becauſe there are that ſtand very much vpon the example of Ezechias, as if his a *breaking to peeces that ſerpent* of braſſe whereunto the children of Iſraell had *burnt incenſe*, did enforce the vtter abolition of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous prince is by ſo much the more attentiuely to be conſidered. Our liues in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes by diſcourſe of wit our duties in euery particular action is both troubleſome and many times ſo full of difficultie, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerue examples, to marke what others haue done before vs, and in fauour of our owne eaſe rather to follow them then to enter into new conſultation, if in regard of their vertue and wiſedome, we may but probably thinke they haue waded without error. So that the willingnes of men to be led by example of others both diſcouereth and helpeth the imbecilitie of our iudgement. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud wits would alwayes ſeeme to bee their owne guides; and becauſe it doth the other, wee ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawne vnto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reaſons alleaged. Reaſons prouing that which is more particular by things more generall and farther from ſenſe are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſſe truſted, for that they doubt of their owne iudgement in thoſe things; but of examples which proue vnto them one doubtfull particular by an other more familiarly and ſenſibly knowne, they eaſily perceiue in themſelues ſome better abilitie to iudge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtfull what to do we are informed what others haue commendablie done whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoeuer doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitnes as the goodnes of that he alleageth. To Ezechias God himſelfe in this fact giueth teſtimonie of well doing. So that nothing is heere queſtionable but onely whether the example alleaged be pertinent, pregnant and ſtrong. The ſerpent ſpoken of was firſt erected for the extraordinarie and *miraculous cure* of the Iſraelites in the deſert. This vſe hauing preſently an end when the cauſe for which God ordeined it was once remoued, the thing it ſelfe they notwithſtanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercie*, as in like conſideration they did the pot of Manna, the rod of Aaron, and the ſword which Dauid tooke from Goliah. In proceſſe of time they made of a monument of diuine

a 1. Reg. 18. 3.

power

power a plaine idoll, they burnt incenſe before it contrarie to the law of God, and did it the ſeruices of honor due vnto God only. Which groſſe and grieuous abuſe continued till Ezechias reſtoring the puritie of ſound religion, deſtroyed vtterly that which had bene ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare vnto them. It is not amiſſe which the [a] Canon law hereupon concludeth, namely, that *if our predeceſſors haue done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to error and ſuperſtition, we are taught by Ezechias breaking the braſen Serpent that poſteritie may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great authoritie.* But may it be ſimplie and without exception hereby gathered, that poſteritie *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoeuer hath bene either at the firſt inuented, or but afterwards turned to like ſuperſtition and error? No it cannot be. The Serpent therefore and the ſigne of the Croſſe although ſeeming equal in this point that ſuperſtition hath abuſed both, yet being herein alſo vnequall, that neither they haue bene both ſubiect to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardnes of redreſſe alike, it may be that euen as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by vtter abolition thereof deſerue hardly his commendation, whoſe example there is offered vs no ſuch neceſſarie cauſe to follow. For by the words of Ezechias in terming the Serpent but *a lumpe of braſſe*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now was the mettle or matter whereof it conſiſted, we may probablie coniecture, that the people whoſe error is therein controld had the ſelfeſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of idols, they thought that the power of deitie was with it, and when they ſaw it diſſolued happely they might to comfort themſelues imagin as *Olimpius* the Sophiſter did beholding the diſſipation of idols, [b] *Shapes and counterfaits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubiect vnto corruption, therefore to grinde them to duſt was eaſie, but thoſe cæleſtiall powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into heauen.* Some difference there is betwene theſe opinions of palpable idolatrie, and that which the ſchooles in ſpeculation haue boulted out concerning the Croſſe. Notwithſtanding for as much as the Church of Rome hath hetherto practiſed and doth profeſſe the ſame adoration to the ſigne of the Croſſe, and neither leſſe nor other then is due vnto Chriſt himſelfe, howſoeuer they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending that the Croſſe, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſiblie it ſelfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceipt a reference to the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo that the honor which they iointlie do to both reſpecteth principallie his perſon, and the croſſe but only for his perſons ſake, the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtle differences in the exerciſe of religion are apparently no leſſe inſnared by adoring the Croſſe, then the Iewes by burning incenſe to the braſen Serpent. It is by [c] Thomas ingenuouſly graunted, that becauſe vnto reaſonable creatures a kinde of reuerence is due for the excellencie which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable creatures, angels or men ſhould receiue at our hands holie and diuine honor as the ſigne of the Croſſe doth at theirs, to pretend that we honor not them alone, but we honor God with them would not ſerue the turne, neither would this be able to preuent the error of men or cauſe them alwayes to reſpect

a Dift. 6. 3. c. Quia.

b Sozom. lib. 7. ca. 15.

c Th. 3. 9. 25. art. 3. reſp. ad 1.

reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the obiect next before them. But vnto this he addeth that no ſuch error can grow by adoring in that ſort a dead image, which euery man knoweth to be voyd of excellencie in it ſelfe, and therefore will eaſily conceyue that the honor done vnto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that we haue by ouer true experience bene taught how often, eſpecially in theſe caſes, the light euen of common vnderſtanding faileth, ſurely their vſuall adoration of the Croſſe is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde we are more to reſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceiue, then what ſome few mens wits may deuiſe in conſtruction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonall diuine excellencie to be in thoſe things which either nature or arte hath framed, cauſeth alwayes religious adoration. And as plaine that the like adoration applyed vnto things ſenſible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaueth imprinted in them the very ſame opinion of deitie from whence all idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in it ſelfe, the more they incline to thinke that euery man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a preſence of diuine power. Be it therefore true that Croſſes purpoſely framed or vſed for receipt of diuine honor, be euen as ſcandalous as the braſen Serpent it ſelfe, where they are in ſuch ſort adored. Should wee hereupon thinke our ſelues in the ſight of God and in conſcience charged to aboliſh vtterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Croſſe, neither meant at the firſt, nor now conuerted vnto any ſuch offenſiue purpoſe? Did the Iewes which could neuer be perſwaded to admit in the Citie of Ieruſalem that [a] image of Cæſar which the Romanes were accuſtomed [b] to adore, make any ſcruple of [c] Cæſars image in the Coine which they knewe very well that men were not woont to worſhip? Betweene the Croſſe which ſuperſtition honoreth as Chriſt, and that Ceremonie of the Croſſe which ſerueth only for a ſigne of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference as betweene thoſe [d] braſen Images which Salomon made to beare vp the Ceſterne of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape but of vnlike vſe) [e] that which the Iſraelites in the wildernes did adore; or betweene the [f] altars which Ioſias deſtroyed becauſe they were inſtruments of mere Idolatrie, and [g] that which the tribe of Ruben with others erected neere to the riuer Iordan, for which alſo they grewe at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their brethren ſuſpected, yea hardlie charged with open breach of the law of God, accuſed of backwardnes in religion, vpbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor, and the odious example of Achan, as if the building of their altar in that place had giuen manifeſt ſhew of no better then intended Apoſtaſie; till by a true declaration made in their owne defenſe, it appeared that ſuch as miſliked miſunderſtoode their enterpriſe, in as much as they had no intent to build any altar for ſacrifice which God woulde haue no where offered ſauing in Ieruſalem onely, but to a farre other ende and purpoſe, which beeing opened ſatisfied all partes, and ſo deliuered them from cauſeleſſe blame. In this particular ſuppoſe the woorſt, imagin

a *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib.17.cap.8.& lib.18.cap.3.& de bell.li.2.c.8.*

b Their Eagles their enſignes, and the images of their Princes they carried with them in all their armies, and had alwaies a kind of Chappell wherein they placed and adored them as their Gods. *Dio lib.40. Herodia.li.4.*

c *Math.22.20.*

d *2.Chro.4.3*

e *Exod.32.4.*

f *2.Chro.34.7.*

g *Ioſu.22.10.*

imagine that the immaterial Ceremonie of the Croſſe had bene the ſubiect of as groſſe pollution as any heatheniſh or profane idole. If wee thinke the example of Ezechias a proofe that things which error and ſuperſtition hath abuſed may in no conſideration bee tolerated, although wee preſently finde them not ſubiect to ſo vile abuſe, the plaine example of Ezechias proueth the contrarie. The temples and idols which vnder Salomon [a] had bene of very purpoſe framed for the honour of forreine Gods, Ezechias deſtroyed not, becauſe they ſtood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly they had done harme. [b] Iosias for ſome inconuenience afterwards raced them vp. Yet to both there is one commendation giuen euen from God himſelfe, that touching [c] matter of religion they walked in the ſteps of Dauid, and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth that by force and vertue of this example although it bare deteſtation and hatred of idolatrie, all things which haue bene at any time worſhipped are not neceſſarily to be taken out of the world, neuertheleſſe for remedie and preuention of ſo great offences wiſedome ſhould iudge it the ſafeſt courſe to remoue altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in minde of euill. Some kinds of euill no doubt there are very quick in working on thoſe affections that moſt eaſilie take fire, which euils ſhould in that reſpect no oftner then neede requireth be brought in preſence of weake mindes. But neither is the Croſſe any ſuch euill, nor yet the braſen Serpent it ſelfe ſo ſtrongly poiſoned, that our eyes, eares and thoughts ought to ſhunne them both, for feare of ſome deadly harme to enſue the onely repreſentation thereof by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant meanes. And for mine owne part I moſt aſſuredly perſwade my ſelfe, that had Ezechias (till the dayes of whoſe moſt vertuous raigne they ceaſed not continually to burne incenſe to the braſen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though ſometime adored, yet at that time recouered from the euill of ſo groſſe abuſe, and reduced to the fame that was before in the time of Dauid, at which time they eſteemed it onely as a memoriall, ſigne or monument of Gods miraculous goodneſſe towards them, euen as wee in no other ſort eſteeme the Ceremonie of the Croſſe, the due conſideration of an vſe ſo harmeleſſe, common to both might no leſſe haue wrought their equall preſeruation, then different occaſion haue procured, notwithſtanding the ones extinguiſhment, the others lawfull continuance. In all perſwaſions which ground themſelues vpon example, wee are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therefore whether this Ceremonie ſuppoſed to haue beene *ſometimes* ſcandalous and offenſiue, ought for that cauſe to be *now* remoued, there is no reaſon we ſhould forthwith yeeld our ſelues to bee carried away with example, no not of them whoſe acts the higheſt iudgement approueth for hauing reformed in that manner any publique euill: but before wee either attempt any thing or reſolue, the ſtate and condition as well of our owne affaires as theirs whoſe example preſſeth vs, is aduiſedly to be examined, becauſe ſome things are of their owne nature ſcandalous, and cannot chooſe but breede offence, as thoſe [d] ſinkes of execrable filth which Iosias did ouerwhelme; ſome things albeit

a 1.*Reg.*11.17.

b 2.*Reg.*23.13.

c 2.*Reg.*18.3.6 3.*Reg.*22.2.

d 2.*Reg.*23.7.

albeit not by nature and of themſelues, are notwithſtanding ſo generally turned to euill by reaſon of an euill corrupt habit growne and through long continuance incurably ſetled in the mindes of the greateſt part that no redreſſe can be well hoped for without remouall of that wherein they haue ruined themſelues, which plainely was the ſtate of the Iewiſh people, and the cauſe why Ezechias did with ſuch ſuddaine indignation deſtroy what hee ſawe worſhipped; finally ſome things are as the ſigne of the Croſſe though ſubiect either almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facilitie and eaſe. And to ſpeake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to deſtroy that which may bee fruitefully kept and without any great difficultie cleane ſcoured from the ruſt of euill which by ſome accident hath growne into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion vpon the example of Ezechias let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian religion becauſe of the ſufferings of Ieſus Chriſt, the Fathers to teſtifie how little ſuch contumelies and contempts preuailed with them, choſe rather the ſigne of the Croſſe then any other outward marke, whereby the world might moſt eaſily diſcerne alwayes what they were. On the contrarie ſide now, whereas they which doe all profeſſe the Chriſtian religion are deuided amongſt themſelues, and the fault of the one part is that the zeale to the ſufferings of Chriſt they admire too much and ouer-ſuperſtitiouſly adore the viſible ſigne of his Croſſe, if you aske what wee that miſlike them ſhould doe, wee are heere aduiſed to cure one contrarie by another. Which arte or method is not yet ſo currant as they imagine. For if, as their practiſe for the moſt part ſheweth, it bee their meaning that the ſcope and drift of reformation when things are faultie ſhould bee to *ſettle* the Church in the contrarie, it ſtandeth them vpon to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing vices haue not onely vertues but other vices alſo in nature oppoſite vnto them, it may bee daungerous in theſe caſes to ſeeke but that which wee finde contrary to preſent euils. For in ſoares and ſickneſſes of the minde wee are not ſimply to meaſure good by diſtance from euill, becauſe one vice may in ſome reſpect bee more oppoſite to another then either of them to that vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberalitie and couetouſneſſe, the one a vertue and the other a vice are not ſo contrarie as the vices of couetouſnes and prodigalitie; religion and ſuperſtition haue more affiance, though the one bee light and the other darkeneſſe, then ſuperſtition and prophaneſſe which both are vicious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth alſo to paſſe that the meane which is vertue ſeemeth in the eyes of each extreame an extremitie; the liberall harted man is by the opinion of the prodigall miſerable, and by the iudgement of the miſerable lauiſh; impietie for the moſt part vpbraideth religion as ſuperſtitious, which ſuperſtition often accuſeth as impious, both ſo conceiuing thereof becauſe it doth ſeeme more to participate each extreame, then one extreame doth another, and is by conſequent leſſe contrarie to either of them, then they mutually betweene themſelues. Now if hee that ſeeketh to reforme couetouſneſſe or ſuperſtition ſhould but labour to induce the contrarie, it were but to drawe men out of lime into coleduſt. So that their courſe which will remedie

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the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church is not ſtill to abolish vtterly the vſe thereof, becauſe not vſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill vſing, but rather if it may bee to bring them backe to a right perfect and religious vſage; which albeit leſſe contrarie to the preſent ſoare is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recouerie. And vnto this effect that very precedent it ſelfe which they propoſe may bee beſt followed. For as the Fathers when the Croſſe of Chriſt was in vtter contempt did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meete: in like maner where wee finde the Croſſe to haue that honor which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawfull for vs to retaine it in that eſtimation which it ought to haue, and in that vſe which it had of old without offence, as by raſing it cleane away to ſeeme followers of their example which dare wilfully by abolition that which they might both preſerue and heale? Touching therefore the ſigne and Ceremonie of the Croſſe, wee no way finde our ſelues bound to relinquiſh it, neither becauſe the firſt inuentors thereof were but mortall men, nor leaſt the ſenſe and ſignification wee giue vnto it ſhould burthen vs as authors of a new Goſpell in the houſe of God, nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more then wee haue to vſe the ſame, nor finally for any ſuch offence or ſcandall as heretofore it hath beene ſubiect vnto by error now reformed in the mindes of men.

66 The auncient cuſtome of the Church was after they had baptiſed, to adde thereunto impoſition of hands with effectuall prayer for the [a] illumination of Gods moſt holy Spirit to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had alreadie begun in baptiſme. For our meanes to obtaine the graces which God doth beſtow are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are auaileable as well for others as for our ſelues. To pray for others is *to bleſſe* them for whome wee pray, becauſe prayer procureth the bleſſing of God vpon them, eſpecially the prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their pietie and zeale that way, or els regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them aboue others vnto this dutie as it doth both naturall and ſpirituall fathers. With prayers of ſpirituall and perſonall benediction the maner hath bene in all ages to vſe *impoſition of hands* as a Ceremonie betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the partie, whome wee preſent vnto God by prayer. Thus when Iſraell *bleſſed* Ephraim and Manaſſes Ioſephs ſonnes, hee *impoſed* vpon them his hands and prayed, *God in whoſe ſight my fathers Abraham and Iſaac did walke, God which hath fed me all my life long vnto this day, and the Angell which hath deliuered mee from all euill bleſſe the ſe children.* The prophets which healed diſeaſes by prayer, vſed therein the ſelfeſame Ceremonie. And therefore [c] when Elizeus willed Naaman to waſh himſelfe ſeuen times in Iordan for cure of his foule diſeaſe it much offended him, *I thought* (ſaith hee) *with my ſelfe, Surely the man will come forth and ſtand and call vpon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand to the place to the end he may ſo heale the leproſie.* In [d] conſecrations and ordinations of men vnto roomes of diuine calling, the like was vſually done from the time of Moſes to Chriſt. Their ſutes that come vnto Chriſt for helpe were alſo tendered oftentimes, and are expreſſed in [e] ſuch formes or phraſes of ſpeech as ſhew that hee was himſelfe an obſeruer of the ſame cuſtome. Hee which

Of confirmation after Baptiſme.

a *Caro manus impoſitione adumbratur vt & anima ſpiritu illuminetur.* Tertul. de Reſur. car.

b *Gene.* 48.14.

c 2. *Reg.*5.11.

d *Num.*27.18.

e *Matth.*9.18. *Mar.*5.23.8.22

with impoſition of hands and praier did ſo great workes of mercie for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily iudged as able to effect the infuſion of heauenly grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraued with that malice which might bee ſuppoſed a barre to the goodneſſe of God towardes them.

a *Matth.19.13 Marke 10.13. Luke 18.15.* They [a] brought him therefore young Children to put *his hands* vppon them and *pray*. After the aſcention of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, that which hee had begun continued in the daily practiſe of his Apoſtles, whoſe prayer and impoſition of hands were a meane whereby thouſands became partakers

b *Marke 16.17* of the wonderfull gifts of God; The Church had receiued from Chriſt [b] a promiſe that ſuch as beleiued in him theſe ſignes and tokens ſhould followe them, *To caſt out diuels, to ſpeake with tongues, to driue away Serpents, to be free from the harme which any deadly perſon could worke, and to cure diſeaſes by impoſition of hands.* Which power, common at the firſt in a manner vnto *all beleiuers*, all beleiuers had not power to deriue or communicate vnto all other men, but whoſoeuer

c *Act.19.6.* was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, conuert and baptize them, [c] the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the holy Ghoſt they had not

d *Act.8.17.18.* but onely at the Apoſtles owne hands. For which cauſe [d] Simon Magus perceiuing that power to bee in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And as mira-

e *Iren.l.2.c.57.* culous graces of the ſpirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith [e] Irenæus,) *They which are truely his Diſciples doe in his name and through grace receiued from him, ſuch workes for the benefit of other men as euerie of them is by him inabled to worke; Some caſt out diuels in ſo much as they which are deliuered from wicked ſpirits haue beene thereby woon vnto Chriſt, and do conſtantly perſeuere in the Church and ſocietie of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of viſions from God and the gift of propheticall predictions; Some by laying on their hands, reſtore them to health which are grieuouſly afflicted with ſickneſſe; yea there are that of dead haue beene made aliue, and haue afterwards many yeares conuerſed with vs; What ſhould I ſay? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the world, and by vertue whereof in the name of Chriſt crucified vnder Pontius Pilate the Church euerie day doth many woonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gaine to her ſelfe but as freely beſtowing as God on her hath beſtowed his diuine graces)* ſo it no where appeareth, that euer any did by praier and impoſition of hands ſithence the Apoſtles times make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but onely Biſhops the Apoſtles ſucceſſors for a time euen in that power. [f] Saint Auguſtine acknowledgeth that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt alwaies, leaſt men ſhoulde waxe cold with the commonneſſe of that, the ſtrangenes whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which wordes of Saint Auguſtine declaring howe the vulgar vſe of theſe miracles was then expired, are no preiudice to the like extraordinarie graces more rarely obſerued in ſome either then or of later dayes. Now whereas the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles had but onely for a time ſuch power as by prayer and impoſition of hands to beſtow the holy Ghoſt, The reaſon wherefore confirmation neuertheleſſe by praier and laying on of hands hath hitherto alwayes continued, is for other very ſpeciall benefites

Auguſt. de vtil. cred. ca.35. f

which

which the Church thereby inioyeth. The Fathers euerie where impute vnto it that gift or grace of the holy Ghoſt, not which maketh vs firſt Chriſtian men, but when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth vs in all vertue, armeth vs againſt temptation and ſinne. For after Baptiſme adminiſtred *there followeth* (ſaith [a] Tertullian) *Impoſition of handes with inuocation and inuitation of the holy Ghoſt, which willingly commeth downe from the Father to reſt vpon the purified and bleſſed bodies as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptiſme a fit ſeate.* Saint [b] Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the ſpirit which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith hee) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptiſme) *inabled, being not onely withdrawne from that pernicious hold which the world before had of it, nor onely ſo purified and made cleane that no ſtaine or blemiſh of the enemies inuaſion doth remaine, but ouer and beſides* (namely through praier and impoſition of handes) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo farre as to raigne with a kinde of imperiall dominion ouer the whole band of that roaming and ſpoyling aduerſarie.* As much is ſignified by [c] *Euſebius Emiſenus* ſaying, *the holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſauing influence vpon the waters of baptiſme doth there giue that fulneſſe which ſufficeth for innocencie and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded held confirmation as [d] an ordinance Apoſtolique *alwaies profitable* in Gods Church, although not alwaies accompanied with equall largenes of thoſe externall effects which gaue it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſeuering confirmation from Baptiſme (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometime in the Miniſter, which being of inferiour degree might Baptiſe but not confirme, as in [e] their caſe it came to paſſe whome Peter and Iohn did confirme, whereas Philip had before Baptiſed them; and in theirs of whome [f] Saint Ierome hath ſaid, *I denie not but the cuſtome of the Churches is that the Biſhop ſhould goe abroade, and impoſing his handes pray for the gift of the holy Ghoſt on them whome Presbyters and Deacons far off in leſſer Cities haue already Baptiſed.* Which auncient cuſtome of the Church Saint Cyprian groundeth vppon the example of Peter and Iohn in the eight of the acts before alleaged. The [g] faithfull in Samaria (ſaith hee) *Had already obtained Baptiſme: Onely that which was wanting, Peter and Iohn ſupplied by praier and impoſition of hands to the end the holy Ghoſt might be powred vpon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelues, when they which bee already Baptiſed are brought to the Prelates of the Church to obtaine by our prayer and impoſition of hands the holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth that when the miniſters of Baptiſme were perſons of inferior degree, the Biſhops did after confirme whome ſuch had before Baptiſed. Sometimes they which by force of their Eccleſiaſticall calling might doe as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding men whome hereſie had diſioyned from the fellowſhip of true belieuers. Whereupon when any man by them Baptiſed and confirmed, came afterwards to ſee and renounce their error, there grew in ſome Churches verie hoat contention aboue the manner of admitting ſuch into the boſome of the true Church as hath beene declared already in the queſtion of rebaptiſation. But the generall receiued cuſtome was onely to admit them with impoſition of hands and prayer. Of which cuſtome while ſome imagined the reaſon to bee

a Tertul. de Baptiſ.

b Cypr. Ep. 2. ad Donat. c. 2.

c Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de Penti.

d Auguſt. de trin. l. 15. cap. 26. *Heb.* 6. 2.

e *Act.* 8. 12. 15.

f Hieron. adu. Lucif. cap. 4.

g Cypr. Ep. 73 ad Iubaianum.

for that heretiques might giue remiſſion of ſinnes by Baptiſme, but not the Spirit by impoſition of hands becauſe themſelues had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſme might ſtand but confirmation muſt be giuen againe: the imbecilitie of this ground gaue Cyprian occaſion to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the practiſe of the Church heerein, labouring many wayes to prooue that heretiques could doe neither, and conſequently that their baptiſme in all reſpects was as fruſtrate as their chriſme, for the manner of thoſe times was in confirming to vſe annoynting. On the other ſide againſt Luciferians which ratified onely the Baptiſme of heretiques but diſanulled their confirmations and conſecrations vnder pretenſe of the reaſon which hath beene before ſpecified, *Heretiques cannot giue the holy Ghoſt*, Saint Ierome proueth at large, that if baptiſme by heretiques be graunted auaileable to remiſſion of ſinnes, which no man receiueth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſabilitie of beſtowing the holy Ghoſt was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Conuerts with any new impoſition of hands. Notwithſtanding becauſe it might bee obiected, that if the gift of the holy Ghoſt do alwaies ioyne it ſelfe with true baptiſme, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops confirmation after other mens baptiſme needefull for the obtaining of the holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error, Saint Ierome hereunto maketh anſwere, that the cauſe of this obſeruation is not any abſolute impoſſibilitie of receiuing the holy Ghoſt by the ſacrament of baptiſme vnleſſe a Biſhoppe adde after it the impoſition of hands, but rather a certaine Congruitie and fitneſſe to honour Prelacie with ſuch preeminences, becauſe the ſafetie of the Church dependeth vpon the dignitie of her chiefe ſuperiors, to whome if ſome eminent offices of power aboue others ſhould not bee giuen, there would bee in the Church as many Schiſmes as prieſtes. By which aunſwere it appeareth his opinion was, that the holy Ghoſt is receiued in baptiſme; that confirmation is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not becauſe the benefit, grace and dignitie thereof is greater then of baptiſme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſme men being admitted into Gods Church it was both reaſonable and conuenient that if hee baptiſe them not vnto whome the chiefeſt authoritie and charge of their ſoules belongeth, yet for honors ſake and in token of his ſpirituall ſuperioritie ouer them, becauſe to [a] bleſſe is an Act of authoritie, the performance of this annexed ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their impoſition of hands hath either after baptiſme adminiſtred by heretiques or otherwiſe, Saint Ierome in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men vnderſtoode that in Conuerts it tendeth to the fruites of repentance, and craueth in behalfe of the penitent ſuch grace as [b] Dauid after his fall deſired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and benefite thereof is that which hath beene before ſhewed. Finally ſometime the cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme was in the parties that receiued Baptiſme being infants, at which age they might bee very well admitted to liue in the family; but becauſe to fight in the armie of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruites and to doe the workes of the holy Ghoſt their time of habilitie was not yet come (ſo that

a *Heb.6.3.*

b *Pſal.51.10. 11,12.*

Baptiſme

Baptiſme were not differd) there could by ſtay of their confirmation no harme enſue but rather good. For by this meane it came to paſſe that Children in expectation thereof were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion before malice and corrupt examples depraued their mindes, a good foundation was laide betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole liues, the ſeed of the Church of God was preſerued ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and fathers of Gods family to whome the cure of their ſoules belonged ſaw by triall and examination of them a part of their owne heauie burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſſe in tender yeares, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouthes of infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunitie of giuing euery one fatherly incouragement and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarkes, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and men of God haue had for ſuch their particular inuocations and benedictions as no man I ſuppoſe profeſſing truth of Religion will eaſily thinke to haue beene without fruite. No there is no cauſe wee ſhould doubt of the benefite, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deepe neglect of this Chriſtian dutie almoſt with all them to whome by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in euill part, the thing is true, their ſmall regarde heereunto hath done harme in the Church of God. That which [a] error raſhly vttereth in diſgrace of good things may peraduenture bee ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe euils which are growne through neglect will remaine behind. Thus much therefore generally ſpoken may ſerue for anſwer vnto their demaundes that require vs to tell them *why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation* in the Church, ſeeing wee are not ignorant howe earneſtly they haue proteſted againſt it, and how directly (although vntruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of thē bene ſaid to be *firſt brought in by the faigned decretall Epiſtles of the Popes*; or why it ſhoulde not bee *vtterly aboliſhed, ſeeing that no one title thereof can bee once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the [b] Hebrewes be Scripture, and again ſeeing that how free ſoeuer it bee now from abuſe, if wee looke backe to the times paſt, which wiſe men doe alwaies more reſpect then the preſent, it *hath beene* abuſed, and is founde at the length *no* ſuch *profitable Ceremonie* as the whole ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeares hath

a *T.C.lib.1.pa.* 199. Tell mee why there ſhould bee any ſuch confirmation in the Church being brought in by the famed Decretall Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame, *T.C.l.3.p.*232. That it is ancienter then the faigned Decretall Epiſtles I yeeld vnto) and no one title thereof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath beene ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſarie, why ought it not to bee vtterly aboliſhed? And thirdly this confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Poperie in this confirmation is the laying on of hands vpon the head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially whenas the Prayer doth ſay that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt vntruth and taken indeede from the Popiſh confirmation. The ſecond is for that the Biſhop as he is called, muſt bee the onely Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion which eſteemeth it aboue Baptiſme is confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſme may bee miniſtred of the Miniſter and not confirmation, but onely of the Biſhop, there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principall reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Poperie. I doe not here ſpeake of the inconuenience, that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their Children oftentimes halfe a ſcore miles for that, which if it were needfull might bee as well done at home in their owne Pariſhes. The third is for that the Booke ſaith a cauſe of vſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of hands and Prayer the Children may receiue ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe that by the laying on of hands vpon Children any ſuch gift ſhall bee giuen, and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction that the ſpirit of God is giuen at Baptiſme, vnto remiſſion of ſinnes, and in confirmation, vnto ſtrength.

b *Heb.* 6.3.

hath through want of experience imagined, laſt of all *ſeeing* alſo beſides the crueltie which is ſhewed towardes poore Countrie people who are faine ſometimes to let their Ploughes ſtand ſtill, and with incredible wearifome toyle of their feeble bodies to wander ouer mountaines and thorough woods; it may be now and then little leſſe then a whole *halfe ſcore of miles* for a Biſhops bleſſing *which if it were need full might as well be done at home in their own Pariſhes*, rather then they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſſe and ſo intollerable paine, there are they ſay in Confirmation beſides this, *three* terrible *points*. The firſt is *laying on of hands with pretenſe that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not onely as they ſuppoſe *a manifeſt vntruth* (for all the world doth know that the Apoſtles did neuer after Baptiſme lay hands on any, and there-
a *Act.8.15.17.* fore [a] Saint Luke which ſaith they did was much deceiued) but farther alſo we thereby teach men to thinke *impoſition of hands a Sacrament*, belike becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of nature in the mindes of men that all things done by Apoſtolique example muſt needes be Sacraments, the ſecond high point of daunger is that by *tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*, for will any man thinke that a Veluet Coate is of more price then a linnen Coife knowing the one to bee an ordinarie garment, the other an ornament which onely Sergeants at law doe weare? Finally to draw to an ende of perils the laſt and the waighrieſt hazard is where the booke it ſelfe doth ſaye that Children by *impoſition* of hands and praier may receiue *ſtrength* againſt all tempration, which ſpeech as a two edged ſword doth both waies daungerouſly wound, partly becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands whereby wee are able no more to aſſure our ſelues in the warrant of *any promiſe from God* that his heauenly grace ſhall bee giuen, then the Apoſtle
b *Ephe.3.14.* was that himſelfe ſhould obtaine grace by the [b] bowing of his knees to God; and partly becauſe by vſing the very worde *ſtrength* in this matter a word ſo apt to ſpread infection wee *maintaine* with *Popiſh* Euangeliſts an olde forlorne
c *Ioh.20.22.* *diſtinction* of the holy Ghoſt [c] beſtowed vpon Chriſts Apoſtles before his aſ-
d *Act.1.8.* cention into heauen, and [d] *augmented* vpon them afterwardes, a diſtinction of *grace* infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſme, *after* cheriſhed, watred, and (bee it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthened* as by other vertuous offices which pietie and true Religion teacheth, euen ſo by this very ſpeciall benediction whereof we ſpeake the rite or Ceremonie of confirmation.

Of the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt.

67 The grace which wee haue by the holy Euchariſt doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiueth this Sacrament before Baptiſme, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſitie firſt liue. If our bodies did not daily waſte, foode to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may bee that the grace of Baptiſme would ſerue to eternall life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpirituall being is daily ſo much hindered and impaired after Baptiſme. In that life therefore where neither body nor ſoule can decay, our ſoules ſhall as little require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nouriſhment. But as long as the daies of our warfare laſt, during the time that wee are both ſubiect to diminution and capable of

augm-

augmentation in grace, the wordes of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt will remaine forceable, [a] *Except ye eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man and drinke his bloud, ye haue no life in you.* Life being therefore propoſed vnto all men as their ende, they which by Baptiſme haue laide the foundation and atchieued the firſt beginning of a new life haue heere their nouriſhment and foode preſcribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will liue the life of God muſt eate the fleſh and drinke the bloud of the Sonne of man, becauſe this is a part of that diet which if wee want we cannot liue. Whereas therefore in our infancie wee are incorporated into Chriſt and by Baptiſme receiue the grace of his ſpirit which, our any ſence of feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth, it is the firſt taſte wee ſo receiue the gift of God, that wee know by grace what the grace is which God giueth vs, the degrees of our owne increaſe in holineſſe and vertue wee ſee and can iudge of them, wee vnderſtand that the ſtrength of our life begun in Chriſt is Chriſt, that his fleſh is meate and his bloud drinke, not by ſurmiſed imagination but truely, euen ſo truely that through faith wee receiue in the body and bloud ſacramentally preſented the very ſtaffe of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is heere as the foode which wee eate and drinke. That was it that ſome did exceedingly feare, leaſt *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to paſſe, that men ſhould accompt of this Sacrament but onely as of a ſhadow deſtitute, emptie and voide of Chriſt. But ſeeing that by opening the ſeuerall opinions which haue beene held, they are growne for ought I can ſee on all ſides at the length to a generall agreement concerning that which alone is materiall, namely the *reall participation* of Chriſt and of life in his body and bloud *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherefore ſhould the world continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controuerſie ſauing onely about the ſubiect *where* Chriſt is? Yea euen in this point no ſide denieth but that *the ſoule of man* is the receptacle of Chriſts preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driuen to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt be whole *within man onely*, or elſe his body and bloud bee alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated elements themſelues, which opinion they that defend are driuen either to *Conſubſtantiate* and incorporate Chriſt with elements ſacramentall, or to *Tranſubſtantiate* and change their ſubſtance into his, and ſo the one to hold him really but inuiſibly moulded vp with the ſubſtance of thoſe elements, the other to hide him vnder the onely viſible ſhow of Breade and Wine the ſubſtance whereof as they imagine is aboliſhed and his ſucceeded in the ſame roome. All things conſidered and compared with that ſucceſſe which truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter conflicts with errors in this point, ſhall I wiſh that men would more giue themſelues to meditate with ſilence what wee haue by the Sacrament, and leſſe to diſpute of the manner how? If any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupiditie and dulnes, let vs ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelues haue not doone the like. It appeareth by many examples that they of their owne diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitiue, yea in other Caſes of leſſe importance and leſſe difficultie alwaies apt to moouе queſtions. How commeth it to paſſe that ſo few words of ſo high a myſterie being vttered, they

[a] Ioh. 6.

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receiue with gladneſſe the gift of Chriſt and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not darke to them which haue any thing at all obſerued how the powers of the minde are wont to ſtirre when that which wee infinitly long for preſenteth it ſelfe aboue and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations doe hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and ioy as diuine graces vſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The minde therefore feeling preſent ioy is alwaies maruelous vnwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectuall parte at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may bee noted if wee compare with our Lords Diſciples in the twentith of Iohn the people that are ſaid in the ſixt of Iohn to haue gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leauing him on the one ſide the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as ſoone as themſelues by ſhippe were arriued on the contrary ſide, whether they knew that by ſhip hee came not, and by land the iorney was longer then according to the time hee could haue to
a *Iohn 6.26.* trauaile, as they wondred, ſo they aſked alſo, *Rabbi when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples when Chriſt appeared to them in farre more ſtraunge and miraculous manner mooued no queſtion but reioyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſorte beheld onely that in Chriſt which they knew was more then naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinarie gladneſſe, the other when they looked on Chriſt were not ignorant that they ſaw the welſpring of their owne euerlaſting felicitie; the one becauſe they enioyed not diſputed, the other diſputed not becauſe they enioyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much moue, iudge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt not before their eyes but within their ſoules. They had learned before that his fleſh and bloud are the true cauſe of eternall life, that this they are not by the bare force of their owne ſubſtance, but through the dignitie and woorth of his Perſon which offered them vp by way of ſacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them ſtill effectuall thereunto, finally that to vs they are life in particular, by being particularly receiued. Thus much they knewe, although as yet they vnderſtoode not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine but to haue eaten the Paſſouer onely that Moyſes appointeth, when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter with hands and eyes lifted vp to heauen firſt bleſſe and conſecrate for the endleſſe good of all generations till the worlds end the choſen element of bread and wine, which elements made for euer the inſtruments of life by vertue of his diuine benediction, they being the firſt that were commaunded to receiue from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe that not onely vnto them at the preſent time but to whomeſoeuer they and their ſucceſſors after them did duely adminiſter the ſame, thoſe myſteries ſhould ſerue as conducts of life and conueyances of his body and bloud vnto them, was it poſſible they ſhould heare that voyce, *Take, eate, this is my body, drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud*, poſſible that doing what was required and beleiuing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould haue preſent effect in them, and not fill them with

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a kinde of fearefull admiration at the heauen which they ſaw in themſelues? They had at that time a ſea of comfort and ioy to wade in, and wee by that which they did are taught that this heauenly foode is giuen for the ſatisfying of our emptie ſoules, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtle wits. If wee doubt what thoſe admirable wordes may importe, let him bee our teacher for the meaning of Chriſt to whome Chriſt was himſelfe a ſchoolemaſter, let our Lords Apoſtle be his interpreter, content wee our ſelues with his explication, My body, *the communion of my body*, My bloud, *the communion* of my bloud. Is there any thing more expedite, cleare and eaſie then that as Chriſt is termed our life, becauſe through him wee obtaine life, ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his body and bloud for that they are ſo to vs who receiuing them receiue that by them which they are termed? The breade and Cup are his body and bloud becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumentall vpon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and bloude enſueth. For that which produceth any certaine effect is not vainely nor improperly ſaid to bee that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Euery cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our ſoules and bodies quickned to eternall life are effectes, the cauſe whereof is the Perſon of Chriſt, his body and his bloud are the true welſpring out of which this life floweth. So that his body and his bloud are in that very ſubiect whereunto they miniſter life not onely by effect or operation euen as the influence of the heauens is in Plants, beaſtes, men, and in euerie thing which they quicken, but alſo by a farre more diuine and myſticall kinde of vnion which maketh vs one with him, euen as he and the Father are one. The reall preſence of Chriſts moſt bleſſed body and bloud is not therefore to bee ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthie receiuer of the Sacrament. And with this the verie order of our Sauiours wordes agreeth, firſt *Take and eate*; then *This is my body which is broken for you*: firſt *Drinke yee all of this*, then followeth, *This is my bloud of the new Teſtament which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinne*. I ſee not which way it ſhould bee gathered by the wordes of Chriſt when and where the bread is his body or the Cup his bloud but onely in the very hart and ſoule of him which receiueth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor doe really containe in themſelues that grace which with them or by them it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it bee confeſt that the grace of Baptiſme is powred into the ſoule of man, that by water wee receiue it although it be neither ſeated in the water nor the water chaunged into it, what ſhoulde induce men to thinke that the grace of the Euchariſt muſt needes bee in the Euchariſt before it can bee in vs that receiue it? The fruite of the Euchariſt is the participation of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holie Scripture which ſaith that wee cannot by this Sacrament bee made partakers of his body and bloud except they bee firſt contained in the Sacrament or the Sacrament conuerted into them. *This is my body*, and *This is my bloud*, being wordes of promiſe, ſith wee all agree that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truely in vs performe his promiſe, why doe wee vainely trouble our ſelues with ſo fierce contentions whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacra-

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ment it ſelfe bee firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder vs howſoeuer it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and bloud to vs, whether with change or without alteration of the element ſuch as they imagine wee neede not greatly to care or inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it ſelfe what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous then vrged as neceſſarie. It is on all ſides plainely confeſt, firſt that this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelfe euen his whole intire perſon *as a myſticall head* vnto euery ſoule that receiueth him, and that euerie ſuch receiuer doth thereby incorporate or vnite himſelfe vnto Chriſt as *a myſticall member* of him, yea of them alſo whome he acknowledgeth to be his owne; ſecondly that to whome *the perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them he giueth by the ſame Sacrament his holy ſpirit to ſanctifie them as it ſanctifieth him which is their head; thirdly that what *merit, force or vertue ſoeuer there is in his ſacrificed body and bloud*, wee freely, fully and wholly haue it by this Sacrament, fourthly that *the effect thereof in vs is a reall tranſmutation of our ſoules and bodies* from ſinne to righteouſneſſe, from death and corruption to immortalitie and life; fifthly that becauſe the ſacrament being of it ſelfe but a corruptible and earthly creature muſt needes bee thought an vnlikely inſtrument to worke ſo admirable effects in man, wee are therefore to reſt our ſelues altogether vpon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to paſſe that the bread and Cup which he giueth vs ſhall be truely the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſſe, that againſt them whome they terme Sacramentaries ſo many inuectiue diſcourſes are made all running vpon two pointes, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſigne or figure onely, and that the efficacie of his body and bloud is not all wee receiue in this Sacrament. For no man hauing read their bookes and writings which are thus traduced can bee ignorant that both theſe aſſertions they plainely confeſſe to bee moſt true. They doe not ſo interpret the words of Chriſt as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body, and to bee, were onely to ſignifie his bloud. They graunt that theſe holy myſteries receiued in due manner doe inſtrumentally both make vs partakers of the grace of that body and bloud which were giuen for the life of the world, and beſides alſo imparte vnto vs euen in true and reall, though myſticall manner the very perſon of our Lord himſelfe whole, perfect, and intire, as hath beene ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions doe thus far accord in one, that ſtrong conceipt which two of the three haue imbraced as touching a literall, corporall and orall manducation of the very ſubſtance of his fleſh and bloud, is ſurely an opinion no where deliuered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould thinke themſelues bound to beliebe it, and (to ſpeake with the ſofteſt termes wee can vſe) greatly preiudiced in that when ſome others did ſo conceiue of eating his fleſh, our Sauiour to abate that error in them gaue them directly to vnderſtand how his fleſh ſo eaten coulde profite them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were ſpirite, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a myſticall participation, which myſticall paticipation

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giueth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihoode that his meaning ſhould be onely to make them Marcionites by inverſion, and to teach them that as Martion did thinke Chriſt ſeemed to bee man but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould beliebe that Chriſt in truth would ſo giue them as they thought his fleſh to eate, but yet leaſt the horror thereof ſhould offend them, he would not ſeeme to doe that hee did. When they which haue this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament goe about to explane themſelues and to open after what manner things are brought to paſſe, the one ſort lay the vnion of Chriſts deitie with his manhoode, as their firſt foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the body of Chriſt hath *thereby* to preſent it ſelfe in all places; out of which vbiquitie of his body they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified bread and Wine of our Lords table; the coniunction of his body and bloud with thoſe elements they vſe as an argument to ſhew how the bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his body, becauſe his body is therewith ioyned, as the Sonne of God may bee named man by reaſon that God and man in the perſon of Chriſt are vnited; to this they adde how the words of Chriſt commaunding vs to eate muſt needes import that as hee hath coupled the ſubſtance of his fleſh and the ſubſtance of bread togeather, ſo we togeather ſhould receiue both; Which labyrinth as the other ſort doth iuſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inne is ſomewhat more ſhort but no whit more certaine. For through Gods omnipotent power they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth vpon the words of Conſecration, and vpon Tranſubſtantiation the participation of Chriſts both body and bloud in the onely ſhape of ſacramentall elements. So that they all three doe pleade Gods omnipotencie, Sacramentaries to that alteration which the reſt confeſſe hee accompliſheth; the patrons of Tranſubſtantiation ouer and beſides that to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of Conſubſtantiation to the kneding vp of both ſubſtances as it were into one lump. Touching the ſentence of antiquitie in this cauſe, firſt for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the veritie of Chriſts both body and bloud they vſed oftentimes the ſame as an argument to prooue that Chriſt hath as truely the ſubſtance of man as of God, becauſe heere we receiue Chriſt and thoſe graces which flow from him in that he is man. So that if he haue no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament haue any ſuch meaning as wee all confeſſe it hath. Thus [a] Tertullian, thus [b] Ireney, thus [c] Theodoret diſputeth. Againe as euident it is how they teach that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent, yea preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt bee *corporally* abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this heauenlye banquet with his perſonall and true preſence [e] doth by his owne diuine power adde to the naturall ſubſtance thereof ſupernatural efficacie, which [f] addition to the nature of thoſe cõſecrated elements

a *Acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo id eſt figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet.* Tertul. contra Marc. l. 4 c. 40.

b *Secundum hæc* (that is to ſay if it ſhould be true which heretiques haue taught denying that Chriſt tooke vppon him the very nature of man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, nec calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt niſi à venis & carnibus & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Irene. l. 5. c. 1.

c Εἰ τοίνυν σῶμα & αἷμα ἀπτίτυπά ἐσι τὰ θεῖα μυςήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐσὶ καὶ νῦν τὸ βρωθὲν τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν, ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. Theod. Dialog. Ἀσυγχύτ.

changeth them and maketh them that vnto vs which otherwiſe they could not be; that to vs they are thereby made ſuch inſtruments as [a] miſtically, yet truely, inuiſibly, yet really worke our communion or fellowſhip with the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt as well in that hee is man as God, our participation alſo in the fruite, grace and efficacie of his body and bloud, whereupon there enſueth a kinde of Tranſubſtantiatiō in vs, a true [b] change both of ſoule and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did euer conceiue or imagine other then onely a myſticall participation of Chriſts both body and bloud in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the chaunge of the elements themſelues into the body and bloud of Chriſt ſuch, that a man can thereby in conſcience aſſure himſelfe it was their meaning to perſwade the world eyther of a corporall Conſubſtantiation of Chriſt with thoſe ſanctified and bleſſed elements before we receiue them, or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Which both to our myſticall communion with Chriſt are ſo vnneceſſarie, that the Fathers, who plainely holde but this myſticall communion cannot eaſily bee thought to haue meant any other change of ſacramentall elements then that which the ſame ſpirituall communion did require them to holde. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that minde which louing truth and ſeeking comfort out of holy myſteries hath not perhaps the leaſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacitie to tread out ſo endleſſe mazes, as the intricate diſputes of this cauſe haue led men into, how ſhould a vertuouſly diſpoſed minde better reſolue with
„ it ſelfe then thus? Varietie of iudgements and opinions argueth obſcuritie
„ in thoſe things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receiue for
„ truth, that which euery one hauing ſifted is by no one denied or doubted
„ of, muſt needes be matter of infallible certaintie. Whereas therefore there are
„ but three expoſitions made of *This is my body*, the firſt, This is in it ſelfe be-
„ fore participation *really and truely the naturall ſubſtance of my body by reaſon of the*

coexiſtence

a *Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec vllo modo ſe abſentat maieſtas myſterij.* Cypr. de Cen. c. 7. b *Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter diuina ſe infudit eſſentia vt eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta deuotio.* Idem. c. 6. *Inuiſibilis ſacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate conuertit. In ſpiritualibus ſacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & ſeruit effectus.* Euſeb. Emiſen. hom 5. de paſch. c τὰ σύμβολα τῆς διοικητικῆς οὐσίας τοῦ σ̃ματος καὶ αἵματος ἀλλαχοῦ εἶναι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μηδὲν ἧττον ἢ ἐπικλήσει μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ ἕτερα γίνεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἐκείνης ἐξέστακε φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ εἴδει, καὶ ὁρᾶται τὰ δῶρα καὶ πάντα ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Theodo. *Ex quo à Dominus dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hoc eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunque his verbis & hac fide celum eſt, panis ille ſuperſubſtantialis, & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit.* Cypr. de cen. c. 3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem ſed virtutis diuinæ inuiſibili efficientia probans eſſe præſentiam.* Ibid. c. 5. d *Senſibilibus ſacramentis meſt vita æterna effectus & non tam corporali quàm ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto vnimur. Ipſe enim & panis & caro & ſanguis, idem cibus & ſubſtantia & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus.* Ibid. c. 5. *Noſtra & ipſius communio nec miſcet perſonas nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat & confederat voluntates.* c. 6. *Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, & potus quaſi quedam incorporatio.* c. 9. *Ille eſt in patre per naturam diuinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem eius nativitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſteriums.* Hilar. de trinit. lib. 8. e *Panis hic ex nobis cibus verus & ſincerus per ſpeciem & ſacramentum nos tactu ſanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto conformat.* Cypr. de cen. c. 6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti quam vt in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus, & in quo mortui & ſepulti & correſuſcitati ſumus ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus.* Leo de paſ. Serm. 14. *Quemadmodum qui eſt à terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem* (id eſt facta inuocatione diuini numinis) *iam non communis panis eſt ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans terrena & cæleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam iam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia.* Irene. l. 4. c. 34. *Quoniam ſalutaris caro verbo Dei quid naturaliter vita eſt coniuncta vitifica effecta eſt, quando tam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni coniuncti, quæ vita effecta eſt.* Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

coexistence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread which is the Lutherans interpretation, the second, This is in it selfe and before participation *the very true and naturall-substance of my body, by force of that Deitie which with the words of consecration aboleshth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body which is the Popish construction*, the last, *This hallowed foode, through concurrence of diuine power, is in veritie and truth, vnto faithfull receiuers, instrumentally a cause of that mysticall participation, whereby as I make my selfe wholly theirs, so I giue them in hand an actuall possession of all such saluing grace as my sacrificed body can yeeld, and as their soules doe presently neede, this is* to them, and in them *my body*, of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest doe all approoue and acknowledge to bee most true, nothing but that which the words of Christ are on all sides confest to inforce, nothing but that which the Church of God hath alwaies thought necessarie, nothing but that which alone is sufficient for euerie Christian man to beliue concerning the vse and force of this Sacrament, finally nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquitie are consonant and all Christian confessions agreeable. And as truth in what kinde soeuer is by no kinde of truth gain-said, so the minde which resteth it selfe on this is neuer troubled with those perplexities which the other doe both find, by meanes of so great contradiction betweene their opinions and true principles of reason grounded vppon experience, nature and sense. Which albeit with boysterous courage and breath they seeme oftentimes to blow away, yet who so obserueth how againe they labour and sweate by subtletie of wit to make some shew of agreement betweene their peculiar conceipts and the generall Edicts of nature, must needes perceiue they struggle with that which they cannot fully master. Besides sith of that which is proper to themselues their discourses are hungrie and vnpleasant, full of tedious and irksome labour, hartlesse and hetherto without fruite, on the other side reade we them, or heare we others, be they of our owne or of ancienter times, to what part so euer they be thought to incline touching that whereof there is controuersie, yet in this where they all speake but one thing, their discourses are heauenly, their words sweete as the honie Combe, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences meere consolation and ioy, are we not hereby almost euen with voice from heauen admonished which wee may safelieſt cleaue vnto? Hee which hath said of the one Sacrament *Wash and be cleane*, hath said concerning the other likewise *Eate and liue*. If therefore without any such particular and solemne warrant as this is, that poore distressed woman comming vnto Christ for health could so constantly resolue her selfe, *May I but touch the skirt of his garment I shall bee whole*, what mooueth vs to argue of the manner howe life should come by bread, our duetie being heere but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest perswaded of this, that can we but eate we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes some small and scarce discernable graine or seede whereof nature maketh promise that a tree shall come; and when afterwardes of that tree any skilfull artificer vndertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious worke, I looke for the euent, I mooue no question about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I simply credit nature in things naturally,

" naturall, ſhall I in thinges artificiall rely my ſelfe on Art, neuer offering to
" make doubt, and in that which is aboue both art and nature refuſe to beleeue
" the Author of both, except hee acquaint me with his waies, and lay the ſe-
" cret of his skill before mee? Where God himſelfe doth ſpeake thoſe things
" which either for height and ſublimitie of matter, or elſe for ſecrecie of per-
" formance wee are not able to reach vnto, as we may be ignorant without
" daunger, ſo it can bee no diſgrace to confeſſe we are ignorant. Such as loue
" pietie will as much as in them lyeth know all things that God commandeth,
" but eſpecially the duties of ſeruice which they owe to God. As for his darke
" and hidden workes, they preferre, as becommeth them in ſuch caſes ſimpli-
" citie of faith before that knowledge, which curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould
" adore, and diſputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot ſearch,
" chilleth for the moſt part all warmth of zeale, and bringeth ſoundnes of be-
" liefe manie times into great hazard. Let it therefore be ſufficient for me pre-
" ſenting my ſelfe at the Lords Table, to know what there I receiue from him,
" without ſearching or inquiring of the maner how Chriſt performeth his pro-
" miſe; let diſputes and queſtions enemies to pietie, abatements of true deuoti-
" on and hitherto in this cauſe but ouer patiently heard let them take their reſt;
" let curious and ſharpe witted men beate their heads about what queſtions
" themſelues will, the very letter of the word of Chriſt giueth playne ſecuritie,
" that theſe myſteries doe as nayles faſten vs to his verie Croſſe, that by them
" we draw out, as touching efficacie, force and vertue, euen the bloud of his
" goared ſide, in the wounds of our redeemer we there dip our tongues, wee
" are dieted both within and without, our hunger is ſatisfied and our thirſt
" for euer quenched, they are things wonderfull which he feeleth, great which
" he ſeeth, and vnheard of which he vttered, whoſe ſoule is poſſeſt of this paſ-
" call Lambe, and made ioyfull in the ſtrength of this new Wine, this breade
" hath in it more then the ſubſtance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallow-
" ed with ſolemne benediction auaileth to the endleſſe life and wel-fare both
" of ſoule and body, in that it ſerueth as well for a medicine to heale our infir-
" mities and purge our ſinnes, as for a ſacrifice of thankſgiuing, with touching
" it ſanctifieth, it enlightneth with beliefe, it truely conformeth vs vnto the I-
" mage of Ieſus Chriſt; what theſe elements are in themſelues it skilleth not, it
" is enough that to me, which take them they are the body and bloud of Chriſt,
" his promiſe in witneſſe hereof ſufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to
" accompliſh, why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſſe the minde of a faithfull com-
municant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my ſoule thou art happie.* Thus there-
fore we ſee, that howſoeuer mens opinions doe otherwiſe varie, neuertheleſſe
touching Baptiſme and the ſupper of the Lord we may with conſent of the
whole Chriſtian world conclude they are neceſſarie, the one to initiate or
begin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring the holy Communion.

68 In adminiſtring the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, the
ſuppoſed faultes of the Church of England are not greatly materiall, and
therefore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few words. *The firſt is that we doe not
vſe in a generalitie once for all to ſay to communicants,* Take eate, and drinke, *but
vnto euerie particular perſon,* Eate thou, drinke thou, *which is according to the*

Popiſh

Popiſh manner and not the forme that our Sauiour did vſe. Our ſecond ouerſight is by geſture. For in kneeling there hath beene ſuperſtition; ſitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Sauiour vſing that which was moſt fit did himſelfe not kneele. A third accuſation is for not examining all Communicants, whoſe knowledge in the myſterie of the Goſpell ſhould that way bee made manifeſt, a thing euery where they ſay vſed in the Apoſtles times, becauſe all things neceſſarie were vſed, and this in their opinion, is neceſſarie, yea it is commanded in as much as the [a] *Leuits are commaunded to prepare the people for the Paſſeouer, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords ſupper in place of the paſſeouer. The fourth thing miſliked is that againſt the Apoſtles* [b] *prohibition to haue any familiaritie at all with notorious offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very communion before they haue by their Religious & Goſpellike behauiour purged themſelues of that ſuſpition of Paperie which their former life hath cauſed. They are Dogges, Swine, vncleane beaſts, forreiners and ſtrangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to be admitted though they offer themſelues. We are fiftly condemned in as much as when there haue beene ſtore of people to heare Sermons and ſeruice in the Church we ſuffer the Communion to be minſtred to a few. It is not enough that our booke of Common praier hath godly exhortations to mooue all thereunto which are preſent. For it ſhould not ſuffer a few to communicate, it ſhould by Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline and ciuill punſhment prouide that ſuch as would withdraw themſelues might be brought to Communicate according both to the* [c] *lawe of God and the auncient Church Canons. In the ſixt and laſt place commeth the enormitie of imparting this Sacrament priuatly vnto the ſicke.* Thus farre accuſed, we anſwer briefly to the [d] firſt, that ſeeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular vnto euery mans perſon the grace which himſelfe hath prouided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cauſe, why adminiſtring the ſacraments we ſhould forbeare to expreſſe that in our formes of ſpeech which hee by his word and Goſpell teacheth all to belieue. In the one Sacrament *I Baptize thee* diſpleaſeth them not. If *Eate thou* in the other offend them, their phancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Chriſt at his laſt Supper did ſpeake generally once to all, or to euery one in particular, is a thing vncertaine. His words are recorded in that forme which ſeruеth beſt for the ſetting downe with hiſtoricall breuitie what was ſpoken, they are no manifeſt proofe that hee ſpake but once vnto all which did then Communicate, much leſſe that wee in ſpeaking vnto euery communicant ſeuerally doe amiſſe, although it were cleare that wee herein doe otherwiſe then Chriſt did. Our imitation of him conſiſteth not in tying ſcrupulouſly our ſelues vnto his ſillables, but rather in ſpeaking by the heauenly direction of that inſpired diuine wiſedome, which teacheth diuers waies to one ende, and doth therein controle their boldnes, by whome any profitable way is cenſured as reproueable onely vnder colour of ſome ſmall difference from great examples going before, to doe throughout euery the like circumſtaunce the ſame which Chriſt did in this action, were by following his footeſteps in that ſort to erre more from the purpoſe hee aimed at then wee now doe by not following them with ſo nice and ſeuere ſtrictneſſe. They little waigh with themſelues how dull, how beaſtie, and almoſt how without ſenſe the greateſt part of the common multitude euerie where is, who thinke it either vnmeete or vnneceſſarie to put them e-

a 2. Chro. 35. 6.

b 1. Cor. 5. 11.

c Num. 9. 13. Can. 9. Apoſt. concil. 2. Bracc. ca. 3.

d T. C. li. 1. p. 166 Beſides that it is good to leaue the Popiſh forme in thoſe things which we may ſo conueniently doe, it is beſt to come as neere the maner of celebration of the Supper which our Sauiour Chriſt vſed as may be. And if it be a good argument to proue that therefore we muſt rather ſay Take thou, then Take yee becauſe the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Chriſt, it behoueth that the Preacher ſhould direct his admonitions particularly one after another vnto all thoſe which heare his Sermon, which is a thing abſurd.

uen man by man especially at that time in minde whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons wee doe not vse to repeate our sentences seuerally to euery particular hearer, a strange madnesse it were if wee should. The softnes of Waxe may induce a wise man to set his stampe or image therein; it perswadeth no man that because Wooll hath the like qualitie, it may therefore receiue the like impression. So the reason taken from the vse of Sacraments in that they are instruments of grace vnto euerie particular man may with good congruitie leade the Church to frame accordingly her words in administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit this forme, which being in Sermons a thing impossible without apparent ridiculous absurditie, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleaged as a reasonable proofe of conueniencie; for the one prooueth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not inforce the other to bee administred in like sorte. For equall principles doe then auaile vnto equall conclusions, when the matter whereunto wee apply them is equall and not else. [a] Our kneeling at communions is the gesture of pietie. If wee did there present our selues but to make some shew or dumbe resemblance of a spirituall feast, it may bee that sitting were the fitter Ceremonie, but comming as receiuers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beseeme our bodies at that hower then to bee sensible witnesses of minds vnfainedly humbled? Our Lorde himselfe did that which custome and long vsage had made fit; wee that which fitnesse and great decencie hath made vsuall. The tryall of our selues before wee eate of this bread and drinke of this Cup, is by expresse commaundement euerie mans precise dutie. As for necessitie of calling others vnto accompt besides our selues, albeit wee be not thereunto drawne by any great strength which is in their arguments who first presse vs with it as a thing necessarie by affirming that the Apostles did vse it, and then proue [b] the Apostles to haue vsed it by affirming it to bee necessarie; againe albeit we greatly muse how they can auouch that God did commaunde the Leuits to prepare their brethren against the feast of the Passouer, and that the examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleaged to this purpose doth but charge the Leuites saying, *Make ready Laahkethem for your brethren*, to the end they may do according to the word of the Lord by Moses. Wherfore in the selfe same place it followeth how Lambs and Kids and Sheepe and Bullocks were deliuered vnto the Leuites, and that thus *the seruice was made ready*, it followeth likewise how the Leuites hauing in such sort prouided for the people, they made prouision for *themselues, and for the Priests the sonnes of Aaron*, so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessitie of examination argueth their wonderfull great forwardnes in framing all things to serue their turne, neuertheless the examination of Communicants when neede requireth for the profitable vse it may haue in such cases wee reiect not. Our fault in admitting popish Communicants, is it in that wee are [c] forbidden to eate and therefore much more to communicate with notorious malefactors? The name of a Papist is not giuen vnto any man for being a notorious malefactor. And the crime wherewith wee are charged is suffering of Papists to communicate, so that bee their life and conuersation whatsoeuer in the sight of man, their Popish opinions

a *T.C.l.1.p.165* Kneeling carieth a shew of worship, sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Christ and his Apostles kneeled not.

b *T.C.l.1.p.164* All things necessarie were vsed in the Churches of God in the Apostles times, but examination was a necessarie thing, therefore vsed. In the Booke of Chronicles, *2.Chron.35.6.* the Leuites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiuing of the Passeouer in place whereof wee haue the Lords Supper. Now examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandement of the examinatiō

c *1.Cor.5.11. T.C.l.1.p.187.*

nions are in this caſe laide as barres and exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they haue helde in former times [d] although they now both profeſſe by word, and offer to ſhow by fact the contrarie. All this doth not iuſtifie vs which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their goſpellike behauiour haue remooued all ſuſpition of poperie from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogges, Swine, beaſts, forriners and ſtrangers* from the houſe of God, in a word they are *not of the Church*. What the termes of goſpellike behauiour may include, is obſcure and doubtfull. But of the *viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent world from which they ſeperate all Papiſts, wee are thus perſwaded: *Church* is a word which Arte hath deuiſed thereby to ſeuer and diſtinguiſh that ſocietie of men which profeſſeth the true Religion from the reſt which profeſſe it not. There haue beene in the world from the verie firſt foundation thereof but three Religions, *Paganiſme* which liued in the blindnes of corrupt and depraued nature; *Iudaiſme*, embracing the law which reformed Heathniſh impietie, and taught ſaluation to bee looked for through one whome God in the laſt daies would ſend and exalt to bee Lord of all, finally *Chriſtian beliefe* which yeeldeth obedience to the goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Sauiour whome God did promiſe. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name which Arte hath giuen to *profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man are to paſſe by thoſe qualities, wherein one man doth excell an other, and take onely thoſe eſſentiall properties, whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kindes, ſo hee that will teach what *the Church* is, ſhall neuer rightly performe the worke whereabout hee goeth, till *in matter of Religion* hee touch that difference which ſeuereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, wee muſt define the Church, which is a religious ſocietie by ſuch differences as doe properly explaine the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the obiect or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conuerſant. For ſo all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon becauſe the *onely obiect* which ſeparateth ours from other Religions is *Ieſus Chriſt*, in whome none but the Church doth beliue, and whome none but the Church doth worſhip, wee finde that accordingly the Apoſtles doe euery where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accompting *them which call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to be his Church*. If we goe lower, we ſhall but adde vnto this certaine caſuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either indeede, or in mens opinions and conceipts. This is the error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto haue beene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that which wherein they imagine their owne mote perfect then the reſt are. Touching parts of eminencie and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way poſſible to bee drawne vnto any certaine accompt. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the vnitie that ought to bee in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may haue not onely without offence or breach

[d] Although they would receiue the communion, yet they ought to be kept backe vntil ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpellike behauiour they haue purged themſelues of that ſuſpicion of Poperie which their former life and conuerſation hath cauſed to be conceiued. *T.C.l.1.p.167.*

Rom.15.5. 1.Cor.1.10.

breach of concord her manifolde varieties in rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her ſtriſes and contentions many times and that about matters of no ſmall importance, yea her Schiſmes, factions, and ſuch other euils whereunto the bodie of the Church is ſubiect, ſound and ſicke remaining both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retaine by outward profeſſion that vitall ſubſtance of truth which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the bleſſed Sauiour of mankind, giue no credit to his glorious Goſpell and haue his Sacraments the ſeales of eternall life in deriſion. Now the priuiledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that wee ſpeake) is to bee herein like the Arke of Noah, that, for any thing wee know to the contrarie, all without it are loſt ſheepe; yet in this was the Arke of Noah priuiledged aboue the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternall life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdome of God although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundrie grieuous ſtormes by meanes whereof whole kingdomes and nations profeſſing Chriſt both haue beene heretofore, and are at this preſent day deuided about Chriſt. During which diuiſions and contentions amongſt men albeit each part doe iuſtifie it ſelfe, yet the one of neceſſitie muſt needes erre if there bee any contradiction betweene them, be it great or little, and what ſide ſoeuer it bee that hath the truth, the ſame wee muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently reiect the other as an enemie *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church.* Wherefore of hypocrites and diſſemblers whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwardes tooke occaſion to oppugne certaine principall Articles of faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them pronounce them *gone out* from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere belieuers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not vtterly caſt off. In like ſence and meaning throughout all ages *heretiques* haue iuſtly beene hated as braunches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet onely ſo farre foorth cut off as their hereſies haue extended. Both hereſie *and many other crimes*, which *wholly ſeuer from God*, doe ſeuer from the Church of God in *part onely*. The myſterie of pietie ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peraduenture great, *God hath beene manifeſted in the fleſh, hath beene iuſtified in the ſpirit hath beene ſeene of Angels, hath beene preached to nations, hath beene beleeued on in the world, hath beene taken vp into glorie.* The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is knowne or profeſt but onely within the Church, and they all of the Church that profeſſe it. In the meane while it cannot be denied that many profeſſe this who are not therefore cleared ſimply from all either faultes or errors which make ſeparation betweene vs and the welſpring of our happines. Idolatrie ſeuered of olde the Iſraelites, iniquitie thoſe Scribes and Phariſies from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeede of Abraham, a part of that verie ſeede which God did himſelfe acknowledge to bee his Church. The Church of God may therefore containe both them which indeede are not his, yet muſt bee reputed his by vs that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparant wickednesſe teſtifieth euen in the ſight

1. Ioh. 2. 19.

1. Tim. 3. 14.

ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe are meant thoſe parables which our Sauiour in the Goſpell hath concerning mixture of vice with vertue, light with darkeneſſe, truth with error, as well and openly knowne and ſeene as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which ſeperateth therefore *vtterly*, that which cutteth off *cleane* from the viſible Church of Chriſt is plaine Apoſtaſie, *direct* deniall, vtter reiection of the whole Chriſtian faith as farre as the ſame is profeſſedly different from infidelitie. Heretiques as touching thoſe points of doctrine wherein they faile; ſchiſmatiques as touching the quarrels for which or the duties wherein they deuide themſelues from their brethren; looſe licentious and wicked perſons as touching their ſeuerall offences or crimes haue all forſaken the true Church of God, the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt, the Church that keepeth the bonde of vnitie which they violate, the Church that walketh in the lawes of righteouſneſſe which they tranſgreſſe, this verie true Church of Chriſt they haue left, how beit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church vppon the maine foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* a ſunder. Now becauſe for redreſſe of profeſſed errors and open Schiſmes it is and muſt bee the Churches care that all may in outward conformitie bee one, as the laudable politie of former ages, euen ſo our owne to that ende and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed diuers lawes, the moderate ſeueritie whereof is a meane both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaime ſuch as heretofore haue beene led awrie. But ſeeing that the offices which lawes require are alwaies definite, and when that they require is done they goe no farther, whereupon ſundrie ill affected perſons to ſaue themſelues from daunger of lawes pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carrie ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before, by meanes whereof it falleth out that receiuing vnworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eate and drinke their owne damnation, it is for remedie of this miſchiefe [a] heere determined, that whome the lawe of the Realme doth puniſh vnleſſe they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obaye law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their goſpellike behauiour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time howe long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; againe they nominate no certaine iudgement the verdict whereof ſhall approue mens behauiour to bee Goſpellike; and that which is moſt materiall, whereas they ſeeke to make it more hard for diſſemblers to bee receiued into the Church then law and politie as yet

a *T.C.l.1.p.167* If the place of the fift to the Corinthians doe forbid that wee ſhould haue any familiarity with notorious offenders it doth much more forbid that they ſhould be receiued to the communion. And therefore Papiſts being ſuch as which are notoriouſly knowne to hold hereticall opinions ought not to bee admitted, much leſſe compelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Sauiour Chriſt did inſtitute his ſupper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were as Saint Paul ſpeaketh within, it is euident that the papiſts being without, and forreiners and ſtrangers frō the Church of God ought not to be receiued if they would offer themſelues:

and that Miniſter that ſhall giue the Supper of the Lord to him which is knowne to bee a Papiſt, and which hath neuer made any cleare renouncing of poperie, with which he hath beene defiled, doth prophane the Table of the Lord, and doth giue the meate that is prepared for the children vnto dogs, and he bringeth into the paſture which is prouided for the ſheepe, Swine and vncleane beaſts, contrary to the faith and truſt that ought to be in a ſteward of the Lords houſe as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertaine to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithſtanding they ought to be vnto the Miniſter and vnto the Church touching the miniſtring of Sacraments as ſtraungers and as vncleane beaſtes. The miniſtring of the holy Sacraments vnto them is a declaration and ſeale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them, and a plaine preaching, partly that they be waſhed already from their ſinne, partly that they are of the houſhold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feede to eternall life, which is not lawfull to be done vnto thoſe which are not of the houſhold of faith. And therefore I conclude that the compelling of Papiſts vnto the communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them goe when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbornnes in poperie (with this condition if they will receiue the Communion) is verie vnlawfull, when as although they would receiue it, yet they ought to be kept backe till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpellike behauiour. &c.

hath

hath done, they make it in truth more eaſie for ſuch kinde of perſons to winde themſelues out of the law and to continue the ſame they were. The lawe requireth at their handes that dutie which in conſcience doth touch them neereſt, becauſe the greateſt difference betweene vs and them is the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, whoſe name in the ſeruice of our Communion wee celebrate with due honour, which they in the errour of their Maſſe prophane. As therefore on our part to heare Maſſe were an open departure from that ſincere profeſſion wherein wee ſtand, ſo if they on the other ſide receiue our Communion, they giue vs the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelitie that man can demaunde. What their harts are God doth know. But if they which minde treacherie to God and man ſhall once apprehend this aduantage giuen them whereby they may ſatisfie law in pretending themſelues conformable (for what can law with reaſon or iuſtice require more?) And yet bee ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer, till their goſpellike behauiour bee allowed, after that our owne ſimplicitie hath once thus fairely eaſed them from ſting of law, it is to bee thought they will learne the myſterie of goſpellike behauiour when leaſure ſerueth them. And ſo while without any cauſe wee feare to prophane Sacraments, wee ſhall not onely defeate the purpoſe of moſt wholeſome lawes, but looſe or wilfully hazard thoſe ſoules from which the likelieſt meanes of full and perfect recouerie are by our indiſcretion withheld. For neither doth God thus binde vs to diue into mens conſciences, nor can their fraude and deceipt hurt any man but themſelues. To him they ſeeme ſuch as they are, but of vs they muſt bee taken for ſuch as they ſeeme. In the eye of God they are againſt Chriſt that are not truely and ſincerely with him, in our eyes they muſt bee receiued as with Chriſt that are not to outward ſhow againſt him. The caſe of impœnitent and notorious ſinners is not like vnto theirs whoſe onely imperfection is error ſeuered from pertinacie, error in appearance content to ſubmit it ſelfe to better inſtruction, error ſo farre already cured as to craue at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and vtter refuſall whereof was the waightieſt point wherein heretofore they ſwarued and wentaſtraie. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge vs with remiſſe dealing, or with careleſſenes to whome we impart the myſteries of Chriſt, but they haue giuen vs manifeſt occaſion to thinke it requiſite that wee earneſtly aduiſe rather and exhort them to conſider as they ought their ſundry ouerſightes, firſt in equalling vndiſtinctly crimes with errors as touching force to make vncapable of this Sacrament; ſecondly in ſuffering indignation at the faultes of the Church of Rome to blinde and withholde their iudgements from ſeeing that which with all they ſhould acknowledge concerning ſo much neuertheleſſe ſtill due to the ſame Church as to bee helde and reputed a part of the houſe of God, a limme of the viſible Church of Chriſt; thirdly in impoſing vpon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their conſciences then any law of God or reaſon of man inforceth; fourthly and laſtly in repelling vnder colour of longer tryall ſuch from the myſteries of heauenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the lawes of God for any thing wee heare to the contrarie, and ſhould in diuers conſiderations bee cheriſhed according to the merciſull examples

amples and precepts whereby the Goſpell of Chriſt hath taught vs towards ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receiue them with lenitie and all meekenes, if any thing bee ſhaken in them to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with delayes and ielouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformitie which ſeemeth to breath from them, but to builde whereſoeuer there is any foundation, to adde perfection vnto ſclender beginnings, and that as by other offices of pietie euen ſo by this very foode of life which Chriſt hath left in his Church not onely for preſeruation of ſtrength, but alſo for reliefe of weakeneſſe: but to returne to our owne ſelues in whome the next thing ſeuerely reprooued is the paucitie of communicants, if they requite at Communicants frequencie wee wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable vnto God ſuch ſeruice is, when multitudes cheerefully concurre vnto it; if they encourage men thereunto, wee alſo (themſelues acknowledge it) are not vtterly forgetfull to doe the like; if they require ſome publique coaction for remedie of that wherein by milder and ſofter meanes little good is done, they know our Lawes and Statutes prouided in that behalfe, whereunto whatſoeuer conuenient helpe may bee added more by the wiſedome of man, what cauſe hauewee giuen the world to thinke that wee are not ready to hearken to it, and to vſe any good meane of ſweete compulſion to haue this high and heauenly banquet largely furniſhed? Onely wee cannot ſo farre yeelde as to iudge it conuenient that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould bee vnſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſſe and vndiſpoſed to ioyne with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelues to Communicate when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our communion with our brethren, and therefore by communicating a part from them wee make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction. I aske then on which ſide vnitie is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behinde doe communicate. Firſt in the one it is not denied but that they may haue reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then euen they are deliuered from iuſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely daunger of impairing health, and neceſſarie buſineſſe requiring our preſence other where. And may not a third cauſe which is *vnfitneſſe* at the preſent time detaine vs as lawfully backe as either of theſe two? True it is that wee cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelues, for that wee ought to preuent this and doe not. But if we haue committed a fault in not preparing our mindes before, ſhall wee therefore aggrauate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of vnworthie participation? Hee that abſtaineth, doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious communicants haue, but he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily receiueth death, that which is life to others turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer bee the cauſe for which men abſtaine, were it reaſon that the fault of one parte ſhould any way abridge their benefite that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſillable which doth condemne communicating amongſt a few when the reſt are departed from them. [a] As for the laſt thing which is our imparting this Sacrament priuatly vnto the ſicke, whereas there haue beene of olde (they graunt) two kinds of neceſſitie, wherein this Sacrament might bee priuatly adminiſtred, of which two the one being erroneouſly imagined,

T.C.l.p.147.

2. Chron.30.13. Pſal.122.1.

Luke 14.23.

[a] *T.C.l.p.148*

imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in vse, there remaineth vnto vs no necessitie at all, for which that custome should bee retained. The falsly surmised necessitie is that whereby some haue thought all such excluded from possibilitie of Saluation as did depart this life, and neuer were made partakers of the holy Eucharist. The other case of necessitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of persecution, and had afterwardes repented them, but were not as yet receiued againe vnto the fellowship of this Communion, did at the hower of their death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietnes and comfort of minde, being thereby assured of departure in vnitie of Christs Church, which vertuous desire the fathers did thinke it great impietie not to satisfie. This was Serapions case of necessitie. Serapion a faithfull aged person and alwaies of very vpright life till feare of persecution in the ende caused him to shrinke backe, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence and sute oftentimes made to bee pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grieuous sickenesse, and being ready to yeeld vp the Ghost, was then more instant then euer before to receiue the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was necessarie in this case, not that Serapion had beene depriued of euerlasting life without it, but that his ende was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do wee thinke that all cases of *such necessitie* are cleane vanished? Suppose that some haue by misperswasion liued in Schisme, withdrawne themselues from holy and publike assemblies, hated the praiers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falsly presuming them to bee fraught with impious and Antichristian corruptions, which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they doe not onely repent them of the euill which they haue done, but also in token thereof desire to receiue comfort by that whereunto they haue offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poore seduced soules euen at this daye) God forbid wee shoulde thinke that the Church doth sinne in permitting the woundes of such to bee supplied with that oyle which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their brused mindes not onely neede but begge. There is nothing which the soule of man doth desire in that last hower somuch as comfort against the naturall terrors of death and other scruples of conscience, which commonly doe then most trouble and perplexe the weake, towards whome the verie law of God doth exact at our hands all the helpes that Christian lenitie and indulgence can afforde. Our generall consolation departing this life is the hope of that [a] glorious and blessed resurrection which the Apostle [b] S. Paul nameth ἐξανάστασιν [c] to note that all men shall haue their ἀνάστασιν and bee rayssed againe from the dead, so the iust shall be taken vp and exalted aboue the rest, whome the power of God doth but raise and not exalt. This life and this resurrection our Lord Iesus Christ is for all men as touching the sufficiencie of that he hath done; but that which maketh vs partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Christ, and this Sacrament a principall meane as well to strengthen the bond as to multiply in vs the fruites of the same Communion, for which cause [d] Saint Cyprian termeth it a ioyfull solemnitie of expedite and speedy resurrection, [e] Ignatius a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preuenteth death; [f] Irenæus the nourishment of our bodies

to

a 1. Cor. 15.
b Phil. 3. 11.
c Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀναστάσιν. Theophy. πάντως δὲ ἀνθρωποειδίσεται μόνοις τοῖς ἀξίοις τῆς ἀναβιώσεως Ammon vide. 1. Thes. 4. 17.
d Maturata resurrectionis laetabunda solemnia. Cyp. de cæn. Dom. c. 10.
e φάρμακον ἀθανασίας ἀντίδοτον μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephe. Iren. l. 4. c. 34.
f Et si nihil facile matandum est ex solennibus tamen vbi aequitas euidens poscit subueniendum est. l. 183. ff. de reg. iur.

to eternall life and their preſeruatiue from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may receiue vnto this effect is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitefull, when any ſpeciall extraordinarie occaſion neerely and preſently vrging kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeueritie, who cleaue vnto that alone which is generally fit to be done and ſo make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to diuers troubled and grieued mindes, of whoſe particular eſtate particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein wee liue, there inſueth vnto God that glorie which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes doe yeeld, and vnto them which haue their reaſonable petitions ſatiſfied the ſame contentment tranquilitie and ioy that others before them by meanes of like ſatisfaction haue reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould bee deſirous finally to take our leaue of the world whenſoeuer our owne vncertaine time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both praiers and Sacraments together with our vſuall and receiued forme of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of England let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtiuall dayes and the natural cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.

69 As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite, and hath *no kinde* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting, and knoweth neither beginning nor ende. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him all things are finite both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things be finite, it cannot be, but that there are boundes without the compaſſe whereof their ſubſtance doth not extende; if in continuance alſo limited, they all haue, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certaine termes before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon why firſt we doe moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt, and ſecondly thoſe things which are ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this wee gather that onely God hath true immortalitie or eternitie, that is to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides haue continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthned, ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to haue continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods owne eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their perpetuitie; their perpetuitie the hand that draweth out cæleſtiall motion, the line of which motion and the thread of time are ſpun together. Nowe as nature bringeth forth time with motion, ſo we by motion haue learned how to diuide time, and by the ſmaller parts of time both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe endure. For time conſidered in it ſelfe is but the flux of that very inſtant wherein the motion of the heauen began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantitie of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants. As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath till the inſtant of his laſt gaſpe. Hereupon ſome haue defined time to bee the meaſure of the motion of heauen, becauſe the firſt thing which time doth meaſure, is that motion wherewith it began and by the helpe whereof it meaſureth other things, as when the Pro-

phet Dauid saith that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceede three score and ten yeares, he vseth the helpe both of motion and number to measure time. They which make time an effect of motion, and motion to be in nature before time ought to haue considered with themselues, that albeit we should deny as Melissus did all motion, we might notwithstanding acknowledge time, because time doth but signifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may bee in things that rest and are neuer moued. Besides, we may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future, yea farther euen length and shortnes in eueric of these, although wee neuer had conceipt of motion. But to *define* without motion *how* long or *how* shott such continuance is, were impossible. So that herein we must of necessitie vse the benefit of yeares, daies, howers, minutes, which all growe from coelestiall motion. Againe for as much as that motion is circular, whereby we make our diuisions of time, and the compasse of that circuit such, that the heauens which are therein continually moued, and keepe in their motions vniforme celeritie must needs touch often the same points, they cannot choose but bring vnto vs by equall distances frequent returnes of the same times. Furthermore whereas time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all thinges haue that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper vnto all quantities agreeth also to this kind, so that time doth but measure other things and neither worketh in them any reall effect, nor is it selfe euer capable of any. And therefore when commonly we vse to say that time doth eat or fret out of all things, that time is the wilest thing in the world because it bringeth forth all knowledge, and that nothing is more foolish then time which neuer holdeth any thing long, but whatsoeuer one day learneth, the same an other day forgetteth againe, but some men see prosperous and happie dayes, and that some mens dayes are miserable, in all these and the like speeches that which is vttered of the time is not verified of time it selfe, but agreeth vnto those things which are in time, and doe by meanes of so neere coniunction either lay their burthen vpon the backe, or set their Crowne vpon the head of time. Yea the very [a] oportunities which we ascribe to time do in truth cleaue to the things themselues wherewith time is ioyned, as for time it neither causeth things nor oportunities of things, although it comprise and containe both. All things whatsoeuer hauing their time, the workes of God haue alwaies that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His workes are some ordinarie, some more rare, all worthy of obseruation, but not all of like necessitie to be often remembred, they all haue their times but they all doe not adde the same estimation and glorie to the times wherein they are. For as God by being euerie where, yet doth not giue vnto all places one and the same degree of holinesse, so neither one and the same dignitie to all times by working in all. For if all either places or times were in respect of God alike, wherefore was it said vnto Moyses by particular designation, *This very place wherein thou standest is holy ground?* Why doth the Prophet Dauid choose out of all the daies of the yeare but one, whereof he speaketh by way of principall admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt as Gods extraordinarie presence hath hallowed and sanctified

[a] χρόνῳ ἴσον ἐστὶν ὃ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ πολύς. *Hippo. l. qui Praeceptiones inscribitur.*

Exod. 3.5.

Psal. 118.24.

sanctified certaine places, so they are his extraordinarie workes that haue truely and worthily aduanced certaine times, for which cause they ought to bee with all men that honour God more holy then other dayes. The wiseman therefore compareth herein not vnfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should aske how it commeth to passe that one day doth excell another seeing the light of al the daies in the yeare proceedeth from one sunne, to this he answereth, that *That knowledge of the Lord hath parted them asunder, hee hath by them disposed the times and solemne feastes, some he hath chosen out and sanctified, some he hath put among the dayes to number:* euen as Adam and all other men are of one substance all created of the earth, *but the Lord hath diuided them by great knowledge and made their wayes diuers, some hee hath blessed and exalted, some hee hath sanctified and appropriated to himselfe, some hee hath cursed, humbled and put them out of their dignitie.* So that the cause being naturall and necessarie for which there should be a difference in dayes, the solemne obseruation whereof declareth Religious thankfulnes towards him whose workes of principall reckoning wee thereby admire and honour, it commeth next to bee considered what kindes of duties and seruices they are wherewith such times should bee kept holy.

Psal.118.24.

Eccles.33.7.

70 The sanctification of dayes and times is a token of that thankfulnesse, and a part of that publique honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that wee keepe a secrete Kalender, taking thereby our priuate occasions as we list our selues to thinke how much God hath done for all men, but the dayes which are chosen out to serue as publike memorials of such his mercies ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holinesse whereby their difference from other daies may bee made sensible. But because time in it selfe as hath beene already prooued can receiue no alteration, the hallowing of Festiuall dayes must consist in the shape or countenance which we put vpon the affaires that are incident into those daies. This is the day which the Lord hath made, saith the Prophet Dauid, *Let vs reioyce and bee glad* in it. So that generally offices and duties of [a] religious *ioy* are that wherein the hallowing of Festiuall times consisteth. The most naturall testimonies of our reioycing in God are first his praises set foorth with chearefull alacritie of mind, secondly our comfort and delight expressed by a [b] charitable largenesse of somewhat more then common bountie, thirdly sequestration from ordinary labours, the toyles and cares whereof are not meete to be companions of such gladnesse. Festiuall solemnitie therefore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of these three elements, praise and bountie, and rest. Touching praise, for as much as the Iewes, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked liues) more of custome and for fashion sake execute the seruices of their Religion, then with harte and true deuotion (which God especially requireth) hee therefore protesteth against their Sabboths and solemne daies as being therewith much offended. Plentifull and liberall expense is required in them that abounde, partly as a signe of their owne ioy in the goodnesse of God towards them, and partly

The manner of celebrating Festiual daies.

a *Grande videlicet officium foras & chores in publicum educere, vicatim equitari, ciuitatem taberna habitu obsidere facere, vino lutum cogere, caternatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus, Tertul. Apolog. c. 35. Dies festos Maiestati altissimæ dedicatos, nullis voluptatibus occupari. C. lib. 11. tit. 12. l. 1.*

Περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ παννυχίδων καὶ διανυχερείας καὶ διανυχερείας ἑορτὰς ἄγουσι, οὐ μόνον ἐν ἡμέραις καὶ χρόνοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τόποις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔθεσιν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀλλότρια τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐκτρέποντες. *Philo lib. de Abraha.*

b Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς φυσικῶς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου τὸ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. *Philo lib. de Abraha.*

Tuned. ad Gra. infidel. Ser. 9.

as a meane whereby to refresh those poore and needie, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and ioy with others doe the more religiously bleſſe God, whose great mercies were a cauſe thereof, and the more contentedly indure the burthen of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. Reſt is the ende of all motion, and the laſt perfection of all things that labour. Labours in vs are iourneyes, and euen in them which feele no wearineſſe by any worke, yet they are but waies whereby to come vnto that which bringeth not happines till it doe bring reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is vnattained, wee reſt not. Let vs not here take reſt for idleneſſe. They are idle whome the painefulneſſe of action cauſeth to auoide those labours, whereunto both God and nature bindeth them: they reſt, which either ceaſe from their worke when they haue brought it vnto perfection, or elſe giue ouer a meaner labour becauſe a worthier and better is to be vndertaken. God hath created nothing to be Idle or ill imployed. As therefore man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, euerie part indued with manifold habilities, which all haue their ſeuerall ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great varietie of duties which belong to men that dependencie and order, by meanes whereof the lower ſuſtained alwaies the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe, they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence, labours of bodily and daily toyle purchaſe freedome for actions of religious ioy, which benefite theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired reſt: a thing moſt naturall and fit to accompanie the ſolemne Feſtiuall duties of honour which are done to God. For if thoſe principall workes of God, the memorie whereof wee vſe to celebrate at ſuch times bee but certaine taſtes and ſaies, as it were of that finall benefite, wherein our perfect felicitie and bliſſe lyeth folded vp, ſeeing that the preſence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and deſires towards the other, it giueth ſurely a kinde of life, and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently doe, repreſenteth after a ſorte that alſo whereunto wee tende, as Feſtiuall reſt doth that cæleſtiall eſtate whereof the verye heathens themſelues which had not the meanes whereby to apprehende much, did notwithſtanding imagine that it needs muſt conſiſt in reſt, and haue therefore taught that aboue the higheſt mooueable ſphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, vnſubiect to paſſion, bleſt with eternall continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that complete abundant ſufficiencie within it ſelfe, which no poſſibilitie of want maime or defect can touch. Beſides, whereas ordinarie labours are both in themſelues painefull, and baſe in compariſon of Feſtiuall ſeruices done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them ſhew that the one as it were by way of ſubmiſſion and homage ſhould ſurrender themſelues to the other wherewith they can neither eaſily concurre, becauſe painefulnes and ioy are oppoſite, nor decently, becauſe while the minde hath iuſt occaſion to make her abode on the houſe of gladneſſe, the weede of ordinarie toyle and trauell becommeth her not? Wherefore euen nature hath taught the

Deut.16.14. Neh.8.9.

a Οὐδὲν ἀργὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις ἀεὶ ἐνεργοῦν τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ἔχον τὴν αὐτάρκειαν διατελεῖ ἀναπαυόμενον. Ar.

the heathens, and God the Iewes, and Chriſt vs, firſt that Feſtiuall ſolemnities are a part of the publique exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly, that praiſe, liberalitie and reſt are as naturall elements whereof ſolemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the heathens conuerted to the honour of their falſe Gods, and as they failed in the ende it ſelfe, ſo neither could they diſcerne rightly what forme and meaſure Religion therein ſhould obſerue. Whereupon, when the Iſraelites impiouſly followed ſo corrupt example, they are in euery degree noted to haue done amiſſe, their Hymnes or ſongs of praiſe were idolatrie, their bountie exceſſe, and their reſt wantonneſſe. Therefore the law of God which appointed them daies of ſolemnitie, taught them likewiſe in what maner the ſame ſhould be celebrated. According to the patterne of which inſtitution, Dauid eſtabliſhing the ſtate of religion ordained praiſe to be giuen vnto God in the Sabbaths, monethes and appointed times, as their cuſtome had beene alwaies before the Lord. Now beſides the times which God himſelfe in the law of Moſes particularly ſpecified, there were through the wiſedome of the Church certaine other deuiſed by occaſion of like occurrents to thoſe, whereupon the former had riſen, as namely, that which Mardocheus and Eſter did firſt celebrate in memorie of the Lords moſt wonderfull protection, when Haman had laide his ineuitable plot to mans thinking for the vtter extirpation of the Iewes euen in one day. This they call the feaſt of *Lots*, becauſe Haman had caſt their life and their death as it were vpon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added, that other alſo of *Dedication* mentioned in the tenth of Saint Iohns Goſpell, the inſtitution whereof is declared in the Hiſtory of the Maccabes. But for as much as their law by the comming of Chriſt is changed, and we thereunto no way bounde, Saint Paul, although it were not his purpoſe to fauour inuectiues againſt the ſpeciall ſanctification of daies and times to the ſeruice of God, and to the honour of Ieſus Chriſt, doth notwithſtanding bend his forces againſt that opinion, which impoſed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewiſh legall obſeruations, as if the whole world ought for euer, and that vpon paine of condemnation to keepe and obſerue the ſame. Such as in this perſwaſion hallowed thoſe Iewiſh Sabbothes, the Apoſtles ſharply reprouеth ſaying, [a] *Yee obſerue dayes and moneths and times and yeares, I am in feare of you leaſt I haue beſtowed vpon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit ſo farre off was [b] Tertullian from imagining how any man could poſſible hereupon call in queſtion ſuch daies as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerue, that the obſeruation of theſe daies he vſeth for an argument whereby to proue it, coulde not be the Apoſtles intent and meaning to condemne ſimply all obſeruing of ſuch times. Generally therefore touching feaſtes in the Church of Chriſt, they haue that profitable vſe whereof Saint Auguſtine ſpeaketh, *By Feſtiuall ſolemnities and ſet dayes we dedicate and ſanctifie to God the memorie of his benefites, leaſt vnthankfull forgetfulneſſe thereof ſhould creepe vpon vs in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars their Sabboth the Church hath chaunged into our Lords day, that as the one did continually bring to minde the former world finiſhed by creation, ſo the other might keepe vs in perpetual remembrance of a farre better world begun by him which came to reſtore all things to make both heauen and earth new. For which cauſe they

1. *Chro.* 23. 30.

Heſt. 9.

Ioh. 10

1. *Mac.* 4.

a *Gal.* 4. 10.

b *Si omnem in totum deuotionem temporum & dierum & menſium & annorum eraſit Apoſtolus, cur paſcha celebramus anno circulo in menſe primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. ad Pſych. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 10. c. 4.*

they honored the laſt day, we the firſt in euery ſeuen throughout the yeare. The reſt of the dayes and times which we celebrate, haue relation all vnto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſticall yeare with the glorious c Anuntiation of his birth by angelicall embaſſage. There being hereunto added his bleſſed Natiuitie it ſelfe, the myſterie of his legall d Circumciſion; the teſtification of his true incarnation by the purification of her which brought him into the world, his reſurrection, his aſcenſion into heauen, the admirable ſending downe of his Spirit vppon his choſen, and (which conſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinitie thereby giuen to the Church of God; againe for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not onely beene manifeſted great in himſelfe, but great in other his Saints alſo, the dayes of whoſe departure out of the world are to the Church of Chriſt, as the birth and Coronation daies of Kings or Emperours, therefore eſpeciall choyſe being made of the very flower of all occaſions in this kinde, there are annuall ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and abilitie to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as Stephen had the ſight of that before death whereinto ſo acceptable death did leade; glorified in thoſe ſages of the Eaſt that came from farre to adore him and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond Elias of the world ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in euery of thoſe Apoſtles, whome it pleaſed him to vſe as founders of his kingdome heere; glorified in the Angels as in Michael; glorified in all thoſe happie ſoules that are already poſſeſſed of heauen. Ouer and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but foure other daies heretofore annexed to the feaſt of Eaſter and Pentecoſt by reaſon of generall Baptiſme vſuall at thoſe two feaſtes, which alſo is the cauſe why they had not as other dayes any proper name giuen them. Their firſt inſtitution was therefore through neceſſitie, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it bee then demaunded whether we obſerue theſe times as being thereunto bounde by force of diuine law, or elſe by the onely poſitiue ordinances of the Church, I anſwere to this, that the very law of nature it ſelfe which all men confeſſe to be Gods law, requireth in generall no leſſe the ſanctification of times then of places, perſons and things vnto gods honor. For which cauſe it hath pleſed him heretofore as of the reſt ſo of times likewiſe to exact ſome parts by way of perpetual homage neuer to be diſpenſed withall nor remitted, againe to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction but for leſſe continuance, and of the reſt which were left arbitrarie to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily vnto like religious vſes. Of the firſt kind amongſt the Iewes was the Sabboth day; of the ſecond thoſe feaſts which are appointed by the law of Moyſes; the feaſt of dedication inuented by the Church ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kind. The morall law requiring therefore a ſeauenth part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way imployed, although with vs the day be changed in regard of a new reuolution begunne by our Sauiour Chriſt, yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of creation, and now much more of renouation thereunto added

c *Luke* 1. 26.
d *Luke* 2.

by

by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the ſanctification of one day in ſeuen a dutie which Gods immutable law doth exact for euer. The reſt they ſay we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continu nce of them doth nouriſh wicked ſuperſtition in the minds of men; beſides they are all abuſed by Papiſts the enemies of God, yea certaine of them as Eaſter and Pentecoſt euen by the Iewes.

71 Touching Iewes, their Eaſter and Pentecoſt haue with ours as much affinitie, as Philip the Apoſtle with Philip the Macedonian king. As for *imitation of Papiſts*, and the *breeding of ſuperſtition*, they are now become ſuch common gueſts, that no man can thinke it diſcourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare obſeruation and ſtraunge. You ſhall finde if you marke it (as it doth deſerue to bee noted well) that many thouſands there are who if they haue vertuouſly during thoſe times behaued themſelues, if their deuotion and zeale in prayer haue beene feruent, their attention to the word of God ſuch as all Chriſtian men ſhould yeelde, imagine that herein they haue performed a good dutie, which notwithſtanding to thinke is a very daungerous error, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint Paule hath taught, that wee ought not to keepe our Eaſter as the Iewes did for certaine dayes, but in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth to feaſt continually, whereas this reſtraint of Eaſter to a certaine number of dayes cauſeth vs to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that neere conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole liues, and ſo pulleth out of our minds the doctrine of Chriſts Goſpell ere we be aware. The doctrine of the Goſpell which here they meane or ſhould meane, is that Chriſt hauing finiſhed the law there is no Iewiſh paſcall ſolemnitie, nor abſtinence from ſower bread now required at our hands, there is no leauen which we are bound to caſt out but malice ſinne and wickedneſſe, no bread but the foode of ſincere truth wherewith we are tied to celebrate our paſſeouer. And ſeeing no time of ſinne is graunted vs, neither any intermiſſion of ſound beliefe, it followeth that this kinde of feaſting ought to indure alwaies. But how are ſtanding feſtiuall ſolemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpell of Chriſt requireth, is the perpetuitie of vertuous duties: not perpetuitie of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetuall, and practiſe as ought as times and oportunities require. Iuſt, valiant, liberall, temperate and holy men are they which can whenſoeuer they will, and wil whenſoeuer they ought, execute what their ſeuerall perfections import. If vertues did alwaies ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to worke, there ſhould bee nothing more pernicious to vertue then ſleepe

Exception againſt our keeping of other feſtiuall daies beſides the Sabboth. T.C.l.1. p 151.

If they had beene neuer abuſed neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Iewes, as they haue beene, and are dayly, yet ſuch making of holy daies is neuer without ſome great daunger of bringing in ſome euill and corrupt opinions into the mindes of men. I will vſe an example in one, and that the chiefe of holy daies, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerued in the Church, which is the feaſt of Easter, which was kept of ſome more dayes of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſſe the Goſpell, which when they haue celebrated thoſe daies with diligent heede taken vnto their life, and with ſome earneſt deuotion in praying and hearing the word of God, doe not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter, and yet haue they thus notably deceiued themſelues. For Saint Paul teacheth 1. Cor. 5. 8. that the celebrating of the feaſt of the Chriſtians Easter, is not as the Iewes was for certaine daies, but ſheweth that we muſt keepe this feaſt all the dayes of our life in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth. By which we ſee that the obſeruing of the feaſt of Easter for certaine dayes in the yeare doth pull out of our mindes, ere euer we be aware, the doctrine of the Goſpell, and cauſeth vs to reſt in the neere conſideration of our duties for the ſpace of a few dayes, which ſhould be extended to all our life.

ſleepe: neither were it poſſible that men, as Zacharie and Elizabeth ſhould in all the commaundements of God walke vnreproueable, or that the Chaine of our conuerſation ſhould containe ſo many linkes of diuine vertues, as the Apoſtles in diuers places haue reckoned vp, if in the exerciſe of ech vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged, duties of all ſortes muſt haue neceſſarily their ſeuerall ſucceſſions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoolemen haue well and ſoundly determined, that Gods affirmatiue lawes and precepts, the lawes that inioyne any actuall dutie as prayer, almes, and the like, doe binde vs *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*, wee are tyed to iterate and reſume them when neede is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſtes, whether God himſelfe hath ordained them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath giuen, they are of Religion ſuch publique ſeruices as neither can, nor ought to bee continued otherwiſe then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectuall meane to bring vnto full maturitie, and groweth thoſe ſeedes of godlineſſe, that theſe verie men themſelues doe graunt to bee ſowne in the hearts of many thouſands, during the while that ſuch feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habit of well doing is not gotten without the cuſtome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect but by the manifold workes of vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds be brought vnto ſome perfection, our firſt aſſayes and offers towardes vertue muſt needes be rawe, yet commendable becauſe they tend vnto ripeneſſe. For which cauſe the wiſedome of God hath commaunded eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemne feaſtes, that to children and nouices in religion, they miniſter the firſt occaſion to aske and inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but ſo much pietie as hath beene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecilitie with prayer, *preſerue Lord theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly drie not vp like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the trees which ruuers of waters keepe alwayes flouriſhing*; let all mens acclamations bee *Grace, Grace vnto it*, as to that firſt layde corner ſtone in Zerubabels buildinges. For who hath deſpiſed the daie of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or how dare we take vpon vs to condemne that very thing which voluntarily wee graunt, maketh vs of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all we pretend againſt it is onely that as yet this ſomewhat is not much. The dayes of ſolemnitie which are but few cannot chuſe but ſoone finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlines, which properly appertaineth to ſuch times, howbeit mens inward diſpoſition to vertue, they both augment for the preſent and by their often returnes bring alſo the ſame at the length vnto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſarie ſhort continuance they abridge the preſent exerciſe of pietie in ſome kind, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirme the habites of all vertue, it remaineth that we honour, obſerue and keepe them as ordinances many wayes ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken againſt holy dayes, for that they reſtraine the praiſes of God vnto certaine

vaine times; an other followeth condemning restraint of men from their ordinarie trades and labours at those times. It is not (they say) in the power of the Church to commaunde rest, because God hath left it to all men at liberty, that if they thinke good to bestow sixe whole dayes in labour, they may, neither is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath graunted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laide vpon them, and to countermaunde what hee doth expreslie commaunde. They denie not but in all cases of publique calamitie, that men may the better addresse themselues to fast and pray, the Church, *because it hath receiued commandement* from God to proclaime a prohibition from ordinarie workes, standeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without some expresse commandement from God there is no power they say vnder heauen which may presume by any decree to restraine the libertie that God hath giuen. Vnto which opinion, albeit applied here no further then to this present cause, shaketh vniuersally the fabricke of gouernement, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confusion, dissolueth families, dissipateth Colledges, Corporations, armies, ouerthroweth kingdomes, Churches, and whatsoeuer is newe through the prouidence of God by authoritie and power vplield. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greatest waight, and hath therein precisely defined, as well that which euery man must performe, as that which no man may attempt, leauing all sortes of men in the rest, either to be guided by their owne good discretion, if they bee free from subiection to others, or else to be ordered by such commandements and lawes as proceede from those superiours vnder whome they liue; the patrons of libertie haue here made solemne proclamation, that all such lawes and commandements are voide, in as much as euery man is left to the freedome of his owne minde, in such things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the law of God, and because only in these things the positiue precepts of men haue place, which precepts cannot

posible

a T.C.1.p. 152. I confesse that it is in the power of the Church to appoint so many dayes in the weeke, or in the yeare (in the which the congregation shall assemble to heare the word of God, receiue the Sacraments, and offer vp praiers vnto God) as in shall iudge conuenient for edifying in those duties which are before alleaged. But that it hath power to make so many holy dayes as we haue, wherein men are commaunded to cease from their dayly vocations of plowing and exercising their handy crafts &c. I denie to be the power of the Church. For proofe whereof I will take the fourth Commaundement and no other interpretation of it then M. Doct. alloweth of, which is, that God licenseth and leaueth vnto the libertie of euery man, to worke sixe dayes in the weeke, so that he rest the seuenth day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie that they might labour if they thinke good sixe dayes, I say the Church hath no more power to take that libertie away from them and driue them to a necessitie to rest the body. And if it be lawfull to abridge the liberty of the Church in this point, and in deede, that the Lord saith sixe dayes thou mayest labour if thou wilt, to say thou shalt not labour sixe dayes: I doe not see why the Church may not as well abridge the Lord saith, thou shalt rest the seuenth day, commaunde that thou shalt not rest the seuenth day. For if the Church may restraine the libertie which God hath giuen them, it may take away the yoke also which God hath put vpon them. And whereas you say, that notwithstanding this fourth Commaundement, the Iewes had certaine other feasts which they obserued, indeede the Lord which gaue this generall law, might make as many exceptions as he thought good, and so long as he thought good. But it followeth not, because the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may doe it, vnlesse it haue commaundement and authoritie from God so to doe. As when there is any generall plague or iudgement of God either vpon the Church or comming towards it, the Lord commaundeth in such a case Ioel. 2. 15. that they should sanctifie a generall fast and proclaime *Ghnasarah*, which signifieth a prohibition or forbidding of ordinarie workes, and is the same Hebrue word wherewith those feast dayes are noted in the law wherein they should rest. The reason of which commandement of the Lord was, that they abstained that day as much as might bee conueniently from meate, so they might abstaine from their dayly workes, to the ende they might bestow the whole day in hearing the word of God, and humbling themselues in the congregation, confessing their faultes, and desiring the Lord to turne away from his fierce wrath. In this case the Church hauing commaundement to make a holy day, may and ought to doe it, as the Church which was in Babylon did during the time of their captiuitie: but where it is destitute of a commaundement, it may not presume by any decree to restraine that libertie which the Lord hath giuen.

possibly be giuen without some Abridgement of their libertie, to whome they are giuen, therefore if the father command the Sonne, or the husband the wife, or the Lord the seruant, or the leader the Souldier, or the Prince his subiect to goe or stand, sleepe or wake at such times as God himselfe in particular commandeth neither, they are to stand in defence of the freedome which God hath graunted, and to doe as themselues list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things vtterly forbidden by the law of God, as tye them to any thing which the law of God leaueth free. The plaine contradictorie whereunto is vnfallibly certaine. Those things which the law of God leaueth arbitrarie and at libertie, are all subiect to the positiue lawes of men, which lawes for the common benefite abridge particular mens libertie in such things, as farre as the rules of equitie will suffer. This we must either maintaine, or else ouerturne the world, and make euery man his owne commaunder. Seeing then that labour and rest vppon any one day of the sixe throughout the yeare are graunted free by the law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Ecclesiasticall law, except we deprive the world of power to make any ordinance or law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not onely allow but commaunde concurrence of rest with extraordinarie occasions of dolefull euents befalling peraduenture some one certaine Church, or not extending vnto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when pietie triumpheth with ioy and gladnesse, maketh solemne commemoration of Gods most rare and vnwoonted mercies *such especially as the whole race of mankind*, doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow, the onely cause is for that the generall publique prayers of the whole Church, and our owne priuate businesses, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of publique ioy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of naturall repugnancie which maketh labours (as hath beene prooued) much more vnfit to accompanie Festiuall praises of God, then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe, if we sift what they bring for proofe and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respectes as fully warrant and as strictly commaunde rest whensoeuer the Church hath equall reason by feastes and gladsome solemnities to testifie publique thankfulnes towards God? I would know some cause, why

Ioel.2.15. those words of the Prophet Ioel, *Sanctifie a fast call a solemne assembly*, which words were vttered to the Iewes, in miserie and great distresse, should more bind the Church to doe at all times after the like in their like perplexities, then the words of Moyses to the same people in a time of ioyfull deliuerance

Exod.13.3. from miserie *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefites, no lesse importing the good of men; and also iustifie as touching the manner and forme thereof what circumstance soeuer we imitate onely in respect of naturall fitnesse or decencie without any Iewish regarde to ceremo-

Heb.9. nies such as were properly theirs, and are not by vs expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which generall directions taken from the law of God, no lesse in the one then the other, the practise of the Church commended vnto vs in holy Scripture doth not onely make for the iustification of blacke and dismall dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainely offereth

offereth it ſelfe to bee followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which Mardocheus did ſometime deuiſe, Heſter what lay in her power helpe forward, and the reſt of the Iewes eſtabliſh for perpetuitie, namely, that the foureteenth and fifteenth daies of the month *Adar* ſhould be euery yeare kept throughout all generations as dayes of feaſting and ioy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie beſtowed vpon the poore; what by other liberall ſignes of amitie and loue, all teſtifie their thankfull mindes towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibilitie had deliuered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree they [a] ſay was diuine not Eccleſiaſticall, as may appeare in that there is an other decree in another Booke of Scripture which decree is plaine not to haue proceeded from the Churches authoritie but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded, that if Pontius Pilat had not bene a Saint the Apoſtles woulde neuer haue ſuffered his name to ſtande in the Creede, ſo theſe men haue a ſtrong opinion that becauſe the booke of Heſter is canonicall the decree of Heſter cannot be poſſibly Eccleſiaſticall. If it were, they aske how the Iewes could bind themſelues alwayes to keepe it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical lawes are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might neuer intend conſtancie in that the nature whereof is ſubiect to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelfe make mention of any diuine commaundement? Is the Scripture witneſſe of more then onely that Mardocheus was the author of this cuſtome, that by letters written to his brethren the Iewes throughout all prouinces vnder Darius the King of Perſia hee gaue them charge to celebrate yearely thoſe two dayes for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliuerance and mercie, that the Iewes hereupon vndertooke to doe it, and made it with generall conſent an order for perpetuitie, that Heſter ſecondly by her letters confirmed the ſame which Mardocheus had before decreed, and that finally the ordinance was written to remaine for euer vpon recorde? Did not the Iewes in Prouinces abroade obſerue at the firſt the foureteenth day, the Iewes in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an vniforme order by meanes of thoſe two decrees, and ſo euery where three dayes kept, the firſt with faſting in memorie of daunger, the reſt in token of deliuerance as feſtiuall and ioyfull dayes? Was not the firſt of theſe three, afterwards the day of ſorrow and heauines abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meete that

[a] T.C.l.3.p. 193. The example out of Heſter is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of dayes, the eſtate of Chriſtians, vnder the Goſpell ought not to bee ſo ceremonious, as was theirs vnder the law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a ſpeciall direction of the ſpirit of God, either through the miniſterie of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinarie meanes, which is not to bee followed by vs. This may appeare by an other place. Zach. 8. where the Iewes changed their faſts, into feaſtes onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſterie of the Prophet. For further proofe whereof firſt I take the 18. verſe, where it appeareth, that this was an order, to endure alwayes, euen as long as the other feaſts dayes, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelfe. So that what abuſes ſoeuer were of that feaſt, yet as a perpetuall decree of God, it ought to haue remained, whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not vpon chaunge of times, and other circumſtances be altered. For the other proofe hereof I take the laſt verſe. For the Prophet contenteth not himſelfe with that, that he had rehearſed the decree, as hee doth ſometimes the decree of prophane Kings, but addeth preciſely, that as ſoone as euer the decree was made, it was regiſtred in this booke of Heſter which is one of the bookes of the canonicall Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteeme they had it. If it had beene of no further authoritie then our decrees, or then a Canon of one of the councels, it had beene preſumption to haue brought it into the Librarie of the holy Ghoſt. The ſumme of my anſwere is that this decree was diuine and not Eccleſiaſticall onely.

that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliuerance out of the bloudie
2. Mac. 15. 36. hands of Nicanor should succeede in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no ende of answering fruitlesse oppositions, let it suffice men of sober mindes to knowe that the law both of God and nature alloweth generally, dayes of rest and festiuall solemnitie, to be obserued by way of thankfull and ioyfull remembrance, if such miraculous fauours be shewed towardes mankinde as require the same; that such graces God hath bestowed vppon his Church, as well in later as in former times, that in some particulars, when they haue fallen out, himselfe hath demaunded his owne honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisedome of the Church, directed by those precedents, and enlightned by other meanes, alwayes to iudge when the like is requisite. About questions therefore concerning dayes and times, our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God demaunding wherefore the memorie of [a] Paul should bee rather kept then the memorie of [b] Daniel, wee are content to imagine, it may be perhappes true that the least in the kingdome of Christ, is greater then the greatest of all the Prophets of God that haue gone before; we neuer yet saw cause to dispaire, but that the [e] simplest of the people might bee taught the right construction of as great mysteries as the [d] name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeare goe on in their wonted course; we had rather glorifie and blesse God, for the fruite we daily behold reaped by such ordinances as his gratious spirit maketh the ripe wisdome of this Nationall Church to bring foorth, then vainely boast of our owne peculiar and priuate inuentions, as if the skill of [e] profitable regiment had left her publike habitation to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one liuerie; we make not our childish [f] appeales sometimes from our owne to forraine Churches, sometime from both vnto Churches ancienter then both are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne selues, but as becometh them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, wee honour, reuerence and obey in the very next degree vnto God the voice of the Church of God wherein we liue. They, whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebbe, they which haue risen and swollen so high, that the wals of ordinarie riuers are vnable to keepe them in, they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof wee haue spoken, doe make all where they goe a Sea, euen they at their highest flote are constrained both to see and [g] graunt, that what their fancie will not yeelde to like their iudgement cannot with reason condemne. Such is euermore the finall victorie of all truth that they which haue not the hearts to loue her, acknowledge that to hate her they haue no cause.

Touching those festiuall dayes therefore which wee now obserue, their number

1. Mac. 4. 59.

a *Commemoratio Apostolica passionis totius Christianitatis magistra a cunctis iure celebratur. Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 7*

b T.C.l.1.p. 152. For so much as the old people did neuer keepe any feast or holy day for remembrance either of Moyses, &c.

c T.l.1.p.153. The people when it is called S. Paules day, or the blessed Virgin Maryes day can vnderstand nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honour of Saint Paul or the Virgin Mary, valesse they be otherwise taught. And if you say let them so be taught, I haue answered that the teaching in this land cannot by any order which is yet taken come to the most part of those, which haue drunke this poyson &c.

d *Scilicet ignorant nos nec Christum vnquam relinquere qui pro totius seruandorum mundi salute passus est, nec alium quempiam colere posse. Nam hunc quidem tanquam filium Dei adoramus, martyres vero tanquam Discipulos & imitatores Domini digne propter insuperabilem in regem ipsorum ac praceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos consortes & discipulos fieri optamus. Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 15.*

c T.C.l.1.p. 153. As for all the commodities, &c.

f T.C l.1, p. 154.

a T.C.l.1.p. 154. We condemne not the church of England neither in this nor in other things which are meete to be reformed. For it is one thing to mislike; another thing to condemne, and it is one thing to condemne something in the Church, and an other thing to condemne the Church for it.

number being no way felt [a] diſcommodious to the common-wealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath beene ſhewed, what remaineth, but to keepe them throughout all generations holie, ſeuered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, vertuous, and cœleſtiall ioy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſarie, yet not ſo neceſſarie, no not on the Sabboth or ſeauenth day it ſelfe, but that rarer occaſions in mens particular affaires ſubiect to manifeſt detriment vnleſſe they bee preſently followed, may with verie good conſcience drawe them ſometimes aſide from the ordinarie rule, conſidering the fauourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Sauiour groundeth on this axiome, *Man was not made for the Sabboth, but the Sabboth ordained for man*, ſo far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall ſanctification thereof; howſoeuer the rigor of the law of Moyſes may bee thought to import the contrarie, if wee regard with what ſeueritie the violation of Sabboths hath beene ſometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Iewes by reaſon of their long aboade in a place of continuall ſeruile toyle could not ſuddenly be wained and drawne vnto contrarie offices, without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terror, and alſo for that there is nothing more needfull then to puniſh with extremitie the firſt tranſgreſſions of thoſe lawes that require a more exact obſeruation for many ages to come; therefore as the Iewes ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabboths reſt for a long time, not without danger to themſelues, and [b] obloquie to their verie law, did afterwards perceiue and [c] amend wiſely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by neceſſitie veniall, though otherwiſe, eſpecially on that day, reſt be more conuenient, ſo at all times the voluntarie ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour wherewith publiquely God is ſerued, wee cannot too [d] ſeuerely correct and bridle. The Emperour [e] Conſtantine hauing with ouergreat facilitie licenſed Sundaies labours in countrie villages, vnder that pretence where of there may iuſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration be had, namely, leaſt any thing which God by his prouidence hath beſtowed, ſhould miſcarrie not being taken in due time, *Leo* which afterwards ſaw that this ground would not beare ſo generall and large indulgence as had beene graunted, doth by a contrarie Edict both reuerſe and ſeuerely cenſure his predeceſſors reminiſcence, ſaying, [f] *wee ordaine according to the true meaning of the holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred day, wherein our owne integritie was reſtored all do reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neither husbandman nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden workes. For if the Iewes did ſo much reuerence their Sabboth, which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not wee which inhabit the light and truth of grace bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelfe hath honoured, and hath therein deliuered vs both from diſhonour and from death? are we not bound to keepe it ſingular and inuiolable, well contenting our ſelues with ſo liberall a graunt of the reſt and not incroching vpon that one which God hath choſen to his owne honour? Were it not rebukeſſe neglect of Religion to make that very*

a πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐκώλυσε. τὸ δὲ τῆς σαββατικῆς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀγαλλόμενος καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ξυμφέρειν ἐπιτρέψας. *de Claudio dictum apud Dion. l. 60.*

Marc. 2. 27.

Num. 15. 32.

b *Hi vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, & nihil arma pertractare in prædicto die ex vſu, nihil culturam contingere, nec alterius curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus adorare vſq; ad veſperam ſolent. Ingrediente verò in ciuitatem Pontifice Lege cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum ciuibus debeant ſalutari, ipſi ſultitiam obſequentibus præmittit. Gens quidem Dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum, lex verò manifeſtata eſt malam habere ſolennitatem. Agatharchid. apud Ioſeph. l. 1. contra Appion. vide & Dion. lib. 37.*

c 1. *Mac.* 2. 40.

d *Neh.* 13. 15.

e *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 3.

f *Leo conſti.* 54.

day common, and to thinke wee may doe with it as with the rest? Imperiall lawes which had such care of hallowing especially our Lords day did not omit to prouide that [a] other festiuall times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the suddaine as extraordinarie occasions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yearely for politique and ciuill considerations, or finally such dayes as Christian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The ioy that setteth aside labour disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladnesse doth alwaies rise from a kind of fruition and happinesse, which happinesse banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the bestowing of that it hath, in as much as the greatest felicitie that felicitie hath is to spread and enlarge it selfe, it commeth hereby to passe that the first effect of ioyfulnesse is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to giue. The roote of both is the glorious presence of that ioy of minde which riseth from the manifold considerations of Gods vnspeakable mercie, into which considerations we are led by occasion of sacred times. For how could the Iewish congregations of old be put in minde by their weekely Sabboths what the world reaped through his goodnesse which did of nothing create the world; by their yearely Passouer what farwell they tooke of the land of Egypt; by their Pentecost what ordinances lawes and statutes their Fathers receiued at the hands of God; by their feast of Tabernacles with what protection they iorneyed from place to place through so many feares and hazards during the tedious time of fortie yeares trauaile in the wildernesse; by their annuall solemnitie of Lots, how neere the whole seede of Israell was vnto vtter extirpation, when it pleased that great God which guideth all things in heauen and earth so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same hand which had signed a decree in the opinion both of them that graunted, and of them that procured it, irreuocable, for the generall massacre of man woman and childe, became the buckler of their preseruation that no one haire of their heads might be touche the same dayes which had beene set for the powring out of so much innocent bloud were made the dayes of their execution whose malice had contriued the plot thereof, and the selfe same persons that should haue indured whatsoeuer violence and rage could offer were imployed in the iust reuenge of cruelties to giue vnto bloud thirstie men the tast of their owne cup; or how can the Church of Christ now endure to be so much called on and preached vnto by that which euery [b] Dominicall day throughout the yeare, that which yeare by yeare so many festiuall times, [c] if not commaunded by the Apostles themselues whose care at that time was of greater things, yet substituted either by such [d] vniuersall authoritie as no man, or at the least such as wee with no reason may despise, doe as sometime the holie Angels did from heauen sing [e] *Glorie be vnto God on high, peace on earth, towards men good will* (for this in effect is the very song that all Christian feasts doe apply as their seuerall occasions require) how should the dayes and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and wee refuse

a *T.C. lib.3. tit.12. Diesfestus.*

b *Mat.28.1. Marc.16.1. Luc.24.1. Iohn 20.1. 1.Cor.16.2. Apoc.1.10.*

c *Apostolis propositum fuit non vt leges de festis diebus celebrandis sanciret, sed vt recte viuendi rationem & pietatis vbique authores essent. Socrat.hist. lib.5. ca.21.* d *Quatenus eorum orbe seruantur vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum est salubernima in ecclesia authoritas statuta esse intelligere licet: sicuti quod Dominicæ passio & Resurrectio & in cœlum Ascensus, & Aduentus SS. sanctis anniuersaria solemnitate celebrantur. Aug. Ep.118.* e *Luc.2.14.*

refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefit which cauſed Moyſes to acknowledge thoſe guides of day and night, the Sunne and Moone which enlighten the world not more profitable to nature by giuing all things life, then they are to the Church of God by occaſion of the vſe they haue in regard of the appointed feſtiuall times? That which the head of all Philoſophers hath ſaid of women, if they be good, the halfe of the commonwealth is happie, wherein they are, the ſame we may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate theſe Religious and ſacred daies is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendour and outward dignitie of our Religion, forcible witneſſes of ancient truth, prouocations to the exerciſe of all pietie, ſhadowes of our endleſſe felicitie in heauen, on earth euerlaſting records and memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawne to hearken vnto that we teach, may onely by looking vpon that we doe, in a maner reade whatſoeuer we belieue.

Of daies appointed as well for ordinarie, as for extraordinarie faſtes in the Church of God.

72 The matching of contrarie things together is a kind of illuſtration to both. Hauing therefore ſpoken thus much of Feſtiuall dayes, the next that offer themſelues to hand are daies of penſiue humiliation and ſorrow. Faſtings are either of mens owne free and voluntarie accord, as their particular deuotion doth moue them thereunto, or elſe they are publiquely inioyned in the Church and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether diſallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it bee vpon extraordinarie occaſions onely, and after one certaine manner exerciſed. But yearely or weekely faſtes ſuch as ours in the Church of England they alow no farther then as the temporall ſtate of the lande doth require the ſame for the maintenance of ſeafaring men, and preſeruation of Cattell, becauſe the decay of the one & the waſte of the other could not well be preuented but by a politique order appointing ſome ſuch vſuall change of Diet as ours is. Wee are therfore the rather to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes, that ſet times of faſting appointed in ſpirituall conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of men tooke not their beginning either from Montanus, or any other whoſe hereſies may preiudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but haue their ground in the law of nature, are allowable in Gods ſight, were in all ages heeretofore, and may till the worlds end bee obſerued not without ſingular vſe and benefite. Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God through a falſe imagination, that faſting ſtandeth men in no ſtead for any ſpirituall reſpect, but onely to take downe the frankeneſſe of nature, and to tame the wildneſſe of fleſh. Whereupon the world being bold to ſurfet, doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men when they faſt, doe rather bewray a diſeaſe, then exereiſe a vertue. I

T.C.lib.1.pa.30. I will not enter now to diſcuſſe whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtome of the place. You oppoſe *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, I could oppoſe *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*, whereof the one ſayth it is *neſas*, a deteſtable thing to faſt vpon the Lords day, the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertul. de Corno. mil. Ignat. Ep. ad Philippen.* And although *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine* being priuate men at Rome would haue ſo done, yet it followeth not that if they had beene Citizens and Miniſters there, that they would haue done it. And if they had done ſo yet it followeth not but they would haue ſpoken againſt that appointment of dayes and *τεσσαρακοστας* of faſting, whereof *Euſebius* ſayth, that *Montanus* was the firſt author. I ſpeake of that which they ought to haue done. For otherwiſe I know they both thought corruptly of faſting, when as the one ſaith it was remedie or reward to faſt other dayes, but in Lent not to faſt was ſinne: and the other asketh, what ſaluation we can obtaine if we blot not out our ſinnes by faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith, that faſting and almes doth deliuer from ſinne, and therefore calleth them new teachers that ſhut out the merit of faſting. *Aug. de temp. 62. Serm. Ambro. lib. 10. Ep.*

much wonder what they who are thus perſwaded doe thinke, what conceipt they haue concerning the faſts of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The affections of *ioy* and *griefe* are ſo knit vnto all the actions of mans life, that whatſoeuer wee can doe or may bee done vnto vs, the ſequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieue and ioy as they ought cannot poſſibly otherwiſe liue then as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the ſpeciall direction of Gods good ſpirit hitherto alwayes inured men from their infancie partly with daies of feſtiuall exerciſe for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrarie ſort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit ouer and beſides this, wee muſt note that as reſting ſo faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſſe vpon the actions of the higher, then vpon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Faſting ſaith Tertullian is a worke of reuerence towards God. The end thereof ſometimes eleuation of minde; ſometime the purpoſe thereof cleane contrarie. The cauſe why Moyſes in the mount did ſo long faſt was meere diuine ſpeculation, the cauſe why Dauid, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with euill. When wee are partakers of good things wee ioy, neither can wee but grieue at the contrarie. If that befall vs which maketh glad, our feſtiuall ſolemnities declare our reioycing to be in him whoſe meere vndeſerued mercie is the author of all happineſſe; if any thing be either imminent or preſent which wee ſhun, our watchings, faſtings, cryes and teares are vnfained teſtimonies, that our ſelues wee condemne as the onely cauſes of our owne miſerie, and doe all acknowledge him no leſſe inclinable then able to ſaue. And becauſe as the memorie of the one though paſt renueth gladneſſe; ſo the other called againe to minde doth make the wound of our iuſt remorſe to bleede anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that wee are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then ſinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone but to haue frequent repetition of the other. Neuer to ſeeke after God ſauing onely when either the crib or the whip doth conſtraine were brutiſh ſeruilitie: and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometime it had not a kinde of voluntarie acceſſe to God and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferior conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtration for as much as [c] higher cogitations doe naturally drowne and burie all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget naturall both foode and ſleepe by being carried aboue it ſelfe with ſerious and heauenly meditation, as by being caſt downe with heauineſſe, drowned and ſwallowed vp of ſorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewiſh abſtinence from certaine kinds of meates as being vncleane the Apoſtle doth teach that [d] the kingdome of heauen is not meate nor drinke, that foode commendeth vs not vnto God whether we take it or abſtaine from it, that if we eate we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſſe if we eate not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that faſting which is no ſuch ſcrupulous abſtinence as onely refuſeth ſome kinds of meates and drinkes leaſt they make them vncleane that taſteth them, but

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a *Tert. de ieiun. Nec, enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia matoris ſequela eſt.*

b *Μιᾶς δ' ὑποκειμένης τῷ ἀχρείου καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' ὀυρανῶ καταζάτειν οὐ τῷ γελᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐξκλαυσαι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. ὀν γὸ ἐλασεν ὁ πατηρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπᾶις καὶ ὀδυναις καὶ ἀχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεδζ, παρὰ μικρὸ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμιγους φύσεως, ἐνδιάσαι ποῖε καὶ γαλωτάσαι τῷ ψυχῷ δικαιώσας. Philo. lib. de Abrah.*

c *Iohn 4. 34.*

an abſtinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhew by this kinde of outward exerciſe the ſerious intention of our mindes fixed on heauenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriueth the body of thoſe vſuall contentments, which otherwiſe are not denied vnto it. Theſe being in nature the firſt cauſes that induce faſting, the next thing which followeth to be conſidered, is the auncient practiſe thereof amongſt the Iewes. Touching whoſe priuat voluntarie faſtes the precept which our Sauiour gaue them was, *When yee faſt looke not ſower as hypocrites. For they diſfigure their faces that they might ſeeme vnto men to faſt. Verily I ſay vnto you, they haue their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy head, and waſh thy face, that thou ſeeme not vnto men to faſt, but vnto the Father which is in ſecret, and thy Father which ſeeth in ſecret will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Sauiour would not teach the manner of doing, much leſſe propoſe a reward for doing that, which were not both holie and acceptable in Gods ſight. The Phariſes weekely bound themſelues vnto double faſts, neither are they for this reproued. Often faſting which was a vertue in Iohns Diſciples could not in them of it ſelfe bee a vice, and therefore not the oftneſſe of their faſting, but their hypocriſie therein was blamed. Of a publique inioyned faſts vpon cauſes extraordinary the examples in Scripture are ſo frequent that they neede no particular reherſall. Publique extraordinarie faſtings were ſometimes for [b] one onely day, ſometimes for [c] three, ſometimes for [d] ſeuen. Touching faſtsnot appointed for any ſuch extraordinary cauſes, but either yearely or monethly or weekly obſerued and kept, firſt vpon the [e] ninth day of that moneth the tenth whereof was the feaſt of expiation, they were commaunded of God that euery ſoule yeare by yeare ſhould afflict it ſelfe. Their yearely faſts euery fourth moneth in regarde of the Cittie of Ieruſalem entered by the enemie, euery fift in memory of the ouerthrow of their temple, euery ſeauenth for the treacherous deſtruction and death of Godolias the very laſt ſtay which they had to leane vnto in their greateſt miſery, euery tenth in remembrance of the time when ſiege beganne firſt to bee laide againſt them, all theſe not commaunded of God himſelfe but ordained by a publique conſtitution of their owne, the Prophet [f] Zacharie expreſly toucheth. That Saint Ierome following the tradition of the Hebrewes doth make the firſt a memoriall of the breaking of thoſe 12. Tables, when Moyſes deſcended from mount Sinay; the ſecond a memoriall as well of Gods indignation condemning them to forty yeares trauaile in the deſert as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waſte, burne and deſtroy their Cities; the laſt a memoriall of heauy tydings brought out of Iury to Ezechiel and the reſt, which liued as Captiues in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally euermore a regiſter of all ſuch grieuous euents as haue hapned either in or neere about the ſametime. To theſe I might adde [g] ſundry other faſtes aboue twentie in number ordained amongſt them by like occaſions, and obſerued in like manner, beſides their weekly abſtinence mundayes and thurſdayes throughout the whole yeare. When men faſted it was not alwayes after one and the ſame ſort, but eyther by depriuing themſelues wholly of all foode during the time that their faſtes

Mat.6.16.

a 2.*Chro.*20. *Iere.*36. *Ezra.*8. 1.*Sam.*7.
b *Iud.*20.26.
c 2.*Mac.*13.12.
d 1.*Sam.*31.13 1.*Chro.*10.12.
e *Leuit.*23. *Leuit.*16. *Philo de huius feſti ieiunio ita loquitur.* Οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἴζεσι προσενέγκαντες καθαρᾶις ὅπως διανοίαις μᾶλλον ἐσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀμπλίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους ὑπὲρ ἀφιλεῖ συμβαίνουν ἐκ πλεονεξίας ἐορτάζωσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τῶ πάντες ἀσίοις συχαῖ δι' ὧν ἀμνησκόμεν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων κτῆσιν δὲ ἐς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνων ἀγαθῶν ἰσθάσιν ἀτῶδιν p.447.
f *Zach.*8.16. *Exod.*32. *Num.*14.
g *Vide Riber. l.5.c.21.*

continued, or by abating both the quantitie and kind of diet. We haue of the one a plaine example in the Niniuites faſting, and as plaine a precedent for the other in the Prophet Daniel, *I was* (ſaith he) *in heauineſſe for three weekes of dayes, I ate no pleaſant bread, neither taſted fleſh nor wine.* Their tables when they gaue themſelues to faſting had not that vſuall furniture of ſuch diſhes as doe chearish bloud with bloud, but [a] for foode they had bread, for ſuppage ſalt, and for ſawce herbes. Whereunto the Apoſtle may be thought to allude saying, *One belieueth he may eate all things, another which is weake* (and maketh a conſcience of keeping thoſe cuſtomes which the Iewes obſerue) *eateth herbes.* This auſtere repaſt they tooke in the euening after abſtinence the whole day. For to forfeit a noones meale and then to recompence themſelues at night was not their vſe. Nor did they euer accuſtome themſelues on Sabbothes or feſtiuall dayes to faſt. And yet it may be a queſtion whether in ſome ſort they did not alwaies faſt the Sabboth. Their faſtings were partly in token of penitencie, humiliation, griefe and ſorrow, partly in ſigne of deuotion and reuerence towards God. Which ſecond conſideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abſtaine till noone, as their maner was on faſting daies to doe till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the ſacred [b] Scripture doth giue ſome ſecret kinde of teſtimonie? Ioſephus is plaine, that the ſixt houre (the day they deuided into twelue) was woont on the Sabboth alwaies to call them home vnto meate. Neither is it improbable but that the [c] heathens did therefore ſo often vpbraide them with faſting on that day. Beſides they which found ſo great fault with our Lords Diſciples, for rubbing a few eares of Corne in their hands on the Sabboth day, are not vnlikely to haue aimed alſo at the ſame marke. For neither was the bodily paine ſo great that it ſhould offend them in that reſpect, and the very manner of defence which our Sauiour there vſeth is more direct and literall to iuſtifie the breach of the Iewiſh cuſtome in faſting then in working at that time. Finally the Apoſtles afterwards themſelues when God firſt gaue them the gift of tongues, whereas ſome in diſdaine and ſpite termed grace drunkenneſſe, it being then the day of Pentecoſt, and but onely a fourth part of the day ſpent, they vſe this as an argument againſt the other cauill, *Theſe men*, ſayth Peter, *are not drunke as you ſuppoſe, ſince as yet the third hower of the day is not ouerpaſt.* Howbeit leauing this in ſuſpence as a thing not altogether certainely knowne and to come from Iewes to Chriſtians, we finde that of priuate v oluntarie faſtings the Apoſtle Saint Paule ſpeaketh [d] more then once. And (ſaith Tertullian) they are ſometime commaunded throughout the Church *ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiaſticæ cauſa*, the care and feare of the Church ſo requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apoſtles ordained any ſet and certaine dayes to be generally kept of all. Notwithſtanding for as much as Chriſt had foreſignified that when himſelfe ſhould be taken from them, his abſence would ſoone make them apt to faſt, it ſeemeth that euen as the firſt feſtiuall day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lords returne from the dead, ſo the firſt ſorrowfull and mourning day was that which we now obſerue in memorie of his departure out of this world. And becauſe there could be no abatement of griefe, till they ſaw him rayſed whoſe death was

Dan.10.2.3.

a *Puram & ſine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Aſclep. in fine. Paſſum & potum pura noſſe non ventris ſcilicet ſed animæ cauſa. Tertul. de penit. vide Phil. lib. de vita contempl. Rom.14.2. Hieron. lib.2. contr. Iouinian. Iudith.8.6.R. Moſ. in Miſne. Tora. lib.3. qui eſt de tempor. ca. de Sab. & ca. de ieiun.*

b *Nehe.8.3.12. Hora ſexta quæ ſabbatis noſtros ad prandium vocare ſolet ſuperuenit. Ioſ. lib. de vita ſua.*

c *Sabbata Iudæorum à Moſe in omne æuum ieiunio dicata. Iuſtin. lib.36. Ne Iudæus quidem mi Tiberi tam libenter Sabbati ieiunium ſeruat quam ego hodie ſeruaui. Sueto. in Octau. cap.76. Act.2.15.*

d *1.Cor.7.5. 2.Cor.6.5.11. 27. Co.4.4.*

was the occaſion of their heauineſſe, therefore the day he lay in the Sepulcher hath beene alſo kept and obſerued as a weeping day. The cuſtome of faſting theſe two dayes before Eaſter is vndoubtedly moſt ancient, in ſo much that Ignatius not thinking him a Catholique Chriſtian man which did not abhorre and (as the ſtate of the Church was then) auoid faſting on the Iewes Sabboth, doth notwithſtanding except for euer that one Sabboth or Saturday which falleth out to be the Eaſter-eue, as with vs it alwayes doth, and did ſometimes alſo with them which kept at that time their Eaſter the 14. day of March as the cuſtome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to be an order that euen as the day of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo the other two in memorie of his death and burial were weekely. But this when Saint Ambroſe liued, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Millan where himſelfe was Biſhop. And for that cauſe he ſaith, that although at Rome he obſerued the Saturdayes faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtome in Rome, neuertheleſſe in his owne Church at home he did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerue that day had another in ſtead thereof which was the Wedneſday, for that when they iudged it meete to haue weekely a day of humiliation beſides that whereon our Sauiour ſuffered death, it ſeemed beſt to make their choice of that day eſpecially whereon the Iewes are thought to haue firſt contriued their treaſon together with Iudas againſt Chriſt. So that the inſtituting and ordaining both of theſe and all other times of like exerciſe is as the Church ſhall iudge expedient for mens good. And concerning euerie Chriſtian mans dutie heerein, ſurely that which Auguſtine and Ambroſe are before alleaged to haue done is ſuch as all men fauouring equitie muſt needs allow, and follow if they affect peace. As for their ſpecified errors, I will not in this place diſpute whether voluntarie faſting with a vertuous purpoſe of minde be any medicinable remedie of euill, or a dutie acceptable vnto God, and in the world to come euen rewardable, as other offices are which proceede from Chriſtian pietie; whether wilfully to breake and deſpiſe the wholeſome lawes of the Church herein be a thing which offendeth God; whether truely it may not be ſaid that penitent both weeping and faſting are meanes to blot out ſinne, meanes whereby through Gods vnſpeakeable and vndeſerued mercie wee obtaine or procure to our ſelues pardon, which attainement vnto any gracious benefite by him beſtowed the Phraſe of antiquitie vſeth to expreſſe by the name of merit; but if either Saint Auguſtine or Saint Ambroſe haue taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reproue them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will thinke it no error in vs ſo to cenſure mens ſmaller faults that their vertues be not thereby generally preiudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not ſubiect to power or iuriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach vs for peace and quietneſſe ſake to frame our ſelues to other mens example, is it meete that at home where our freedome is leſſe our boldneſſe ſhould be more? Is it our dutie to oppugne, in the Churches whereof we are Miniſters, the rites and cuſtomes, which in forraine Churches pietie and modeſtie did teach vs as ſtrangers not to oppugne, but to keepe without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe vnto the ſtate of a priuate man?

Ignat. Ep. ad Philip.

man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to lawes? That which their office and place requireth, is to ſhew themſelues paternes of reuerend ſubiection, not authors and maiſters of contempt towards ordinances, the ſtrength whereof when they ſeeke to weaken, they doe but in truth diſcouer to the world their owne imbecillities, which a great deale wiſelier they might conceale. But the practiſe of the Church of Chriſt wee ſhall by ſo much the better both vnderſtand and loue, if to that which hitherto hath beene ſpoken, there bee ſomewhat added for more particular declaration how heretiques haue partly abuſed faſts, and partly bent themſelues againſt the lawfull vſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath ſaid, if any keepe Sundaies or Saturdaies faſt (one only Saturday in the yeare excepted) that man is no better then a murderer of Chriſt, the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtneſſe at that time was the impietie of certaine heretiques, which thought [a] that this world being corruptible could not be made but by a very euill author. And therefore as the Iewes did by the feſtiuall ſolemnitie of their Sabboth reioyce in the God that created the world as in the author of all goodneſſe, ſo thoſe heretiques in hatred of the maker of the world ſorrowed, wept and faſted on that day as being the birth day of all euill. And as Chriſtian men of ſound beliefe did ſolemnize the Sunday, in ioyfull memorie of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo likewiſe at the ſelfe-ſame time ſuch heretiques as denied his reſurrection did the contrarie to them which held it, when the one ſort reioyced the other faſted. Againſt thoſe heretiques which haue vrged perpetuall abſtinence from certaine meates, as being in their very nature vncleane, the Church hath ſtill bent her ſelfe as an enemie; Saint Paul giuing charge to take heede of them which vnder any ſuch opinion ſhould vtterly forbid the vſe of meates or drinkes. The Apoſtles themſelues forbad ſome, as the order taken at Ieruſalem declareth. But the cauſe of their ſo doing we all know. Againe, when Tertullian together with ſuch as were his followers began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeueritie of Chriſtian diſcipline, brought in ſundrie vnaccuſtomed dayes of faſting, continued their faſts a great deale longer, and made them more rigorous then the vſe of the Church had beene, the mindes of men being ſomewhat mooued at ſo great and ſo ſuddaine noueltie, the cauſe was preſently inquired into. After notize taken how the Montaniſts held theſe additions to bee ſupplements of the Goſpell whereunto the Spirit of prophecie did now meane to put as it were the laſt hand, and was therefore newly deſcended vpon Montanus, whoſe orders all Chriſtian men were no leſſe to obey then the lawes of the Apoſtles themſelues, this abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe, and that iuſtly. Whereupon Tertullian proclayming euen open warre to the Church maintained Montaniſme, wrote a Booke in defence of the new faſt, and entituled the ſame, A Treatiſe of faſting againſt the opinion of the Carnall ſort. In which Treatiſe neuertheleſſe becauſe ſo much is ſound and good, as doth either generally concerne the vſe, or in particular declare the cuſtome of the Churches faſting in thoſe times, men are not to reiect whatſoeuer is alleaged out of that booke for confirmation of the truth. His error diſcloſeth it ſelfe in thoſe places where he defendeth his faſts to be duties neceſſarie for the whole Church

of

Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος Χριστοκτόνος ἐστί. *Epiſt. ad Philip.*

[a] *Vide Irenæ. l.1.c.20.21.22. 23.24.25. Epiph. hæreſ.21.22.23. 24. 27. 28. & 41. 42.*

Vide Canon Apoſt.55.

of Chriſt to obſerue as commaunded by the holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authoritie from whence all other Apoſtolicall ordinances came, both being the lawes of God himſelfe without any other diſtinction or difference, ſauing onely that hee which before had declared his will by Paul and Peter, did now farther reueale the ſame by Montanus alſo. *Againſt vs ye pretend,* ſaith Tertullian, *that the publique orders which Chriſtianitie is bound to keepe were deliuered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can vpon this point, For behold I chalenge you for faſting more then at Eaſter your ſelues. But in fine ye anſwere, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntarie appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any diuine commaundement. Well then* (he addeth) *Ye haue remooued your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was deliuered by doing more then was at the firſt impoſed vpon you. You ſay, you muſt doe that which your owne iudgements haue allowed, wee require your obedience to that which God himſelfe doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange that men to their owne will ſhould yeeld that which to Gods commaundement they will not graunt? Shall the pleaſure of men preuaile more with you then the power of God himſelfe?* Theſe places of Tertullian for faſting haue worthily beene put to ſilence. And as worthily Aerius condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one endeuoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receiue, the other to ouerthrow ſuch as already it had receiued and did obſerue; the one was plauſible vnto many by ſeeming to hate carnall looſeneſſe and riotous exceſſe much more then the reſt of the world did, the other drew hearers by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian libertie; the one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly vpheld by making inuectiue declamations with a pale and a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the eares of his ſtarued hearers with ſpeach ſutable to ſuch mens humors, and by telling them no doubt to their marueilous content- Epiph. hæret. 75.
ment and liking, *Our new prophecies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe Montanus doth preach ſome other God, or diſſolue the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, or ouerthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, we teach that men ought to faſt more often then marrie, the beſt feaſtmaker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meere Spirit and therfore theſe our corporall deuotions pleaſe them not;* thus the one for Montanus and his ſuperſtition. The other in a cleane contrarie tune againſt the Religion of the Church, *Theſe ſet faſts away with them for they are Iewiſh, and bring men vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, if I will faſt let me chooſe my time that Chriſtian libertie be not abridged:* Hereupon their glorie was to faſt eſpecially vpon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *On Church-faſting dayes and ſpecially the weeke before Eaſter when with vs* (ſaith Epiphanius) *cuſtome admitteth nothing but lying downe vpon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſſe, drie and vnſauerie diet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are vp betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and whē their veines are well ſwolne they make themſelues mirth with laughter at this our ſeruice wherein we are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of Epiphanius it doth appeare not onely what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times vſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therewith in force according to the ancient vſe and cuſtome of bringing all men at certaine times to a due conſideration and an open

open humiliation of themſelues. Two kinds there were of publike penitencie, the one belonging to notorious offenders whoſe open wickedneſſe had beene ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and vnto euery ſeuerall perſon whome the ſame containeth. It will be anſwered that touching this latter kind it may be exerciſed well enough by men in priuate. No doubt but penitencie is as prayer, a thing acceptable vnto God be it in publique or in ſecret. Howbeit as in the one if men were wholly left to their owne voluntarie meditations in their cloſets, and not drawne by lawes and orders vnto the open aſſemblies of the Church that there they may ioyne with others in prayer, it may be ſoone coniectured what Chriſtian deuotion that way would come vnto in a ſhort time: euen ſo in the other we are by ſufficient experience taught how little it booteth to tell men of waſhing away their ſinnes with teares of repentance, and ſo to leaue them altogether vnto themſelues. O Lord what heapes of grieuous tranſgreſſions haue we committed, the beſt the perfecteſt, the moſt righteous amongſt vs all, and yet cleane paſſe them ouer vnſorrowed for and vnrepented of, onely becauſe the Church hath forgotten vtterly how to beſtow her woonted times of Diſcipline, wherein the publique example of all was vnto euery particular perſon a moſt effectuall meane to put them often in mind and euen in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and cleane forget, as if penitencie were no part of a Chriſtian mans dutie. Againe beſides our priuate offences which ought not thus looſely to be ouerſlipt, ſuppoſe we the body and corporation of the Church ſo iuſt, that at no time it needeth to ſhew it ſelfe openly caſt downe in regard of thoſe faults and tranſgreſſions, which though they doe not properly belong vnto any one, had notwithſtanding a ſpeciall ſacrifice appointed for them in the law of Moyſes, and being common to the whole ſocietie which containeth all, muſt needes ſo farre concerne euery man in particular, as at ſome time in ſolemne manner to require acknowledgement with more then daily and ordinarie teſtifications of griefe. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be deuiſed then that memorable commination ſet downe in the Booke of common Prayer, if our practiſe in the reſt were ſutable. The head already ſo well drawne doth but wiſh a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the Engliſh Liturgie it may appeare how at the firſt ſetting downe thereof no leſſe was intended. For ſo we are to interpret the meaning of thoſe words, wherein reſtitution of the primitiue Church-diſcipline is greatly wiſhed for touching the manner of publique penance in time of Lent. Wherewith ſome being not much acquainted, but hauing framed in their minds the conceipt of a new Diſcipline farre vnlike vnto that of olde, they make themſelues beliewe it is vndoubtedly this their Diſcipline which at the firſt was ſo much deſired. They haue long pretended that the whole Scripture is plaine for them. If now the Communion booke make for them too (I well thinke the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped that being found ſuch a welwiller vnto their cauſe, they will more fauour it then they haue done. Hauing therefore hitherto ſpoken both of feſtiuall daies and ſo much of ſolemne faſts as may reaſonably ſerue to ſhew the ground thereof in the law of nature, the practiſe partly appointed, and partly allowed

of

of God in the Iewiſh Church, the like continued in the Church of Chriſt, together with the ſiniſter oppoſitions either of Heretiques erroniouſly abuſing the ſame, or of others thereat quarelling without cauſe, wee will onely collect the chiefeſt points as well of reſemblance as of difference betweene them, and ſo end. Firſt in this they agree, that becauſe nature is the generall roote of both, therefore both haue beene alwaies common to the Church with infidels and heathen men. Secondly they alſo herein accord, that as oft as ioy is the cauſe of the one, and griefe the welſpring of the other, they are [a] incompatible. A third degree of affinitie betweene them is, that neither being acceptable to God of it ſelfe, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him muſt neceſſarily depend on that which they ought to import and ſignifie, ſo that if herein the minde diſpoſe not it ſelfe aright, whether wee [b] reſt or [c] faſt wee offend. A fourth thing common vnto them is, that the greateſt part of the world hath alwaies groſly and palpably offended in both; infidels becauſe they did all in relation to falſe Gods; godleſſe ſenſuall and careleſſe minds for that there is in them no conſtant true and ſincere affection towards thoſe things which are pretended by ſuch exerciſe; yea certaine flattering ouerſights there are, wherewith ſundry, and they not of the worſt ſort, may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, euen through aboundance of loue and liking to that which muſt be embraced by all meanes, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glorie or follow them in humilitie, whether wee laugh or weepe, mourne or reioyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of loue) apt to deceiue, and doth therefore neede the more to bee directed by a watchfull guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both waies euen in them whome we honor that which we are to obſerue and ſhun. The beſt haue not ſtill beene ſufficiently mindfull that Gods very Angels in heauen are but Angels, and that bodily exerciſe conſidered [d] in it ſelfe is no great matter. Finally ſeeing that both are ordinances well deuiſed for the good of man, and yet not man created purpoſely for them as for [e] other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable law for euer tyeth, it is but equitie to wiſh or admoniſh that whereby vniformitie order they are not as yet receiued the example of [f] Victors extremitie in the one, and of [g] Iohns Diſciples curioſitie in the other be not followed; yea where they are appointed by law that notwithſtanding [h] wee auoid Iudaiſme, and as in feſtiuall dayes mens neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of faſting regard be had to their imbecillities, leaſt they ſhould ſuffer harme doing good. Thus therefore wee ſee how theſe two cuſtomes are in diuers reſpects equall. But of faſting the vſe and exerciſe though leſſe pleaſant is by ſo much more requiſite then the other, as griefe of neceſſitie is a more familiar gueſt then the contrarie paſſion of minde, albeit gladneſſe to all men be naturally more welcome. For firſt we our ſelues doe many moe things amiſſe then well, and the fruit of our owne ill doing is remorſe becauſe nature is conſcious to it ſelf that it ſhould do the cõtrarie. Againe for as much as the world ouer aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good vnto other men, there is no man ſo ſeldome croſt as pleaſured at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot be choſen but euery mans woes muſt double in that re-

[a] *Con. Laod. ca. 51. 52. veiat Natalitia martyrum Quadrageſima celebrari.*
[b] *Eſay* 1.13.
[c] *Eſay* 58.3.
[d] 1. *Tim.* 4.8.
[e] *Eccleſ.* 12.13. *Eſay* 58. 6.7. *Rom.* 14.17. *Iac.* 1.27. *Heb.* 12.14. *Epheſ.* 2.4.
[f] *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 23.
[g] *Mat.* 9.14.
[h] *Col.* 2.16.

ſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the verie choyce which oftentimes wee are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Sauiour ſhould accompt them happieſt that do moſt mourne, and why Salomon might iudge it better to frequent mourning then feaſting houſes, not better ſimply and in it ſelfe (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of vs and our common weakeneſſe better. Iob was not ignorant that his Childrens banquets though tending to amitie needed ſacrifice. Neither doth any of vs all neede to be taught that in things which delight, wee eaſily ſwarue from mediocritie, and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide the ſoares and diſeaſes of minde which inordinate pleaſure breederh, are by dolour and griefe cured. For which cauſe as all offences vſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeuour by vexing to reforme tranſgreſſions. Wee are of our owne accord apt enough to giue intertainment to thiugs delectable, but patiently to lacke what fleſh and bloud doth deſire, and by vertue to forbeare what by nature wee couet this, no man attaineth vnto but with labour and long practiſe. From hence it riſeth that in former ages abſtinence and faſting more then ordinarie was alwaies a ſpeciall branch of their praiſe, in whome it could bee obſerued and knowne, were they ſuch as continually gaue themſelues to auſtere life; or men that tooke often occaſions in priuate vertuous reſpects to lay Salomons counſell aſide [b] *Eate thy bread with ioy*, and be followers of Dauids example, which ſayth [c] *I humbled my ſoule with faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthie of no great commendation haue made of hunger ſome their gaine, ſome their Phyſicke, ſome their arte, that by maſtering ſenſuall appetites without conſtraint they might grow able to indure hardneſſe whenſoeuer need ſhould require. For the body accuſtomed to emptineſſe pineth not away ſo ſoone as hauing ſtill vſed to fill it ſelfe. Many ſingular effects there are which ſhould make faſting euen in publike conſiderations the rather to bee accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their aduantage is in martiall enterpriſes that lead armies of men trained in a Schoole of abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome that patience of hunger and thirſt hath giuen them many victories; in others that becauſe if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plentie to moderate themſelues, hee which can either bring them to hunger or ouercharge them is ſure to make them their owne ouerthrow. What nation ſoeuer doth feele theſe daungerous inconueniences may know that ſlouth and fulneſſe in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, and the remedie a ſtrict obſeruation of that part of Chriſtian Diſcipline, which teacheth men in practiſe of Ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelues thoſe things that afterwards may helpe them iuſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawfull defence of themſelues againſt others. The very purpoſe of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her faſts hath beene not only to preſerue thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miſeries heeretofore ſuſtained, and of the cauſes in our ſelues out of which they haue ariſen, that men conſidering the one might feare the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the mind leaſt contrarie affections comming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute, in which reſpect it ſeemeth

Mat. 6. 4.

Eccleſ. 7. 4.

Iob. 1. 5.

a Ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τῇ ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τῇ ἐλλείψει. Οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνατοι κρίνουσι ἀντέχειν. Ariſt. Eth. 2. 2. 13.

b Eccleſ. 9. 7.

c Pſal. 35. 13.

meth that fasts haue beene set as vshers of festiuall dayes for preuention of those dissenders as much as might bee, wherein notwithstanding the worlde alwayes will decrepe, as it hath done, blame, because such euils being not possible to bee rooted out, the most wee can doe is in keeping them low, and (which is chiefly the fruite wee looke for) to create in the minds of men, a loue towards frugall and seuere life to vndermine the pallaces of wantonnesse, to plant parsimonie as nature where ryotousnes hath beene hurtfull, to harden whome pleasure would melt, and so helpe the tumors which alwaies fulnes breedeth, that children as it were in the Woolle of their infancie died with hardnesse, may neuer afterwards change colour, that the poore whose perpetuall fasts are necessitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger which vertue causeth others so often to choose, and by acte of Religion it selfe so far to esteeme aboue the contrarie, that they which for the most part doe leade seruuall and easie liues, they which, as the Prophet Dauid describeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publike spectacle of all be still put in minde what themselues are, finally that euery man may be euery mans daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare humilitie as by praise to expresse ioy in the sight of God, although it haue herein befallen the Church as sometime Dauid, so that the speech of the one may bee nearly the voice of the other, *My soule fasted, and euen that was also turned to my reproofe.*

a *Valde absurdum est nimia sanctitate velle homines martyrem quem sciat Deo placuisse ieiunys Hieron. Ep. ad Eustoch.*

Psal.73.5.

Psal.69.10.

73 In this world there can be no societie durable other wise then onely by propagation. Albeit therefore single life bee a thing more angelicall and diuine, yet sith the replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants, and then of heauen with Saints euerlastingly, praising God did depend vpon coniunction of man and woman, hee which made all things complete and perfect saw it could not bee good, to leaue men without any helper vnto the forealleaged ende: In things which some farder end doth cause to bee desired choise seeking rather proportion then absolute perfection of goodnesse. So that woman being created for mans sake to bee his helper in regard of the end before mentioned, namely, the hauing and the bringing vp of children, wherevnto it was not possible they could concurre vnlesse there were subalternation betweene them, which subalternation is naturally grounded vpon inequality, because things equall in euery respect are neuer willingy directed one by another, woman therefore was euen in her first estate framed by nature not onely after in time but inferiour in excellencie also vnto man, howbeit in so due and sweete proportion as being presented before our eyes, might bee sooner perceiued then defined. And euen herein doth lie the reason why that kind of loue which is the perfectest ground of wedlocke is seldome able to yeeld any reason of it selfe. Now that which is borne of man must be nourished with far more trauell, as being of greater price in nature, and of slower pace to perfection then the offspring of any other creature besides. Man and woman being therefore to ioyne themselues for such a purpose they were of necessitie to bee linked with some straight and indoluble knot. The bond of wedlocke hath beene alwaies more or lesse esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the verie heathens themselues doe thereunto oftentimes giue is b *Holy*. Those rites and orders which were insti-

The celebration of Matrimonie. *Psal.128.3.*

b Τὸν ἱερὸν γάμον. Dionys. Halicar. ant. l. 2.

tuted in the solemnization of marriage, the Hebrues terme by the name of coniugalia *sanctificationes*. Amongst our selues because sundrie things appertaining vnto the publike order of Matrimonie are called in question by such as know not from whence those customes did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason, of them shall not bee superfluous, although we doe not thereby intend to yeelde so farre vnto enemies of all Churche orders, as to allow their owne, as though euery thing were vnlawfull, the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore to beginne with the times wherein the liberties of marriage is restrained. *There is* saith Salomon *a time for all things*, a time to laugh, & a time to mourne. That duties belonging vnto marriage and offices appertaining to penitence, are things vnsuitable and vnfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselues doe witnesse. Vpon which ground as we might right well thinke it marueilous absurd to see in a Church a wedding on the day of a publique fast; so likewise in the selfe same consideration our predecessors thought it not amisse to take away the common libertie of marriages during the time which was appointed for preparation vnto, and for exercise of generall humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the deliuering vp of the Woman either by her Father or by some other, wee must note, that in ancient times [b] all women which had not husbands, nor fathers to gouerne them, had their tutors: without whose authoritie there was no act which they did warrantable. And for this cause they were in marriage deliuered vnto their husbands by others. Which custome retained hath still this vse that it putteth women in mind of a dutie whereunto the verie imbecilitie of their nature and sex doth bind them, namely, to bee alwaies directed, guided and ordered by others, although our positiue lawes doe not tie them now as pupils. The custome of laying downe money seemeth to haue beene deriued from the Saxons, whose maner was to buy their wiues. But seeing there is now any great cause wherefore the memorie of that custome should remaine, it skilleth not much although wee suffer it to lye dead, euen as we see it in a manner already worne out. The ring hath beene alwaies vsed as an especiall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to serue as a token of our purposed endlesse continuance in that which we neuer ought to reuoke. This is the cause wherefore the heathens themselues did in such cases vse the ring, whereunto Tertullian alluding saith, that in ancient times [d] *No woman was permitted to weare any Golde saue one ring vpon one finger, which her husband had put and vnto himself with that Ring which was vsually giuen for assurance of future marriage.* The cause why the Christians vse it, as some of the Fathers thinke, is [e] either to testifie mutuall loue or rather to serue for a pledge of coniunction in hart and minde a greed vpon betweene them. But what right and custom is there so harmelesse, whereinto the wit of man bending it selfe to derision, may not easily finde out somewhat to scorne and iest at? Hee that should haue beheld the Iewes when they stoode with [f] a foure cornerd garment, spread ouer the heads of espoused couples while their espousals were in making, hee that should haue beheld their [g] praying ouer a Cup, and their deliuering the same at the mariage feast with set formes of benediction as the order amongst them was, might being lewdly

[a] *Riddoschius in Ritual. Hebr. de benedictionibus nuptiarum.*

Eccl. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 7. 5.

[b] *Mulieres antiquo iure tutelæ perpetuæ continebat. Recedebant vero a tutoris potestate, quæ in manum conuenissent Boet. in topic. Cic.*

[c] *Nullam ne priuatam quidem rem fœminæ sine auctore agere maiores nostri voluerunt. Liu. lib. 4.* The reason yeelded by Tully this, *Propter infirmitatem consilij Cic. pro Mur. Vide leget. Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.*

[d] *Aurum nulla norat præter vnico digito quem sponsus oppignorasset pro nubo anulo Tertul. Apologet. cap. 6.*

[e] *Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. lib 2. cap. 19.*

[f] *Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhupha.*

[g] *In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

lewdly affected, take thereat as iuſt occaſion of ſcornefull cauell, as at the vſe of the Ring in wedlocke amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken is the vttering of thoſe words, *With my body I thee worſhip*, in which words when once they are vnderſtood, there will appeare as little cauſe as in the reſt for any wiſe man to bee offended. Firſt therefore in as much as vnlawfull copulation doth pollute and [a] diſhonour both parties, this proteſtation that wee doe worſhip and honour another with our bodies may import a deniall of al ſuch lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cauſe any ſtaine, blemiſh or diſgrace that way, which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approue that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly in that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſly affirme, that parties vnmarried haue not any longer intire power ouer themſelues, but each hath intereſt in others perſon, it cannot be thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the body is the imparting of that intereſt in the body vnto another, which none before had ſaue onely our ſelues. But if this were the naturall meaning, the words ſhould perhaps be as requiſite to bee vſed on the one ſide as on the other, and therefore a third ſence there is which I rather rely vpon. Apparent it is, that the auncient difference betweene a lawfull wife and a Concubine was onely [b] in the different purpoſe of man betaking himſelfe to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were onely fellowſhip there grew to the woman by this meane no worſhip at all but the contrary. In profeſſing that his intent was to adde by his perſon honour and worſhip vnto hers, hee tooke her plainly and cleerely to his wife. This is it which the Ciuill law doth meane when it maketh a wife to differ from a Concubine in [c] dignity; a wife to bee taken where [d] coniugall honour and affection doe goe before. The worſhip that grew vnto her being taken with declaration of this intent was that her children became by this meanes legitimate and free; her ſelfe was made a mother ouer his family; laſt of all ſhee receiued ſuch aduancement of ſtate as things annexed vnto his perſon might augment her with, yea a right of participation was thereby giuen her both in him, and euen in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainely appeare by adding alſo, that other clauſe *with all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch hauing granted the principall, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publique ſolemnity of marriage, which receiuing the bleſſed Sacrament is a cuſtome ſo religious and ſo holy, that if the Church of England bee blameable in this reſpect it is not for ſuffering it to bee ſo much, but rather for not prouiding that it may be more put in vre. The lawes of Romulus concerning mariage are therefore extolled aboue the reſt amongſt the heathens which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the vſe of certaine ſpeciall ſolemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawne to make the greater conſcience of wedlocke, and to eſteeme the bond thereof, a thing which could not be without impietie diſſolued. If there bee any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectuall to like purpoſe, it is the ſacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regrad of the foree where of Tertullian breaketh out into theſe words concerning matrimonie there-

a *Rom.1.24. 1.Cor.7.4.*

b *L.penult.D. de concub.*

c *L.item legato.§.penult D. de legat.3.*

d *L. donationes D. de donationibus.*

οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναικὰς ἐπαίρειν τοῖς γαμήλοις οἷα μεθυμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέρας ἀποτροπὴν ποιοῦντα τοῦ τοῦ γάμου κύριον ζῆν πρότερον, ἢ λοιὸν ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀναμένειν ἢ ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν φαύλοις χρήσθαι τοῖς γυναικείοις κρηπῖσι. *Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib.2.*

Tertul.lib.2. ad vxorem.

with ſealed; *Vnde ſufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem eius Matrimonij quod eccleſia conciliat & confirmat oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happines of that wedlocke, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, & the Sacrament of the Church confirme.* Touching marriage therefore let thus much be ſufficient.

Churching of women. T.C.l.1.p.150.

74 The fruit of mariage is birth, and the companion of birth trauaile, the griefe whereof being ſo extreame, and the daunger alwaies ſo great, dare wee open our mouthes againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliuerance do publikely ſhow their thankfull mindes vnto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it, Forſooth *if there ſhould be ſolemne and expreſſe giuing of thankes in the Church for euery benefit, either equal, or greater then this which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receiue, we ſhould not onely haue no preaching of the word, nor miniſtring of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not haue ſo much leiſure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but ſhould be like thoſe Maſſilian heretiques which doe nothing elſe but pray.* Surely better a great deale to be like vnto thoſe heretiques which doe nothing elſe but pray, then thoſe which doe nothing elſe but quarrell. Their heades it might happily trouble ſomewhat more then as yet they are aware of to finde out ſo many benefits greater then this or equiualent thereunto, for which if ſo bee our lawes did require ſolemne and expreſſe thankeſgiuing in the Church, the ſame were like to proue a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there bee ſuch ſtore of mercies euen ineſtimable powred euery day vpon thouſands (as indeede the earth is full of the bleſſings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and aboue meaſure) ſhall it not bee lawfull to cauſe ſolemne thankes to bee giuen vnto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are receiued, no law binding men in regard thereof to performe the like dutie? Suppoſe that ſome bond there bee that tieth vs at certaine times to mention publiquely the names of ſundrie our benefactors. Some of them it may be are ſuch that a day would ſcarcely ſerue to reckon vp together with them the Catalogue of ſo many men beſides as wee are either more or equally beholden vnto. Becauſe no law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall wee therefore condemne that law whereby the other being poſſible and alſo dutifull is inioyned vs? So much wee owe to the Lord of heauen, that wee can neuer ſufficiently praiſe him nor giue him thankes for halfe thoſe benefits for which this ſacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit God forbid wee ſhould ceaſe performing this dutie when publique order doth draw vs vnto it, when it may bee ſo eaſily done, when it hath beene ſo long executed by deuout and vertuous people. God forbid that being ſo many waies prouoked in this caſe vnto ſo good a dutie, wee ſhould omit it, onely becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein wee cannot ſo conueniently or at leaſt wiſe doe not performe the ſame moſt vertuous office of pietie. Wherein wee truſt that as the action it ſelfe pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may iuſtly offend any. It is but an ouerflowing of gall, which cauſeth the womans abſence from the Church during the time of her lying in, to bee traduced and interpreted as though ſhe were ſo long iudged *vnholy*, and were thereby ſhut

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out or ſequeſtred from the houſe of God, according to the ancient Leuiticall law. Whereas the very Canon law it ſelfe doth not ſo hold, but directly [a] profeſſeth the contrarie, ſhee is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any vnholineſſe forbidden entrance into the Church; although her abſtaining from publike aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeperation for the time bee [b] moſt conuenient. To ſcoffe at the manner of atire then which there could bee nothing deuiſed for ſuch a time more graue and decent, to make it a token of ſome follie committed for which they are loath to ſhow their faces, argueth that great diuines are ſometime more merciſull then wiſe. As for the women themſelues, God accepting the ſeruice which they faithfully offer vnto him, it is no great diſgrace though they ſuffer pleaſant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeale ſcorne. The name of *oblations* applyed not onely here to thoſe ſmall and petite payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally giuen vnto all ſuch allowances as ſerue for their needfull maintenance is both ancient and conuenient. For as the life of the Cleargie is ſpent in the ſeruice of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his reuenew. Nothing therefore more proper then to giue the name of oblations to ſuch paymentes in token that wee offer vnto him whatſoeuer his miniſters receiue.

a *Dist.5.c.hæc quæ.In lege præcipiebatur vt mulier ſi maſculum pareret 40. ſi fœminam 80. diebus à templi ceſſaret ingreſſu, Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.* b Leo *conſt.17. Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiem quàm ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas & veteri prohibitum eſſe lege & gratia tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe quo præteruam eam in quis temperanter viuerent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret, quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præſcribuntur quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc prouidentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, vt partus à depranatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid naturæ ſupernacaneum eſt idem corruptionem eſſe & inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxia eſſent in immunditia ad id temporis viuere illa lex iubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſanctæ laſciui concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipſum animum coagmentetur.*

75 But to leaue this, there is a dutie which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of England is ſaide to do thoſe things which are though *not vnlawfull* yet *inconuenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript forme of ſeruice at Burials, ſuffereth mourning apparrell to bee worne, and permitteth funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will be neceſſarie, although it bee needleſſe to dwell long vppon it. The end of funerall duties, is firſt to ſhew that loue towardes the partie deceaſed which nature requireth; then to doe him that honor which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the qualitie of his perſon; laſt of all to teſtifie the care, which the Church hath to comfort the liuing, and the hope which we all haue concerning the reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of loue towardes them, that are departed mourning is not denied to bee a thing conuenient. As in truth the Scripture euery where doth approoue lamentation made vnto this end. The Iewes by our Sauiours teares therefore gathered in this caſe that his loue towards Lazarus was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may bee a kind of attire ſutable to a ſorrowfull affection, and conuenient for mourners to weare howe plainely doth Dauids example ſhow, who being in heauineſſe went vp to the mount with his head couered, and all the people that were with him in like ſort? White garments being fit to vſe at mariage feaſtes and ſuch other times of ioy whereunto Salomon alluding when hee requireth continuall

Of the Rites of Buriall. *T.C.l.3.pa.236.*

Iohn 11.36.

2.*Sam.*15.30.

*Eccleſ.*9.8.

cheareſulnes of minde ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy garments be alwayes white*; what doth hinder the contrarie from being now as conuenient in griefe as this heretofore in gladneſſe hath beene? *If there be no ſorrow, they ſay it is hypocriticall to pretend it, and if there be to prouoke it* by wearing ſuch attire is *dangerous*. Nay if there be, to ſhow it is naturall, and if there bee not yet the ſignes are meete to ſhow what ſhould bee, eſpecially ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſſe, that men are faine to haue their mourning gounes puld off their backes for feare of killing themſelues with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due vnto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to be conuenient euen for very humanities ſake. And therefore ſo much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the widowes Sonne, the carrying of him forth vpon a Beare and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath beene vſed euen amongſt infidels, all men accompting it a verie extreame deſtitution not to haue at the leaſt this honour done them. Some mans eſtate may require a great deale more, according as the faſhion of the Countrie, where hee dieth doth afford. And vnto this appertained the ancient vſe of the Iewes to embalme the corpes with ſweete odours, and to adorne the Sepulchers of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men, it hath beene iudged fit to commend them vnto the world at their death amongſt the heathen in funerall orarions, amongſt the Iewes in *ſacred Poemes; and why not in funerall Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Vs it ſufficeth that the knowne benefit hereof doth counteruaile millions of ſuch inconueniences as are therin ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed onely but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods ſight. Let it not ſeeme odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other bee ſpoken of, then eſpecially when the preſent occaſion doth make mens minds the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care no doubt of liuing, both to liue and to die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded vp in ſilence, but the eares of many be made acquainted with it. Moreouer when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their laſt neede, beſides the praiſe which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion with Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Againe the ſound of theſe things, doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh. O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like his. Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publique inſtruction common vnto funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe mindes are through naturall affection penſiue in ſuch caſes, no man can iuſtly miſlike the cuſtome which the Iewes had to end their burials with funerall banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet Ieremie ſpake concerning the people whome God had appointed vnto a grieuous manner of deſtruction, ſaying that men ſhould not *giue them the cup of conſolation to drinke for their Father or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their anceſtors vnto the graue with weeping eyes

Luke 7.12.

Pſal.79.3.
Iohn 19.40.
Matth.23.27.

*2.Sam.1.19.

Ier.16.7.

haue

haue notwithstanding meanes wherewith to bee recomforted. *Giue wine* saith *Salomon vnto them that haue griefe of hart.* Surely he that ministreth vnto them a comfortable speech doth much more then giue them wine. But the greatest thing of all other about this dutie of Christian buriall is an outwarde testification of the hope which wee haue touching the resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable iudgement, examine whether it bee more conuenient for a companie of men, as it were in a dumme show to bring a corse to the place of buriall, there to leaue it couered with earth and so ende, or else to haue the exequies deuoutly performed with solemne recitall of such lectures, Psalmes and praiers as are purposely framed for the stirring vp of mens mindes vnto a carefull consideration of their estate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is obiected, that neither the people of God vnder the law, nor the Church in the Apostles times did vse anye forme of seruice, in buriall of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken vp without any good example or precedent followed therein, first while the world doth stand they shall neuer be able to prooue that all things which either the one or the other did vse at burials are set downe in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpose deliuer the whole manner and forme thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime an other which was in vse, as speciall occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Againe if it might bee prooued that no such thing was vsuall amongst them, hath Christ so depriued his Church of iudgement that what rites and orders soeuer the later ages thereof haue deuised, the same must needes bee inconuenient? Furthermore, that the Iewes before our Sauiours comming had any such forme of seruice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Priestes to bee present at burials letteth not but that others might discharge that dutie seeing all were not Priestes which had roomes of publique function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no such forme of seruice, thus much there is to make the contrarie more probable. The Iewes at this day haue, as appeareth in their forme of funerall praiers, and in certaine of their funerall Sermons published, neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that order from vs, besides that the forme thereof is such as hath in it sundry things, which the very words of the Scripture it selfe doe seeme to allude vnto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulcher vnto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their buriall feast, and a consolatorie forme of praiers, appointed for the master of the Synagogue thereat to vtter, albeit I may not deny but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so auncient as the lawe and the Prophets. But whatsoeuer the Iewes custome was before the dayes of our Sauiour Christ, hath it once at any time beene heard of, that either Church or Christian man of sounde beliefe did euer iudge this a thing vnmeete, vndecent, vnfit for Christianitie, till these miserable dayes wherein vnder the colour of removing superstitious abuses the most effectuall meanes both to testifie and to strengthen true Religion are plucked at and in some places euen pulled vp by the very roote? Take away this which was ordained to show at burials, the peculiar hope of the Church

Prou.31.6.
a *1.Chro.19.4. Ier.2.11.*

of

of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumbe funerals what one thing is there wherby the world may perceiue we are Christian men?

Of the nature of that ministery which serueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happinesse not eternall only, but also temporal both depend vpon it.

176 I come now vnto that function which vndertaketh the publike ministerie of holy things according to the lawes of Christian religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth in action, is knowne by the obiect whereabout they are conuersant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the obiect of this function is both God and men; God in that he is publikely worshipped of his Church, and men in that they are capable of happines, by meanes which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the summe of our whole labour in this kinde is to honour God and to saue men. For whether we seuerally take, and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one societie and body, as it hath beene before declared, that euery mans Religion is in him the welspring of all other sound and sincere vertues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full ioy and felicitie ariseth, because while they liue they are blessed of God, and when they die, their workes follow them: so at this present we must againe call to minde how the very worldly peace and prosperitie, the secular happines, the temporall and naturall good estate both of all men, and of all Dominions hangeth chiefly vpon Religion, and doth euermore giue plaine testimonie, that as well in this as in other considerations the Priest is a piller of that common-wealth wherein hee faithfully serueth God. For if these assertions bee true, first that nothing can bee enioyed in this present world, against his will which hath made all things; secondly that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *haue*, yet impietie permitteth them not to *inioy*, no not temporall blessings on earth; thirdly that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaides vpon religion; and fourthly that without the worke of the ministerie Religion by no meanes can possibly continue, the vse and benefit of that sacred function, euen towards all mens worldly happines must needes bee graunted. Now the[a] first being a theoreme both vnderstoode and confest of all, to labour in proofe thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may bee called in question, except it bee perfectly vnderstoode. By good things temporall, therefore we meane length of daies, health of body, store of friends and welwillers, quietnes, prosperous successe of those things wee take in hand, riches with fit oportunities to vse them during life, reputation following vs both aliue and dead, children or such as in steade of children wee wish to leaue successors and partakers of our happines. These things are naturally euery mans desire, because they are good. And on whome God bestoweth the same, them we confesse he graciously blesseth. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause wee esteeme the gaine of honour an ample recompence for the losse of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certaine perpetuitie of goodnesse, nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their owne sake, but with reuerence and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of vertue and speculation of truth. None whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to liue, to breath and moone without performance of those actions which are beseeming

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a *Si creaturæ Dei merito & dispensatio Dei sumus: Quis enim magis diligit quàm ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit quàm is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero sapientius & fortius ordinario & regere facta potest quàm qui & facienda prouidit, & prouisa perfecit? Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem & qui non legerunt sentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoscunt. Paul. Oros. hist aduers. Pagan. lib. 2.*

Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κἀκ δίκης κτητὰ χρεὼν τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντας εὐσεβεῖν χρεών. *Eurip. Phœniss.*

truth. None whoſe deſires are rightly ordered would wiſh to liue to breath and mooue without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming mans excellencie. Wherefore hauing not how to imploy it, we waxe wearie euen of life it ſelfe. Health is precious becauſe ſickeneſſe doth breede that paine wich diſableth action. Againe why doe men delight ſo much in the multitude of friends but for that the actions of life being many doe neede many helping handes to further them? Betweene troubleſome and quiet dayes wee ſhould make no difference if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other vphold our liberty of action. Furthermore if thoſe things wee doe, ſucceede, it reioyceth vs not ſo much for the benefit we thereby reape as in that it probably argueth our actions to haue beene orderly and well guided. As for riches to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſigne of more then ordinary vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious minds thirſt after it, their endeuours are teſtimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to poſſeſſe that body, the verie ſhadow whereof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing that when life forſaketh vs, ſtill our deſires to continue action, and to worke though not by our ſelues yet by them whome wee leaue behinde vs, cauſeth vs prouidently to reſigne into other mens hands the helpes wee haue gathered for that purpoſe, deuiſing alſo the beſt wee can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore how all the parts of temporall felicitie are only good in relation to that which vſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth euer ſtay or reſt it ſelfe. Now temporall bleſſings are inioyed of thoſe which haue them, know them, *eſteeme them according to that they are in their owne nature*. Wherefore of the wicked whome God doth hate, his vſuall and ordinarie ſpeeches are, that bloud-thirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not liue out halfe their dayes; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleaue vnto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming griefe, with feauers, burning diſeaſes and ſoares which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men ſhall treade them downe and none ſhew countenance of loue towards them as much as by pitying them in their miſerie; that the ſinnes of the vngodly ſhall bereaue them of peace; that all counſels, complots and practiſes againſt God ſhall come to nothing; that the lot & inheritance of the vniuſt is beggery; that the name of vnrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſterity of robbers ſtarue. If any thinke that iniquitie and peace, ſinne and proſperitie can dwell together they erre, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright betweene the matter, and that which giueth it the forme of happineſſe, betweene poſſeſſion and fruition, betweene the hauing and the inioying of good things. The impious cannot enioy that they haue, partly becauſe they receiue it not as at Gods handes, which onely conſideration maketh temporall bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through errour placing it aboue things of farre more price and worth, they turne that to poyſon which might be foode, they make their proſperity their owne ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Egges out of which their wofull ouerthrow is afterwards hatcht. Heereby it commeth to paſſe that wiſe and iudicious men obſeruing the vaine behauiours

a διὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐντυχόντα λαὸν ἐγένετο θεὸς καλός. Euſeb. Hiſtor.

Pſal.55.23.

Deut.28.22.

Prouerb.20.

behauiours of ſuch as are riſen to vnwoonted greatneſſe haue thereby beene able to prognoſticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth proſper on earth but either ſooner or later the world may perceiue eaſily how at ſuch time as others thought them moſt fortunate they had but onely the good eſtate which fat Oxen haue aboue leane, when they appeared to grow their climing was towards ruine. The groſſe and beſtiall conceipt of them which want vnderſtanding is onely, that the fulleſt bellies are happieſt. Therefore the greateſt felicity they wiſh to the common wealth wherein they liue, is that it may but abound and ſtand, that they which are riotous may haue to powre out without ſtint, that the poore may ſleepe, and the rich feede them, that nothing vnpleaſant may bee commaunded, nothing forbidden men which themſelues haue a luſt to follow, that Kings may prouide for the eaſe of their ſubiects, and not bee too curious about the manners, that wantonneſſe exceſſe and lewdneſſe of life may bee left free, and that no faulte may bee capitall beſides diſlike of things ſetled in ſo good termes. But bee it farre from the iuſt to dwell either in or neere to the tents of theſe ſo miſerable felicities. Now whereas wee thirdly affirme, that Religion and the feare of God as well induceth ſecular proſperitie as euerlaſting bliſſe in the world to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe godlineſſe could not bee ſaid to haue the promiſes of both liues, to bee that ample reuenew, wherein there is alwayes ſufficiencie, and to carry with it a generall diſcharge of want, euen ſo generall that *Dauid* himſelfe ſhould proteſt hee neuer ſaw the iuſt forſaken. Howbeit to this wee muſt adde certaine ſpeciall limitations, as firſt that wee doe not forget how craſed and diſeaſed mindes (whereof our heauenly Phyſitian muſt iudge) receiue oftentimes moſt benefit by being deprived of thoſe things which are to others beneficially giuen, as appeareth in that which the wiſeman hath noted concerning them whoſe liues God mercifully doth abridge, leaſt wickednes ſhould alter their vnderſtanding; againe that the meaſure of our outward proſperity be taken by proportion with that which euery mans eſtate in this preſent life requireth. Externall habilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe artificers to haue their inſtruments proportionable to their worke rather fit for vſe then huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye. Seeing then the actions of a ſeruant doe not neede that which may bee neceſſary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects that haue wherewith to performe [a] ſufficiently what their ſtation and place asketh though they haue no more. For by reaſon of mans imbecillity and proneneſſe to elation of mind, [b] too high a flow of proſperity is dangerous; to low an ebbe againe as dangerous, for that the vertue of patience is rare, and the hand of neceſſity ſtronger, then ordinary vertue is able to withſtand. *Salomons* diſcreet and moderate deſire we al know. *Giue me O Lord neither riches nor penury?* Men ouer high exalted either in honor or in power or in nobility or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrarie hand ſunke either with beggery or through deiection or by baſeneſſe do not eaſily giue eare to reaſon, but the one exceeding apt vnto outrages, and the other vnto petty miſchiefes. For greatneſſe delighteth to ſhew it ſelfe by effects of power, and baſeneſſe

Prou.16.18. Ante ruinam elatio.

φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κολούων. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονήσῃ ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑαυτόν. *Herodot. lib.7.*

[a] Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀκριβὴς ἑκατὸς τοῖς δι σώφρονι. *Eurip. Phœniſſ.*

[b] ὑπερευτυχίαν ὁ λογισμὸς ἰσοῖ σωφροσύνῃ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀσφαλεστέραν, ἴσον ἀπεχεῖν ὀλίγως καὶ πολλῶν. *Greg. Naz. Apolog.3.*

They may ſeeme happily the moſt deiect, but they are the wiſeſt for their owne ſafetie, which feare clyming no leſſe then falling.

[c] *Ariſt. Polit. lib.1. cap.11.*

baseneſſe to helpe it ſelfe with ſhifts of malice. For which cauſe a moderate indifferent temper betweene fulneſſe of bread and emptineſſe hath beene euermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all eſtates, euen for Kings and princes themſelues. Againe we are not to looke, that theſe things ſhould alwayes concurre, no more in them which are accompted happy, neither that the courſe of mans liues or of publique affaires ſhould continually be drawne out as an euen thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a iuſt ſuruey being made, as thoſe particulars are worthily eſteemed good, whoſe vertues be great, and their faults tollerable, ſo him we may regiſter for a man fortunate, and that for a proſperous or happy ſtate, which having flouriſhed doth not afterwards feele any tragicall itineraries, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicitie conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of the nobler part of man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection not in vſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt endure, there is no cauſe why either the loſſ of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue whereof is their greater prayſe and honour that haue ſuſtained it ſhould be thought to impeach that temporall happines wherewith Religion we ſay is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeuerall degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and vnleſſe the contrary do more aduance, as it hath done thoſe moſt heroicall Saints, whome afflictions haue made glorious. In a word not to whom no calamitie falleth, but whom neither miſery nor proſperity is able to moouue from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoeuer doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbitie for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and vnpartiall iudges to haue proceeded from diuine reuenge, it paſſeth in the number of humaine caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubiect. No miſery is reckoned more then common or humaine if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſſe thorow it and come ſafe to ſhore, euen as contrariwiſe men doe not vſe to thinke thoſe flouriſhing dayes happie which doe ende with teares. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firme and true, yea ratified by all mens vntained confeſſions drawne from the very heart of experience, that whether wee compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelues, whether wee conferre one Dominion with another or elſe the diuerſe times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt oddes betweene their very outward condition as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerued to honour God and their ſucceſſe being fallen from him, are remonſtrances more then ſufficient how all our welfare euen on earth dependeth wholly vpon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered alwaies their worldly affaires, as their loue and zeale towards it did waine or grow. Of the Iewes did not euen their moſt malicious and mortall aduerſaries all acknowledge that to ſtriue againſt them it was in vaine as long as their amity which God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their owne proceedings did they euer find it otherwiſe, but that during their faith & fidelity towards God euery man of them was in warre as a thouſand ſtrong, and

as much as a grand Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwise that if they stirred, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsooke them vtterly, their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword, when they entered into mutuall conference, and sate in counsell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their greatest Senators could not discerne, their Prophets saw darknesse in stead of visions, the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht, euen that which they knew (being such as might stand them instead) they had not the grace to vtter, or if any thing were well proposed, it tooke no place it entered not into the minds of the rest to approue & follow it, but as men confounded with strange and vnusuall amazements of spirit, they attempted tumultuously they saw not what, and by the issues of all attempts they found no certaine conclusion but this, *God and heauen are strang against vs in all we doe*. The cause whereof was secrete feare which tooke hart and courage from them, and the cause of their feare an inward guiltinesse that they alhad offered God such apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may bee the case is now altogether changed, and that in Christian Religion there is not the like force towards temporall felicitie. Search the ancient records of time, looke what hath happened by the space of these sixteene hundred yeares, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and cleare, yea all things so manifest, that for euidence and proofe herein wee neede not by vncertaine darke coniectures surmise any to haue beene plagued of God for contempt or blest in the course of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them, whome we finde in that respect on the one side guiltie by their owne confessions, and happie on the other side by all mens acknowledgement, who beholding the prosperous estate of such as are good and vertuous impute boldly the same to Gods most especiall fauour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whome hee afflicteth aboue others, with them he hath cause to be more offended. For vertue is alwaies plaine to be seene, rareneſſe causeth it to be obserued and goodnes to be honored with admiration. As for iniquitie and sinne, it lyeth many times hid, and because wee bee all offenders it becommeth vs not to enclime towards hard and seuere sentences touching others, vnlesse their notorious wickednesse did sensibly before proclaime that which afterwardes came to passe. Wherefore the summe of euery Christian mans dutie is to labour by all meanes towards that which other men seeing in vs may iustifie, and what wee our selues must accuse, if we fall into it, that by all meanes wee can to auoide, considering especially that as hitherto vpon the Church, there neuer yet fell tempestuous storme, the vapors whereof were not first noted to rise from coldnesse in affection and from backwardnes in duties of seruice towardes God, so if that which the teares of antiquitie, haue vttered concerning this point should bee here set downe, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollifie an hart of steele. On the contrarie part although wee confesse with Saint Augustine most willingly, that the chiefest happines, for which we haue some Christian Kings in so great admiration aboue the rest, is not because of their long raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this present life, the setled establishment of their owne flesh and bloud succeeding them in royal-

tie and power, the glorious ouerthrow of forraine enemies, or the wiſe preuention of inward daunger and of ſecret attempts at home, all which ſolaces and comforts of this our vnquiet life it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which haue no ſocietie or part in the ioyes of heauen, giuing thereby to vnderſtand, that theſe in compariſon are toyes and trifles farre vnder the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands, but in truth the reaſon wherefore we moſt extoll their felicitie, is if ſo be they haue vertuouſly raigned, if honour haue not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power haue beene ſeruice and attendance vpon the Maieſtie of the moſt high, if they haue feared him as their owne inferiours and ſubiects haue feared them, if they haue loued neither pompe nor pleaſure more then heauen, if reuenge haue ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercie willingly offered it ſelfe, if ſo they haue tempered rigour with lenitie, that neither extreame ſeueritie might vtterly cut them off in whome there was manifeſt hope of amendmeot, nor yet the eaſines of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that whatſoeuer they do, their potencie may beare it out, they haue beene ſo much the more carefull not to doe any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt, rather then vſuall with greateſt perſonages, if the true knowledge of themſelues haue humbled them in Gods ſight, no leſſe then God in the eyes of men hath raiſed them vp, I ſay albeit wee reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the world, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſſe, neuertheleſſe conſidering what force there is euen in outward bleſſings to comfort the mindes of the beſt diſpoſed, and to giue them the greater ioy when Religion and peace, heauenly and earthly happines are wreathed in one crowne, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian princes it hath by the prouidence of the almightie hitherto befallen, let it not ſeeme vnto any man a needleſſe and ſuperfluous waſt of labour that there hath beene thus much ſpoken to declare how in them eſpecially it hath beene ſo obſerued, and with all vniuerſally noted euen from the higheſt to the very meaneſt how this peculiar benefit, this ſingular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heauenly ſhield from all calamities or elſe conducteth vs ſafe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giueth honours, promotions and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them then if wee had them at will; it either filleth our houſes with plentie of all good things, or maketh a Sallet of greene herbes more ſweete then all the ſacrifices of the vngodly. Our fourth propoſition before ſet downe was, that Religion without the helpe of ſpirituall miniſterie is vnable to plant it ſelfe, the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their owne accord. Which laſt aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confimation. If it did, I could eaſily declare, how all things which are of God, hee hath by wonderfull arte and wiſedome ſodered as it were together with the glue of mutuall aſſiſtance, appointing the loweſt to receiue from the neereſt to themſelues, what the influence of the higheſt yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the moſt abſolute of all his workes was in reaſon to be alſo ordered with like harmonie, that what hee worketh might no leſſe in grace then in nature be effected by hands and inſtruments duely ſubordinated vnto the power of his owne ſpirit. A

thing both needfull for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debter to any, but to himſelfe, and of no ſmall effect to nouriſh that diuine loue, which now maketh each embrace other, not as men, but as Angels of God. Miniſteriall actions tending immediatly vnto Gods honour, and mans happineſſe are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principall worke of the miniſterie, or elſe they are parts of that principall worke of adminiſtration it ſelfe, which worke conſiſteth in doing the ſeruice of Gods houſe, and in applying vnto men the Soueraigne medicines of grace already ſpoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appeare, that we a owe to the guides of our ſoules euen as much as our ſoules are worth, although the debt of our temporall bleſſings ſhould be ſtricken off.

Luc.12.42. 1.Cor.4.1. Tit.1.7. 1.Pet.4.10. Ephs3.2.

a ὧν σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφειλήσεις. *Epiſt ad Phile.*

Of power giuen vnto men to execute that heauenly office; of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.

77 The miniſterie of things diuine is a function which as God did himſelfe inſtitute, ſo neither may men vndertake the ſame but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto man in neceſſaries, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his heauenly truth, becauſe without that ineſtimable benefit, we muſt needes haue wandred in darkneſſe, to our endleſſe perdition and woe, hath in the like aboundance of mercies ordained certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requiſite parts and offices therein preſcribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto aſſigned doe holde their authoritie from him whether they bee ſuch as himſelfe immediatly, or as the Church in his name inueſteth, it being neither poſſible for all, nor for euery man without diſtinction conuenient to take vppon him a charge of ſo great importance. They are therefore miniſters of God, not onely by way of ſubordination as Princes and ciuill Magiſtrates, whoſe execution of iudgement and iuſtice the ſupreme hand of diuine prouidence doth vpholde, but miniſters of God as from whome their authoritie is deriued and not from men. For in that they are Chriſts Embaſſadours and his labourers, who ſhould giue them their commiſſion, but he whoſe moſt inward affaires they manage? Is not God alone the father of Spirits? Are not ſoules the purchaſe of Ieſus Chriſt? What Angel in heauen could haue ſaid to man, as our Lord did vnto Peter, *Feed my ſheep Preach? Baptiſe: Do this in remembrance of me? Whoſe ſinnes ye retain they are retained, and their offences in Heauen pardoned whoſe faults you ſhall on earth forgiue?* What thinke we? Are theſe terreſtriall ſounds, or elſe are they voices vttered out of the clouds aboue? The power of the miniſterie of God tranſlateth out of darkenes into glorie, it rayſeth men from the earth and bringeth God himſelfe downe from heauen, by bleſſing viſible elements it maketh them inuiſible grace, it giueth daily the holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was giuen for the life of the world, and that bloud which was powred out, to redeeme ſoules, when it powreth malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they periſh, when it reuoketh the ſame they reuiue. O wretched blindneſſe if wee admire not ſo great power, more wretched if wee conſider it aright and notwithſtanding, imagine that any but God can beſtow it. To whom Chriſt hath imparted power both ouer that myſticall body which is the ſocietie of ſoules, and ouer that naturall which is himſelfe for the knitting of both in one (a worke which antiquitie doth call the making of Chriſts body) the ſame

power

power is in ſuch not amiſſe both termed a kind of marke or character, and acknowledged to be indeleble. Miniſteriall power is a marke of ſeperation, becauſe it ſeuereth them that haue it from other men, and maketh them a ſpeciall *order* conſecrated vnto the ſeruice of the moſt high, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So Tertullian calleth them. And Saint Paul himſelfe diuiding the body of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties, nameth the one part *Vulgus* which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laitie, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort terme the order of Gods Clergie, and the ſpirituall power which hee hath giuen them the power of their *order*, ſo farre forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affaires of God. For of the power of their iuriſdiction ouer mens perſons wee are to ſpeake in the bookes following. They which haue once receiued this power may not thinke to put it off, and on, like a cloke as the weather ſerueth, to take it, reiect, and reſume it as oft as themſelues liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe latter times haue yeelded as of all other kinds of iniquitie & Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples, but let them know which put their hands vnto this plough, that once conſecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations vtterly cut off the vſe or exerciſe of power before giuen: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeperate and pull aſunder what God by his authoritie coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation, as they may be cauſe of iuſt ſeperation after matrimonie; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignitie, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one, nor the other euer iterate the firſt knot. Much leſſe is it neceſſarie, which ſome haue vrged, concerning the reordination of ſuch as others in times more corrupt, did conſecrate heretofore. Which errour already queld by Saint Ierome, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I graunt there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance againe into roomes of ſpirituall function, whoſe fall by hereſie, or want of conſtancie in profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, hath beene once a diſgrace to their calling. Neuertheleſſe, as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwayes leade to ſhew one and the ſame ſeuerity towards perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelfe more inclineth to clemencie then rigour. And wee in other mens offences doe behold the plaine image of our owne imbecility. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way, [a] it cannot be vnexpedient to win with al hopes of fauour, leaſt ſtrictneſſe vſed towards ſuch as reclaime themſelues, ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherefore [b] after that the Church of Alexandria had ſomewhat recouered it ſelfe from the tempeſts and ſtormes of Arrianiſme, being in conſultation about the reeſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had beene greatly decayed and hindred, the ſeruenter ſort gaue quicke ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergie, and had ſtained themſelues with hereſie, there ſhould bee none ſo receiued into the Church againe, as to continue in the order of the Cleargy. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concerne, thought it much more ſafe and conſo-

Tertul. de Adhort caſtit

Heb. 2. 17.

Mat. 19.

[a] *In 12. tabulis cautum eſt, vt idem iur is eſſet ſanantibus quod fortibus, id eſt bonis & qui nunquam deſtiterunt a populo Romano Feſt. in ver. Samnites.*

[b] *Ruffin. hiſt. Eccleſ. li. cap 28.*

nant to bend ſomewhat downe towardes them which were fallen, to ſhew ſeueritie vpon a few of the chiefeſt leaders, and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation without any other demaunde ſauing onely the abiuration of their errour, as in the Goſpell that waſtfull young man which returned home to his Fathers, houſe was with ioy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended ſo much for his owne fidelitie and vertue as blamed for not embracing him freely whoſe vnexpected recouerie ought to haue blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faults paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giuing orders is our vſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, *Receiue the holy Ghoſt.* The holy Ghoſt they ſay wee cannot giue, and therefore wee [a] *fooliſhly* bid men receiue it. Wiſemen for their authorities ſake muſt haue leaue to befoole them whome they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding if it may pleaſe their wiſedome as well to heare what fooles can ſay as to controll that which they doe, thus we haue heard ſome wiſe men teach, namely, that the [b] *holy Ghoſt* may bee vſed to ſignifie not the perſon alone, but the guifts of the holy Ghoſt, and wee know that ſpirituall gifts are not onely habilities to doe things miraculous, as to ſpeake with tongues which were neuer taught vs, to cure diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like, but alſo that the very authoritie and power which is giuen men in the Church to bee Miniſters of holy things, this is contained within the number of thoſe gifts whereof the holy Ghoſt is authour, and therefore he which giueth this power, may ſay without abſurditie or folly *Receiue the holy Ghoſt*, ſuch power as the ſpirit of Chriſt hath indued his Church withall, ſuch power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæſar on earth can giue. So that if men alone had deuiſed this forme of ſpeech thereby to expreſſe the heauenly welſpring of that power which Eccleſiaſticall ordinations doe beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that wiſemen might beare with it. If then our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe haue vſed the ſelfe ſame forme of words, and that in the ſelfe ſame kinde of action, although there bee but the leaſt ſhew of probabilitie, yea or any poſſibilitie, that his meaning might bee the ſame which ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and graue men not to betoo venturous in condemning that of folly which is not impoſſible to haue in it more profoundneſſe of wiſedome then fleſh and bloud ſhould preſume to controll. Our Sauiour after his reſurrection from the dead gaue his Apoſtles their commiſſion ſaying, *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth, Goe therefore and teach all nations baptiſing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerue all things whatſoeuer I haue commaunded you.* In ſumme, *As my father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto Saint *Iohn* doth adde farther, that *hauing thus ſpoken hee breathed on them and ſaid, Receiue the holy Ghoſt.* By which wordes hee muſt of likelihood vnderſtand ſome gift of the Spirit which was preſently at that time beſtowed vpon them, as both the ſpeech of actuall deliuerie in ſaying *Receiue*, and the viſible ſigne thereof his breathing did ſhewe. Abſurde it were to imagine our Sauiour did both to the eare and alſo to the verie eye expreſſe a reall donation, and they at that time receiue nothing. It reſteth then that wee ſearch what ſpeciall grace they did

[a] *Papiſticus quidam ritus ſtultè quidem ab illis & ſine vllo ſcripture fundamento inſtitutus & a diſcipline noſtræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno animum inducto acceptus minore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur Eccleſiaſt. d ſcip. f. 53.*

[b] *Eccleſ. diſcip. fol. 52. p. 2. lin. 1*

Mat. 28. 18.

Ioh. 20. 21.

at

at that time receiue. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they receiued it not, but the promiſe thereof was to bee ſhortly after performed. The wordes of Saint Luke concerning that power are therefore ſet downe with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father vpon you, but tarrie you in the Citie of Ieruſalem vntill ye be indued with power from on high. Wherefore vndoubtedly it was ſome other effect of the ſpirit, the holy Ghoſt in ſome other kinde which our Sauiour did then beſtow. What other likelier then that which himſelfe doth mention, as it ſhould ſeeme of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to declare that the holy Ghoſt which he then gaue was an holy and a Ghoſtly authoritie, authoritie ouer the ſoules of men, authoritie, a part whereof conſiſteth in power to remit and retaine ſinnes? Receiue the holy Ghoſt, *Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye remit, they are remitted, whoſe ſinnes ye retaine, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Euangeliſts had ſet downe that Chriſt did before his ſuffering, promiſe to giue his Apoſtles the Keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and beeing riſen from the dead promiſes, moreouer at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghoſt, Saint Iohn addeth, that he alſo inueſted them euen then with the power of the holy Ghoſt for caſtigation & relaxation of ſin, wherein was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the Keyes did import. Seeing therefore that the ſame power is now giuen, why ſhould the ſame forme of words expreſſing it be thought fooliſh? The cauſe why we breath not as Chriſt did on them vnto whome he imparted power, is for that neither Spirit nor ſpiritual authoritie may be thought to proceede from vs, which are but delegates or aſſignes to giue men poſſeſſion of his graces. Now beſides that the power & authority deliuered with thoſe words is it ſelf χάρισμα a gratious donatiō which the ſpirit of God doth beſtow, wee may moſt aſſuredly perſwade our ſelues, that the hand which impoſeth vpon vs the function of our miniſterie, doth vnder the ſame forme of wordes ſo tie it ſelfe thereunto, that he which [a] receiueth the burthen is thereby for euer warranted to haue the Spirit with him, and in him for his aſſiſtance, aide, countenance and ſupport in whatſoeuer he faithfully doth to diſcharge dutie. Knowing therefore that when we take ordination, we alſo receiue the preſence of the holy Ghoſt partly to guide, direct and ſtrengthen vs in all our wayes, and partly to aſſume vnto it ſelfe, for the more authoritie thoſe actions that appertaine to our place and calling, can our eares admit ſuch a ſpeech vttered in the reuerend performance of that ſolemnitie, or can wee at any time renew the memorie, and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and ioy? Remoue what theſe fooliſh words doe imply, and what hath the miniſterie of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghoſt, which our Sauior in his firſt ordinations gaue, doth no leſſe concurre with ſpirituall vocations throughout all ages, then the Spirit which God deriueth from Moſes to them that aſſiſted him in his gouernment did deſcend from them to their ſucceſſors in like authoritie and place, we haue for the leaſt and meaneſt duties performed by vertue of miniſteriall power that, to dignifie grace and authorize them which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, Baptize, communicate, condemne, giue abſolution

Luk. 24. 49.

Iohn 20. 23.

[a] *Et ſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris eſt autor ipſe ſit et adminiſtrationis adiutor, & ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. Leo. Serm. 1. in Anniuerſ. die A.* τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὅδετο ἐμᾶς ὡς πλεῖ διαδοχὰν τῶν πλεῖ *Gre. Na. Num. 11.*

absolution, or whatsoeuer, as disposers of Gods mysteries, our wordes, iudgements, acts and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghosts. Enough if vnfainedly and in heart we did beleeue it, enough to banish whatsoeuer may iustly bee thought corrupt, either in bestowing, or in vsing, or in esteeming the same otherwise then is meete. For prophanely to bestow, or loosly to vse, or vilely to esteeme of the holy Ghost we all in shew and profession abhorre. Now because the Ministerie is an office of dignitie and honour; some are doubtfull whether any man may seeke for it without offence, or to speake more properly doubtfull they are not, but rather bold to accuse our Discipline in this respect as not only permitting but requiring also ambitious suites and other oblique waies or meanes whereby to obtaine it. Against this they pleade, that our Sauiour did stay til his Father sent him, and the Apostles till hee them; that the ancient Bishops in the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of the same modestie. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let vs therefore at the length amend that custome of repairing from all parts vnto the Bishop at the day of ordination, and of seeking to obtaine orders, let the custome of bringing commendatorie letters bee removed; let men keepe themselues at home expecting there the voice of God and the authoritie of such as may call them to vndertake charge.* Thus seuerely they censure and controule ambition, if it be ambition which they take vpon them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to doubt. Ambition as we vnderstand it, hath beene accompted a vice which seeketh after honours inordinately, Ambitious minds esteeming it their greatest happinesse to bee admired, reuerenced and adored aboue others, vse all meanes lawfull and vnlawfull wich may bring them to high roomes. But as for the power of order considered by it selfe, and as in this case it must bee considered, such reputation it hath in the eye of this present world, that they which affect it rather neede encouragement to beare contempt then deserue blame, as men that carrie aspiring mindes. The worke whereunto this power serueth is commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the Apostle for good. Neuertheless because the burthen thereof is heauie and the charge great, it commeth many times to passe, that the mindes euen of vertuous men are drawne into cleane contrarie affections, some in humilitie declining that by reason of hardnesse which others in regard of goodnesse onely doe with feruent alacritie couet. So that there is not the least degree in this seruice, but it may bee both * in reuerence shunned, and of very deuotion longed for. If then the desire thereof may bee holy, religious and good, may not the profession of that desire bee so likewise, Wee are not to thinke it so long good as it is dissembled and euill if once wee begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence I beseech you is there in opening it there where it may be furthered & satisfied in case they to whome it appertaineth thinke meete? In vaine are those desires allowed the accomplishment whereof it is not lawfull for men to seeke. Power therefore of Ecclesiasticall order may bee desired, the desire thereof may bee professed, they which professe themselues that way inclined

may

Author. libel. de discrip. Ecclesiast.

1. Tim. 3. 1.

* τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς ἀνοσιωτάτους ἀνασκόπους ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον ἐφόρουν ἢ βασιλέως ἢ στρατηγοῦ ἡ χάρις προσελθεῖν τοὺς μὲ δεδιότας ἀγαθὸν τὸ κλῆρον τοὺς δὲ ἀναδεχομένους τὸ χάρισμα ἢ ἐπιτιμῶν μισητοὺς ὄντας τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων τὴν διακονίαν, διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸν ἀγῶνα διώκειν, οἱ μὲ δι' ἣν ἐπιτιμίας τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἀναδέξασθαι, οἱ δὲ τὴ καλῶ αὐτὴ φιλονεικίαν ἐπιδεδώκασιν. Greg. Nazi. Apologet.

may endeuour to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſitie of euill. Is it the bringing of teſtimoniall letters wherein ſo great obliquitie conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plaine, more harmeleſſe, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, then that men where they are not knowne, vſe for their eaſier acceſſe the credit of ſuch as can beſt giue teſtimony of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church Diſcipline alloweth not, and theſe to allow is neither to require ambitious ſuings nor to approoue any indirect or vnlawfull act. The Prophet Eſay receiuing his meſſage at the hands of God and his charge by heauenly viſion heard the voice of the Lord ſaying, *Whome ſhall I ſend? Who ſhall goe for vs?* Whereunto he recordeth his owne anſwere, *Then I ſaid, Here Lord I am, ſend me.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for ſollemne ordination is but the publique demaund of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelfe, *Whome ſhall I ſende, who ſhall goe for vs?* The confluence of men, whoſe inclinations are bent that way is but the anſwere thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundry being offred, the Church hath freedome to take whome her agents in ſuch caſe thinke meete and requiſite. As for the example of our Sauiour Chriſt, who tooke not to himſelfe this honour to bee made our high Prieſt, but receiued the ſame from him which ſaide, *Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedec*, his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God ſaw conuenient time may ſerue in reproofe of vſurped honours, for as much as wee ought not of our owne accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto wee are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould bee withall conſidered that a proude vſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and an other the bare declaration of willingneſſe to obtaine admittance, which willingneſſe of minde, I ſuppoſe did not want in him whoſe aunſwere was to the voyce of his heauenly calling, *Beholde I am come to doe thy will.* And had it beene for him, as it is for vs expedient to receiue his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, to ſeeke it might better haue beſeemed his humilitie then it doth our boldneſſe to reprehend them of pride and ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſuites then by letters of information. Himſelfe in calling his Apoſtles preuented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truely be ſaid of them, *Ye choſe not me, but I of mine owne voluntarie motion made choice of you.* Which kinde of vndeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſticall places befell diuers of the moſt famous amongſt the auncient fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie conſideration. For our Sauiours election reſpected not any merit or worth, but tooke them which were farthеſt off from likelihood of fitneſſe, that afterwards their ſupernaturall habilitie and performance beyond hope might cauſe the greater admiration, whereas in the other meere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honours were inforced vpon them, which they of meekneſſe and modeſtie did what they could to auoide. But did they euer iudge it a thing vnlawfull to wiſh or deſire the Office, the onely charge and bare function of the Miniſtrie? Towards which labour what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage ſaying, *He whiche deſireth it, is deſirous of a good worke?* What

Eſay.6.

Heb.5.5.

Heb.10.8.

doth

doth he els by ſuch ſentences but ſtirre, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that deſire ambition, which coueteth more to teſtifie loue by paineſulneſſe in Gods ſeruice, then to reape any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelfe, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of mans induſtrie, we are not ſo to conceiue neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only as the wiſe man giueth counſell: *Seeke not to bee made a iudge leaſt thou be not able to take away iniquitie, and leaſt thou fearing the perſon of the mightie, ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine vprightneſſe*, ſo it alwaies behoueth men to take good heede leaſt affection, to that which hath in it, as well difficultie as goodneſſe ſophiſticate the true and ſincere iudgement which before hand they ought to haue of their owne habilitie, for want whereof many forward minds haue found inſteade of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſſe of things in themſelues moſt excellent cooleth the feruencie of mens deſires, vnleſſe there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculatiue knowledge doth by things which we ſenſibly perceiue conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though leſſe ſenſible, and the method of vertuous actions is alſo to traine beginners at the firſt by things acceptable vnto the taſte of naturall appetite, till our minds at the length be ſetled to imbrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, meerely and wholly for their owne ſakes) howſoeuer inordinate deſires doe heereby take occaſion to abuſe the politie of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by vnſeemly meanes that which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerued for better minds to obtaine by more approued courſes, in which conſideration the Emperors Anthemius and Leo did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practiſes that ancient famous conſtitution, wherein they haue theſe ſentences, *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward, or vpon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo farre ſequeſtred from all ambition that they which aduance him might be faine to ſearch where he hideth himſelfe, to intreat him drawing back, and to follow him til importunitie haue made him yeeld, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to auoide the burthen, they are vnworthie of that vocation which are not thereunto brought vnwillingly*; notwithſtanding wee ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred euery poore requeſt or ſute wherein men may ſeeme to effect honor; ſeeing that ambition and modeſtie doe not alwaies ſo much differ in the marke they ſhoote at, as in the manner of their proſecutions. Yea euen in this may be error alſo, if wee ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbeare to ſtirre either hand or foote towards their owne preferments. For there are that make an Idole of their great ſufficiencie, and becauſe they ſurmiſe the place ſhould be happie that might enioy them, they walke euery where like graue Pageants, obſeruing whether men doe not wonder why ſo ſmall accompt is made of ſo rare worthineſſe, and in caſe any other mans aduancement bee mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the maruailous follie of the worlde which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelues. Seeing therefore that ſutes after ſpirituall functions may be as ambitiouſly forborne as proſecuted; it remaineth that the euenеſt line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them, *without conſcience*

Eccleſ. 7.6.

αμεινον ειμι τις ἢ τι ἀγαθὸν τολμησᾶν ἢ ἢ λιαν δεειλανικὸν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιτιθέντων προταγαις δυλλήψ ἢ φευγόντων πάσας βαρυαλεώτερος. Gregor. Nazian Apologet.

conſcience, not of *pride*, to withdraw our ſelues vtterly from them.

78. It pleaſed almightie God to chooſe to himſelfe for diſcharge of the * legall Miniſterie one onely Tribe out of twelue others, the Tribe of Leui, not all vnto euery diuine ſeruice, but Aaron and his ſonnes to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what ſolemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner Aaron and his ſucceſſors the high Prieſts aſcended euery Sabboth and feſtiuall day, offered, and miniſtered in the Temple; with what ſinne offering once euery yeare they reconciled firſt themſelues and their owne houſe, afterwards the people vnto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of Iſrael, laid all their treſpaſſes vpon the head of a ſacred Goate, and ſo carried them out of the Cittie; how they purged the holy place from all vncleaneneſſe, with what reuerence they entred within the Vaile, preſented themſelues before the mercy ſeate, and conſulted with the Oracle of God. What ſeruice the other prieſtes did continually in the holy place, how they miniſtred about the Lampes Morning and Euening, how euery Sabboth they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelue loaues with pure incenſe in perpetuall remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers the twelue Tribes had found by the prouidence of God for their foode, when hunger cauſed them to leaue their naturall ſoyle, and to ſeeke for ſuſtenance in Egypt; how they imployed themſelues in ſacrifice day by day; finally what offices the Leuites diſcharged, and what duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records doe mention. Beſides theſe there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome cald of God as Prophets fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giuing them counſell in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen of men to reade, ſtudie and interpret the law of God, as the Sonnes of Schollers of the olde Prophets, in whoſe roome afterwards Scribes and expounders of the law ſucceeded. And becauſe where ſo great varietie is, if there ſhould be equalitie, confuſion would follow, the Leuits were in all their ſeruice at the appointment and direction of the ſonnes of Aaron or Prieſts, they ſubiect to the principall guides and leaders of their owne order; and they all in obedience vnder the high Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelfe in the verie titles, that men for honours ſake gaue vnto them, terming Aaron and his ſucceſſors High or great; the auncients ouer the companies of Prieſts, Archprieſtes; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and interpreters of the law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſterie of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the whole bodie of the Church being deuided into Laitie and Cleargie, the Cleargy are either Preſbyters or Deacons. I rather terme the one ſort Presbyters then [a] Prieſtes, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their eares to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious though with out cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from an other by thoſe true eſſentiall formes, which being really & actually them

Of degrees whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed & concerning the attire of Miniſters.

* Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ὑπηρετῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν αἱ πρὸς τὴν θεοτίμητον ἀναφέρονται. *Philo. p. 297.*

[a] *T. C. l. 1. p. 198.*, For ſo much as the common and vſuall ſpeech of England is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpell, but a *Sacrificer* which the Miniſter of the Goſpell is not, therefore wee ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpell *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh tranſlations which Tranſlate alwayes ἱερεῖς which were ſacrificers *Prieſts*, and doe not of the other ſide for any that euer I read tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with vs, and in our tongue doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts iudgment in reſpect of their abhominable Maſſe, and alſo by the iudgement of the Proteſtants in reſpect of the beaſts which were offered in the Law a *ſacrificing office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpell neither doth nor can execute, it is manifeſt that it cannot bee without great offence ſo vſed.

them doe not onely giue them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their naturall perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and roote whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend, ſo if they that firſt doe impoſe names did alwayes vnderſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech wee ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelues moſt properly are. But becauſe words haue ſo many artificers by whome they are made, and the things whereunto wee apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not alwayes apparant, what the firſt inuentors reſpected, much leſſe what euery mans inward conceipt is which vſeth their wordes. For any thing my ſelfe can diſcerne herein, I ſuppoſe, that they which haue bent their ſtudie to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, doe for the moſt part finde that names aduiſedly giuen, had either regard vnto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps, to ſome other ſpecialtie, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular vſe of wordes, that which the wiſedome of their inuentors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceiued in groſſe, as may appeare in that if you aske of the common ſort what any certaine word for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to aunſwere a Prieſt is a Cleargie man which offer the ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular perſon, whome they vſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to Grammer, wee are tolde by Maſters in thoſe Schooles, that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ φίλως προσῶπος τῆς διακονίας τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whoſe meere function or charge is the ſeruice of God. Howbeit becauſe the moſt eminent part both of *Heathenish* and *Iewiſh* ſeruice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word prieſt doth properly ſignifie *according to the mind of the firſt impoſer* of that name their ordinarie [a] Schooles doe well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church Miniſterie, how ſhoulde the name of Prieſthoodbee thereunto rightly applyed? Surely euen as Saint Paul applyeth the name of [b] *fleſh* vnto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it bee in nature another thing. Whereupon when Philoſophers will ſpeake warily, they [c] make a difference betweene fleſh in one ſort of liuing creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogie to fleſh: the Apoſtles contrariwiſe hauing matter of greater importance whereof to ſpeake, nameth indifferently both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecuritie of ſpeech call vſually the Miniſterie of the Goſpell *Prieſthoode*, in regard of that which the Goſpell hath *proportionable* to auncient ſacrifices, namely, the *Communion* of the bleſſed body and bloud of Chriſt, although it haue properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people when they heare the name, it draweth no more *their mindes* to any cogitation of ſacrifice, then the name of a Senator or of an Alderman, cauſeth them to thinke vpon olde age, or to imagine that euery one ſo termed muſt needs be auncient, becauſe yeares were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſſe by the name, let them vſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, a presbyterſhip, or a Miniſterie, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more fit

Etymol. mag.

Heſy. Chriſtus homo dicitur quia natus eſt Prophetа, quia futura reuelauit, ſacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit. Iſid. origin. lib. 7. cap. 2.

b 1. Cor. 15.

c Ἔχει δ' ἀποδίαν τὸ διυπόστατον τὸ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ ἀπτικοῦ, πότερον ἢ σὰρξ ἢ ὃν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ οὐ. *Ariſt. de Anim. l. 2. c. 11.*

ſterie it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more fit, and in proprietie of ſpeech more agreeable then *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For what are they that imbrace the Goſpell but ſonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore wee receiue the adoption and ſtate of ſonnes by their miniſterie whome God hath choſen out for that purpoſe, ſeing alſo that when we are the ſonnes of God, our continuance is ſtill vnder their care which were our porgenitors, what better title could there bee giuen them then the reuerend name of *preſbyters* or fatherly guides? The holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the new Teſtament making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet Eſay I graunt doth, but in ſuch ſort as the auncient Fathers by way of analogie. *A Presbyter* according to the proper meaning of the new Teſtament *is he vnto whome our Sauiour Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpirituall procreation.* Out of twelue Patriarkes iſſued the whole multitude of Iſrael according to the fleſh. And according to the myſterie of heauenly birth our Lords Apoſtles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarks of his whole Church. Saint Iohn therefore beheld ſitting about the throne of God in heauen [a] foure and twentie Presbyters, the one halfe Fathers of the old, [b] the other of the new Ieruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gaue them ſelues the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper, but common vnto them with others. For of Presbyters, ſome were greater, ſome leſſe in power, and that by our Sauiours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulneſſe of ſpirituall power, the leſſe they to whome leſſe was graunted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto all nations, and to deliuer them his ordinances receiued by *immediate reuelation* [c] *from himſelfe.* Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordaine and conſecrate whome ſo euer they thought meete, euen as our Sauiour did himſelfe aſſigne ſeauentie other of his owne Diſciples inferior Presbyters, whoſe commiſſion to preach and Baptiſe, was the ſame which the Apoſtles had. Whereas therefore we find that the very firſt Sermon which the Apoſtles did publikely make, was the conuerſion of aboue three thouſand ſoules, vnto whome there were euerie day more and more added, they hauing no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, thinke we that twelue were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many priuate places, as ſo great a multitude of people did require? This harueſt our Sauiour (no doubt) foreſeeing, prouided accordingly labourers for it before hand. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that the growth of that Church being ſo great and ſo ſuddaine, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſſe Presbyters enow to furniſh it. And therefore the hiſtorie doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in Ieruſalem, onely wee reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſe where. To theſe two degrees appointed of our Lord and Sauior, Chriſt his Apoſtles ſoone after annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore muſt know ſaith Cyprian, that our Lord himſelfe did elect Apoſtles, but Deacons after his aſcention into heauen the Apoſtles ordained. Deacons were ſtewards of the Church vnto whome at the firſt was committed

Eſay.66.21.
a *Reuel.4.4.*
b *Reuel.21.14. Mat.19.28.*
1.Pet.5.1.

c ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διατεταμένοις τοῖς τοιούτοις *Dionyſ. Areop. p.110*

Act.2.41.47.

Cypr.Ep.9.l.3: ad Rogatianum.

ted the distribution of Church-goods, the care of prouiding therewith for the poore, and the charge to see that all things of expence might be religiously and faithfully dealt in. A part also of their office, was attendance vpon their Presbyters at the time of diuine seruice. For which cause Ignatius, to set forth the dignitie of their calling, sayth, that they are in such case to the Bishop, as if Angelicall powers did serue him. These onely being the vses for which Deacons were first made, if the Church haue sithence extended their ministerie farther then the circuit of their labour at the first was drawn, we are not herein to thinke the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appeare some prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that libertie. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whome it seemeth a thing so monstrous, that Deacons should sometime be licensed to preach, whose institution was at the first to another ende. To charge them for this as men not contented with their owne vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth vnto others is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their owne vocation, it appertaineth now vnto them as well as others, neither is it intrusion for them to doe it being in such sort called, but rather in vs it were temeritie to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the office of teaching to be so repugnant vnto the office of Deaconship, that they cannot concurre in one and the same person? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apostles did not first discharge being teachers? Yea but the Apostles found the burthen of teaching so heauie, that they iudged it meete to cut off that other charge, and to haue Deacons which might vndertake it. Be it so. The multitude of Christians increasing in Ierusalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apostles to teach, and to minister vnto Tables also. The former was not to bee slacked, that this latter might bee followed. Therefore vnto this they appointed others. Whereupon wee may rightly ground this axiome, that when the subiect wherein one mans labours of sundrie kinds are imployed, doth waxe so great, that the same men are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before, the most naturall way to helpe this is by deuiding their charge into slipes and ordaining of vnder-officers, as our Sauiour vnder twelue Apostles, seauentie Presbyters, and the Apostles by his example seauen Deacons to bee vnder both. Neither ought it to seeme lesse reasonable, that when the same men are sufficient both to continue in that which they doe and also to vndertake somewhat more, a combination be admitted in this case, as well as diuision in the former. Wee may not therefore disallow it in the Church of Geneua, that Caluin and Beza were made both Pastors and readers of Diuinitie, being men so able to discharge both. To say they did not content themselues with their pastorall vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alleage against them, *He that exhorteth in exhortation*, as against vs, *He that distributeth in simplicitie*, is alleaged in great dislike of graunting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient custome of the Church, was to yeeld the poore much reliefe, especially widdowes. But as poore people are alwaies querulous and apt to thinke themselues lesse respected then they should be, we see that when the Apostles did what they could without hinderance to their waightier busines, yet

Ignat. Epist. ad Tral.

Rom. 12.

yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the *Grecian* widowes ſhorter commons then the Hebrewes. By meanes whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meete to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time hauing cleane worne out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſarie, it might the better bee afterwards extended to other ſeruices, and ſo remaine as at this preſent day, a degree in the Cleargie of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeuen Deacons were choſen out of the ſeuentie Diſciples is an errour in Epiphanius. For to drawe men from places of waightier vnto roomes of meaner labour had not beene fit. The Apoſtles to the ende they might followe teaching with more freedome, committed the miniſterie of Tables vnto Deacons. And ſhall we thinke they iudged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeuentie to bee miniſters vnto Tables, when Chriſt himſelfe had before made them teachers? It appeareth therefore how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order haue continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Presbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as hauing not beeing learned the Goſpell had from aboue beſtowed vppon them a ſpeciall gift of expounding Scriptures and of foreſhowing things to come. Of this ſort Agabus was, and beſides him in Ieruſalem ſundrie others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to bee reckoned with the Cleargie, becauſe no mans gifts or qualities can make him a miniſter of holy things, vnleſſe ordination doe giue him power. And wee no where finde Prophets to haue beene made by ordination, but all whome the Church did ordaine, were either to ſerue as Presbyters or as Deacons. Euangeliſts were Presbyters of principall ſufficiencie whome the Apoſtles ſent abroade, and vſed as agents in Eccleſiaſticall affaires whereſoeuer they ſaw need. They whome wee find to haue beene named in Scripture Euangeliſts a Ananias, b Apollos, c Timothie, and others were thus imployed. And concerning Euangeliſts afterwards in Troians daies, the hiſtorie Eccleſiaſticall noteth that many of the Apoſtles, Diſciples and Scholers which were then aliue, and did with ſingular loue of wiſedome affect the heauenly word of God, to ſhow their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt in ſtead of all requireth at the hands of men, they ſoulde their poſſeſſions, giue them to the poore, beeing themſelues trauailed, vndertooke the labour of Euangeliſts, that is, they painefully preached Chriſt, and deliuered the Goſpell to them, who as yet had neuer heard the doctrine of faith. Finally whome the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and teachers, what other were they then Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſeated in ſome certaine charge, and thereby differing from Euangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which haue hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions about degrees and offices of Eccleſiaſticall calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelues vpon two places, that all partialitie laide aſide they would ſincerely waigh and examine whether they haue not miſinterpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incomparable offices where nothing is meant, but ſundrie graces, gifts and habilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth, his wordes are theſe, *God placed in the Church firſt of all ſome Apoſtles, Secondly prophets, Thirdly teachers, after them pow-*

Epiph. l. 1. c. 21.

Act. 21. 10.

Act. 11. 27.

a *Act.* 9. 18.
b *Act.* 18. 24.
c 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. 9. 1. *Tim.* 3. 15. 5. 14. 2. 8

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 34.

ers, then gifts of Cures, aydes, gouernments, kinds of languages. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all teachers? Is there power in all? Haue all grace to cure? Doe all speake with tongues? Can all interpret? But bee you desirous of the better graces. They which plainely discerne first that some *one generall* thing there is which the Apostle doth here deuide into all these branches, and doe secondly conceiue that generall to bee Church offices, besides a number of other difficulties, can by no meanes possibly denie but that many of these might concurre in one man, and peraduenture in some one all, which mixture notwithstanding their forme of Discipline doth most shunne. On the other side, admit that *Communicants of speciall infused grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body the Church of Christ, are heere spoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole discourse, and see if euery thing doe not answere in due place with that fitnesse, which sheweth easily what is likeliest to haue beene meant. For why are Apostles the first but because vnto them was granted the reuelation of all truth from Christ immediatelie? Why Prophets the second, but because they had of some things knowledge in the same maner? Teachers the next, because whatsoeuer was knowne to them it came by hearing; yet God withall made them able to instruct, which euery one could not doe that was taught. After gifres of edification there follow generall habilities to worke things aboue nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to gouerne and direct by counsell, finally aptnesse to speake or interpret forraine tongues. Which graces not powred out equally, but diuersly sorted and giuen, were a cause why not onely they all did furnish vp the whole body, but each benefit and helpe other. Againe the same Apostle otherwhere in like sort, *To euery one of us is giuen grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, when he ascended vp on high he led captiuitie captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men. He therefore gaue some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the worke of the Ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.* In this place none but gifts of instruction are expresse. And because the teachers some were Euangelists which neither had any part of their knowledge by reuelation as the Prophets, and yet in habilitie to teach were farre beyond other Pastors, they are as hauing receiued one way lesse then Prophets, and another way more then teachers set accordingly betweene both. For the Apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by office or power giuen them through ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infusion of the holy Ghost. For in Christian Religion, this being the ground of our whole beliefe that the promises, which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderfull gifts and graces of the holy Ghost, wherewith the raigne of the true Messias should bee made glorious, were immediatly after our Lords ascention performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apostles did take more often occasion to speake. Out of men thus indued with gistes of the spirit vpon their conuersion to Christian faith, the Church had her ministers chosen, vnto whome was giuen Ecclesiasticall power by ordination. Now because the Apostle in reckoning degrees and varieties of grace doth

Eph 4.7. Psal.68.18.

mention

mention Paſtors and teachers, although hee mention them not in reſpect of their ordination to exerciſe the miniſterie, but as examples of men eſpecially enritcht with the gifts of the holy Ghoſt, diuers learned and skilfull men haue ſo taken it as if thoſe places did intend to teach what orders of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, there ought to bee in the Church of Chriſt, which thing we are not to learne from thence but oût of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it clearely appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolique did know but three degrees in the powen of Eccleſiaſticall order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters and Deacons, afterwards inſteade of Apoſtles Biſhops, concerning whoſe order wee are to ſpeake in the ſeuenth booke. There is an errour which begnileth many who much intangle both themſelues and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Seruices*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Eccleſiaſtieall, the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may bee executed by the Laitie, whereas none haue, or can haue the third but the Cleargie. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeeme Cleargie men, euen as the Fathers for that cauſe terme them vſually Clerkes, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp which was to bee ordered, when yeares and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laitie longer then during that worke of ſeruice, which at any time they might giue ouer, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irreuocable ordination, wee find them alwayes exactly ſeuered from that body whereof thoſe three before rehearſed orders alone are naturall parts. Touching widowes of whome ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint Paule deſcribeth may be gotten, we ought to retaine them in the Church for euer, certaine meane ſeruices there were of attendance as about women, at the time of their Baptiſme, about the bodies of the ſicke and dead, about the neceſſities of trauailers, waifaring men and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly vſe them when neede required, becauſe they liued of the almes of the Church and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes. Saint Paul doth therefore to auoide ſcandall require that none but women well experienced and vertuouſly giuen, neither any vnder threeſcore yeares of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widowes were neuer in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as virgines. But ſeing neither of them did or could receiue ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſticall perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order ſpecified and no moe. *When your captaines* (ſaith Tertullian) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops flie, who ſhall teach the Laitie, that they muſt be conſtant?* Againe *what ſhould I mention Laymen* (ſaith Optatus) *Yea or diuers of the miniſterie it ſelfe? To what purpoſe Deacons which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of prieſthood, when the verie heads and Princes of all, euen certaine of the Biſhops themſelues* were content to redeeme lieſe with the loſſe of heauen? Heapes of allegations in a caſe ſo euident and plaine are needleſſe. I may ſecutely therefore conclude that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other then the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order, namely Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, & his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelues. As for Deanes,

T.C.l.1 p.191.
1.Tim 5.9.

Tertul. de præſcript.

Optat.lib.1.

Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, Archdeacons, Chancelors, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other the like names, which being not found in Holy Scripture, wee haue beene thereby through ſome mens errour thought to allow of Eccleſiaſticall degrees not knowne, nor euer heard of in the better ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but titles of office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and partly others are in ſundrie formes and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need degrees of order ſtil continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeeme each order to vſe in the courſe of common life, both, for the grauity of his place, and for example ſake, to other men is a matter friuolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of wiſedome may ſerue to teach them how they ſhould cut their coates. But ſeeing all well ordered polities haue euer iudged it meet and fit by certaine ſpeciall diſtinct ornaments to ſeuer each ſort of men from other when they are in publike, to the end that al may receiue ſuch complements of ciuill honour, as are due to their roomes and callings, euen where their perſons are not knowne, it argueth a diſproportioned minde in them, whom ſo decent orders diſpleaſe.

Of oblations, foundations, endowments, tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certaine and ſufficiēt maintenance muſt needes by alienation of Church liuings be made fruſtrate.

79 We might ſomewhat maruaile, what the Apoſtle Saint Paul ſhould meane to ſay that couetonſneſſe is Idolatrie, if the daily practiſe of men did not ſhew that whereas nature requireth God to bee honoured with wealth, wee honour for the moſt part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our ſelues to beliue, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to vſe them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps conuert ſome ſmall contemptible portion thereof to charitable vſes, the whole dutie which wee owe vnto God herein is fully ſatisfied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God vnleſſe both our ſoules and bodies bee ſometime imployed meerely in his ſeruice, againe ſith wee know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our liues quite and cleane from our owne buſineſſe, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his, ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediatly due to God, but all our owne to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelues thinke meete? Are not our riches as well his as the dayes of our life are his? Wherefore vnleſſe with part wee acknowledge his ſupreme Dominion, by whoſe beneuolence wee haue the whole, how giue we honour to whome honour belongeth, or how hath God, the things that are Gods? I would know what nation in the world did euer honour God, and not thinke it a point of their dutie to doe him honour with their very goods. So that this wee may boldly ſet downe as a principle cleare in nature, an axiome which ought not to be called in queſtion, a truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honor God with their ſubſtance in token of thankfull acknowledgement that all they haue is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawfull maner, and by vſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelues ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering vp the ſame to him as a ſigne that wee gladly confeſſe his ſole and ſoueraigne Dominion ouer all, is a dutie which all men are bound vnto, and a part of that very worſhip of God, which as the law of God

and

and nature it ſelfe requireth, ſo wee are the rather to thinke all men no leſſe ſtrictly bound thereunto then to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the hearts of men doe ſo cleaue to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſwaye they haue in the world, impute them ſo generally either to nature or to chaunce and fortune, ſo little thinke vppon the grace and prouidence from which they come, that vnleſſe by a kind of continuall tribute wee did acknowledge Gods Dominion, it may be doubted that in ſhort time men would learne to forget whoſe tenants they are, and imagine that the world is their owne abſolute, free and independent inheritance. Now concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiueth in that ſort, we are to conſider them, partly as firſt they proceed from vs, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerue for diuine vſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towardes God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould bee as beſeemeth moſt his glory to whome wee offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſſe of Abels ſacrifice is commended, the flower of all mens increaſe aſſigned to God by *Salomon*, the gifts and donations of the people reiected as oft as their colde affection to Godward made their preſents to bee little woorth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they vnto their Gods did not thinke they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *vnſound*, or *already giuen*, or elſe *not truely their owne to giue*. Againe in regard of vſe, for as much as we know that God hath himſelfe no neede of worldly commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to haue them vſed for the endleſſe continuance of Religion, there is no place left of doubt or controuerſie, but that wee in the choyce of our gifts are to leuell at the ſame marke, and to frame our ſelues to his knowne intents and purpoſes. Whether we giue vnto God therefore that which himſelfe by commaundement requireth; or that which the publique conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot; or that which euery mans priuate deuotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which wee offer, proceedeth not onely as a teſtimonie of our affection towards God, but alſo as a meane to vpholde Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the helpe of temporall commodities, if all men bee taught of nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lyeth, to procure the perpetuity of good things, if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their wiſedome, who hauing beene founders of common-weales could deuiſe how to make the benefit they left behinde them durable, if eſpecially in this reſpect wee preferre *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the Spartan before the Athenian politie, it muſt needes follow, that as wee doe vnto God very acceptable ſeruice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſeruice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuitie. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kinde are temples. Which workes doe ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the world was in loue with Religion, it gaue to no ſort greater reuerence then to whome it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that haue built vs Synagogues*. But of Churches wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens deuotion hath added to remaine in the treaſure of Gods houſe not on-

Purum, prohibui; profanum, ſuum. Feſt. lib. 14.

ly for vſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſuall neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on earth ſubiect, and partly to the ende that while they are kept they may continually ſerue as teſtimonies, giuing all men to vnderſtand, that God hath in euerie age and nation, ſuch as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches firſt of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Ieruſalem aryſing out of voluntarie giftes and donations, were as wee commonly ſpeake *a Nemo ſcit*, the value of them aboue that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries and ſet vp, although in the wilderneſſe their habilitie could not poſſibly be great, the verie mettle of thoſe veſſels which the Princes of the twelue Tribes gaue to God for their firſt preſents amounted euen then to two thouſand and foure hundred ſhekels of Siluer, an hundred and twentie ſhekles of Gold, euery ſhekell weighing halfe an ounce. What was giuen to the temple which Salomon erected, wee may partly coniecture, when ouer and beſides woode, marble, iron, braſſe, veſtment, precious ſtones, and money, the ſum which Dauid deliuered into Salomons hands, for that purpoſe was of Gold in Maſſe eight thouſand, and of Siluer ſeauenteene thouſand Cichars, euery Cichar containing a thouſand and eight hundred ſhekels which riſeth to nine hundred ounces in euery one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount vnto 30. Cichars. After their returne out of Babylon, they were not preſently in caſe to make their ſecond temple of equall magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding what they could they did. In ſo much that the building finiſhed, there remained in the Cofers of the Church to vphold the fabrick thereof 6 hundred & 50 Cichars of ſiluer, one hundred of Golde. Whereunto was added by Nehemias of his owne gift a thouſand drammes of Golde, fiftie veſſels of Siluer, fiue hundred and thirtie Prieſts veſtments, by other the Princes of the fathers twentie thouſand drammes of Golde, two thouſand and two hundred peeces of Siluer; by the reſt of the people twentie thouſand of Golde, two thouſand of Siluer, threeſcore and ſeuen attires of Prieſts. And they furthermore bound themſelues towards other charges to giue by the Pole in what part of the world ſoeuer they ſhould dwell, the third of a Shekell, that is to ſay, the ſixt parte of an ounce yearely. [a] This out of forraine prouinces, they alwayes ſent in Golde. Whereof [b] Mithridates is ſaid to haue taken vp by the way before it could paſſe to Ieruſalem from Aſia in one aduenture eight hundred talants; Craſſus after that to haue borrowed of the temple it ſelfe eight thouſand: at which time Eleazar hauing both many other rich ornaments and all the tapeſtrie of the Temple vnder his cuſtodie, thought it the ſafeſt way to grow vnto ſome compoſition, and ſo to redeeme the reſidue by parting with a certaine beame of Gold about ſeuen hundred and a halfe in waight, a pray ſufficient for one man as hee thought who had neuer bargained with Craſſus till then, and therefore vpon the confidence of a ſolemne oath that no more ſhould bee looked for hee ſimply deliuered vp a large mortell whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed and the whole loſt. Such being the caſualties whereunto moueable treaſures are ſubiect, the law of Moſes

Num.7.85.86.

1.Chro.29.

Exod. 25.28.& 37.24. Ezr.2.68.69. Hag.2.40. Ezr.8.24.

Nehe.7.70.

Nehe.10.32

a *Cic. orat. pro L.Flac. Cum aurum Iudeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia & ex omnibus veſtris prouincijs Hieroſolymam exportari ſoleret Flaccus Sanxit edicto, ne ex Aſia exportari liceret.*
b *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib 14. cap. 12.*
c Euery talent in value 600. crownes.

ſes did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their fields and whole territories in the land of Iurie to be reſerued for God himſelfe and not onely prouide for the libertie of farther additions if men of their owne accord ſhould thinke good, but alſo for the ſafe preſeruation thereof vnto all poſterities, that no mans auarice or fraud by defeating ſo vertuous intents might diſcourage from like purpoſes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old conſiſt in lands. Furthermore ſome cauſe no doubt there is why beſides ſundry other more rare donations of vncertaine rate, the tenth ſhould be thought a reuennue ſo naturall to be allotted out vnto God. For of the ſpoiles which *Abraham* had taken in warre, he deliuered vnto *Melchiſedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Iacob* at ſuch time as he tooke his iourney towards Haran was, *If God will bee with me, and will keepe me in this voyage which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eate and clothes to put on, ſo that I may returne to my fathers houſe in ſafetie, then ſhall the Lord bee my God, and this ſtone which I haue ſet vp as a pillar, ſhe ſame ſhall be Gods houſe, and of all thou ſhalt giue me I will giue vnto thee the Tith.* And as *Abraham* gaue voluntarily, as *Iacob* vowed to giue God tithes, ſo the law of *Moyſes* did require at the hands of all men the ſelfe ſame kind of tribute, the tenth of their corne, wine, oyle, fruit, cattle and whatſoeuer increaſe his heauenly prouidence ſhould ſend. In ſo much that Painims being heerein followers of their ſteps paide Tithes likewiſe: Imagine wee that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpeciall inducement to iudge the tenth of our worldly profites the moſt conuenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the formes which giue them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter waight? *Three* being the myſticall number of Gods vnſearchable perfection within himſelfe; *ſeauen* the number whereby our owne perfections through grace are moſt ordered; and [a] *tenne* the number of natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the higheſt wee can riſe vnto without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature then by aſſigning vnto him that quantitie which is the continent of all ſhee poſſeſſeth? There are in Philo the Iew many arguments to ſhew the great congruitie and fitneſſe of this number in things conſecrated vnto God. But becauſe ouer nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſſe of holy things, I omit what might be farther obſerued as well out of others as out of him touching the quantitie of this generall ſacred tribute, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the meaneſt and the verie pooreſt amongſt men yeelding vnto God as much in proportion, as the greateſt and many times in affection more, haue this as a ſenſible token alwayes aſſuring their mindes, that in his ſight, from whome all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, diuine priuiledges and preeminences whatſoeuer, equals and peeres with them vnto whome they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects inferiours, being furthermore well aſſured that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor vnfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctifie to them againe the whole Maſſe, and that hee by receiuing a little vndertaketh to bleſſe all. In which conſideration the Iewes were accuſtomed to name their Tithes the

Num.35. Leuit.25.34. & 27.38.

Gen 14 20. Gen.28.20.

Deut.14.22.

Plin.hiſt.nat. lib.12.cap.14.

[a] *hedge*

a *Maſſoreth ſepes eſt legis, diuitiarum ſepes decimæ. R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.*

a *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge doe onely fence and preſerue that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and offerings did more, becauſe they procured increaſe of the heape, out of which they were taken. God demaundeth no ſuch debt for his owne neede, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the ſame, they hurt not him whome they wrong, and themſelues whome they thinke, they relieue, they wound, except men will happely affirme, that God did by faire ſpeeches, and large promiſes delude the world in ſaying, *Bring yee all the tithes into the ſtorehouſe, that there may bee meate in mine houſe* (deale truely, defraude not God of his due, but bring all) *and proue if I will not open vnto you the windowes of heauen, and powre downe vpon you an immeſurable bleſsing.* That which Saint Iames hath concerning the effect of our prayers vnto God, is for the moſt part of like moment in our gifts. Wee pray and obtaine not, becauſe hee which knoweth our hearts, doth ſee our deſires are euill. In like manner wee giue, and wee are not the more accepted, becauſe hee beholdeth how vnwiſely wee ſpill our gifts in the b bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing bee giuen him. But for our owne good, it alwayes behoueth that whatſoeuer wee offer vp in to his hands, wee bring it ſeaſoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthie of all honour.* With the Church of Chriſt touching theſe matters it ſtandeth as it did with the whole worlde before Moſes. Whereupon for many yeares men being deſirous to honour God in the ſame manner, as other vertuous and holy perſonages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther habilitie did ſerue by ſuch deuice as mighte cauſe their workes of pietie, to remaine alwayes, it came by theſe meanes to paſſe that the Church from time to time, had treaſure proportionable vnto the poorer or wealthier eſtate of Chriſtian men. And aſſoone as the ſtate of the Church could admit thereof, they eaſily condeſcended to thinke it moſt naturall and moſt fit, that God ſhould receiue as before of all men his ancient accuſtomed reuenewes of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and nature haue taught to conuert things temporall to eternall vſes, and to prouide for the perpetuitie of Religion, euen by that which is moſt tranſitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once aſſigned to ſuch purpoſes, the law requireth preciſely, the beſt of that wee poſſeſſe, and to preuent all damages by waye of commutation, where in ſteade of naturall commodities, or other rights, the price of them might bee taken, the law of Moyſes determined their rates, and the payments to bee alwayes made by the ſicle of the Sanctuarie, wherein there was great aduantage of waight about the ordinarie currant ſicle. The trueſt and ſureſt way for God to haue alwayes his owne, is by making him payment in kind out of the very ſelfe ſame riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may bee without inconuenience, is for euerie mans conſcience ſake. That which commeth from God to vs, by the naturall courſe of his prouidence, which we know to bee innocent and pure, is perhaps beſt accepted, becauſe leaſt ſpotted with the ſtaine of vnlawfull, or indirect procurement. Beſides, whereas prices dayly change, nature which commonly is one, muſt needes bee the moſt indifferent and permanent ſtandard betweene God and

Mal. 3.

b *Nemo libenter debet quod non vccepit ſed expreſſit. Sen. de benef. li. 1. ca. 1.*

Leuit. 27. 25.

and man. But the maine foundation of all, whereupon the ſecuritie of theſe things dependeth, as farre as any thing may bee aſcertained amongſt men is, that the title and right which man had in euerie of them before donation, doth by the act, and from the time of any ſuch donation, or dedication, or grant remaine the proper poſſeſſion of God till the worlds end, vnleſſe himſelfe renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equitie haue taught vs, that euery one ought to enioy his owne; that what is ours, no other can alienate from vs but what our [a] owne [b] deliberate conſent; finally that no man hauing paſt his conſent or deede may [c] change it to the preiudice of any other, ſhould wee preſume to deale with God worſe then God hath allowed any man to deale with vs? Albeit therefore wee bee now free from the law of Moyſes, and conſequently not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes, yet becauſe nature hath taught men to honour God with their ſubſtance, and Scripture hath left vs an example of that particular proportion, which for morall conſiderations hath beene thought fitteſt, by him whoſe wiſdome could beſt iudge, furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entered into like obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe dayes a queſtion altogether vaine and ſuperfluous, whether Tithes bee a matter of diuine right: becauſe howſoeuer at the firſt, it might haue beene thought doubtfull, our caſe is clearely the ſame now with theirs vnto whome Saint Peter ſometime ſpake ſaying. *While it was whole, it was whole thine?* When our Tithes might haue probably ſeemed our owne, wee had colour of libertie to vſe them as wee our ſelues ſaw good. But hauing made them his whoſe they are, let vs bee warned by other mens example what it is ἱεροσυλεῖν, to waſh or clip that coyne which hath on it the marke of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that hee doth himſelfe ſo reckon them, appeareth by the forme of his owne ſpeeches. Touching giftes and oblations, *Thou ſhalt giue* them *me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My houſe* ſhall be called the houſe of prayer; touching tithes, *Will a man ſpoyle God?* Yet behold euen mee your God ye haue [d] *ſpoyled*, notwithſtanding yee aske wherein as though yee were ignorant, what iniurie there hath beene offered in *Tithes*, ye are heauily accurſed, becauſe with a kinde of publique conſent yee haue ioyned your ſelues in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſſe of your offence to bee euery mans particular iuſtification; touching lands, *Yee ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God onely thus ordaine amongſt the Iewes, but the very purpoſe, intent, and meaning of all that haue honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inueſt him with the propertie of thoſe benefits, the vſe whereof muſt needes bee committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtile of auncient graunts and Charters is, *Wee haue giuen vnto God both for vs and our heires for euer.* Yea we know ſaith Charles the great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God, we offer and dedicate whatſoeuer wee deliuer vnto his Church.* Whereupon the lawes imperiall doe likewiſe deuide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of nature indifferently vnto euerie man, ſome to bee the certaine goods and poſſeſſions of common-weales ſome to appertaine vnto ſeuerall corporations or companies of men, ſome to bee priuately mens owne in particular, and ſome to bee ſeperated

a *L.11 de reg. iur.*

b *Cuius per errorem data repetitio eſt, eius conſulto dati donatio eſt lib.1.D. de cond.indeb.* This the ground of *Conſideration* in alienations from man to man.

c *Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius preiudicium. lib.75. de reg.iur. Act.5.4.*

Exod.32.29.30. Mat.21.13. Mal.3.8.

d *Non videntur rem admittere quibus propria non ſuit lib.83. de reg.iur.*

Ezech.45.1.4.

Mag.char.cap.1

Capitul.Caroli. lib.6.cap.284.

seperated quite [a] from all men, which last branch compriseth things sacred and holy, because thereof God alone is owner. The sequell of which receiued opinion as well without as within the walles of the house of God touching such possessions hath beene euer, that there is not an act more honourable then by all meanes to amplifie and to defend the patrimonie of Religion, not any more [d] impious and hatefull then to impaire those possessions which men in former times, when they gaue vnto holy vses, were wont at the altar of God, and in presence of their Ghostly superiours to make as they thought inuiolable by words of fearefull execration, saying, *These things wee offer to God from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man wil attempt to do) but if any shall, let his accompt be without fauour in the last day, when he commeth to receiue the doome which is due for sacrisledge against that Lord and God, vnto whome we dedicate the same.* The best and most renoumed Prelats of the Church of Christ haue in this consideration rather sustained the wrath, then yeelded to satisfie the hard desire of their greatest commaunders on earth, coueting with ill aduise and counsell that which they willingly should haue suffered God to inioye. There are of Martyrs, whome posteritie doth much honour for that hauing vnder their hands the custodie of such [e] treasures they could by vertuous delusion inuent how to saue them from pray, euen when the safetie of their owne liues they gladly neglected, as one sometime an Archdeacon vnder Xystus the Bishop of Rome did, whome when his iudge vnderstoode to bee one of the Church stewards, thirst of bloud began to slake, and another humor to worke, which first by a fauourable countenance, and then by quiet speech did thus calmely disclose it selfe; *You that professe the Christian Religion make great complaint of the wonderfull cruelties wee shew towardes you. Neither peraduenture altogether without cause. But for my selfe, I am farre from any such bloudy purpose. Tee are not so willing to liue, as I vnwilling that out of these lippes should proceed any capitall sentence against you. Your Bishops are said to haue rich vesselles of gold and siluer, which they vse in the exercise of their Religion, besides, the fame is that numbers sell away their landes and liuings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers, by which meanes the deuotion that maketh them, and their whole posteritie poore must needes mightily inrich you, whose God wee knowe was no coiner of money, but left behinde him many holesome and good precepts, as namely, that Cæsar should haue of you the things that are fit for, and due to Cæsar. His warres are costly and chargeable vnto him. That which you suffer to rust in corners, the affaires of the common wealth doe neede. Your profession is not to make account of things transitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forgo that which ye care not for, I dare vndertake to warrant you both safetie of life, and freedome of vsing your conscience, a thing more acceptable to you then wealth.* Which faire parlie the happie Martyr quietly hearing and perceiuing it necessarie to make some shift for the safe concealement of that which being now desired was not vnlikely to bee more narrowly afterwards sought, hee craued respite for three dayes to gather the riches of the Church together, in which space against the time the Gouernour should come to the doores of the Temple, bigge with hope to receiue his pray, a miserable ranke of poore lame and impotent persons was prouided, their names deliuered him vp in writing as a true inuentory of the Churches goods

[a] *Nullius autem sunt res sacræ & religiosæ & sanctæ. Quod enim diuini iuris est id nullius in bonis est. Iustit. lib. 2. tit. 1.*

[d] *Sch cum Dyt sacrilegi pugnant. Cart. l. 7. Sacrum sacroue commendatum qui dempserit rapsit vi aut perricida esto. leg. 12. tab. Capitul. Carul. lib. 6. cap. 285.*

[e] *Deposita pietatis Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Peristeph.*

goods and ſome few words vſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe treaſures. If men did not naturally abhorre ſacriledge to reſiſt or to deſeat ſo impious attemptes would deſerue ſmall prayſe. But ſuch is the generall deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that wheras nothing doth either in peace or war more vphold mens reputation then proſperous ſucceſſe, becauſe in common conſtruction vnleſſe notorious improbitie bee ioyned with proſperitie it ſeemeth to argue fauor with God, they which once haue ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoiles do therby faſten vnto al their actions an eternal preiudice, in reſpect wherof for that it paſſeth through the world as an vndoubted rule & principle that ſacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoeuer afterward they vndertake if they proſper in it men recken it but *Dionyſius* his nauigation, and if any thing befal them otherwiſe it is not, as cõmonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great vncertainty of caſual euents wherin the prouidence of God doth control the purpoſes of men oftentimes much more for their good then if al things did anſwere fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the world is euer directly againſt them both [a] bitter and peremptorie. To make ſuch actions therefore leſſe odious, and to mitigate the enuy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inuentions haue beene vſed, as if the world did hate onely Woolues and thinke the Foxe a goodly creature. The time [b] it may bee will come when they that either violently haue ſpoyled or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall finde they did but deceiue themſelues. In the meane while there will bee alwayes ſome skilful perſons which can teach away how to grind treatably the Church with iawes that ſhall ſcarſe mooue, and yet deuoure in the end more then they that come rauening with open mouth, as if they would worrie the whole in an inſtant; others alſo who hauing waſtfully eaten out their own patrimony, would be glad to repaire, if they might their decayed eſtates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whome, ſo the ſpoyle were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeede, yet commonly they are men borne vnder that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how as vnapt to enrich themſelues as they are ready to impouerish others, it is their lot to ſuſtaine during life both the miſerie of beggars, and the infamie of robbers. But though no other plague and reuenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy thinges, the naturall ſecret diſgrace and ignominie, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe vnderſtanding heart is it ſelfe a [b] heauy puniſhment. Men of vertuous qualitie are by this ſufficiently moued to beware how they anſwere and requite the mercies of God with iniuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church that they may in no caſe bee ſeyzed on by men, or that no obligation commerce and bargaine made betweene man and man, can euer bee of force to alienate the propertie which God hath in them. Certaine caſes I graunt there are wherein it is not ſo darke what God himſelfe doth warrant, but that wee may ſafely preſume him as willing to forgoe for our benefite, as alwayes to vſe and conuert to our benefite whatſoeuer our religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely vnder the name of that which may bee, many thinges that ſhoulde not bee are often done. By meanes whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath ſtanell, and whereas the vſuall ſaw of olde was *Glaucus his*

[a] *Nouimus multa regna, & regeſ eorum propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliauerunt reſq; earum vaſtauerunt, alienauerunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſq; & ſacerdotibus, atque quod maius eſt Eccleſijs eorum abſtulerunt, & paganis tribus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, ſed terga multi vulnerati et plagis interfecti verterunt, regnaque & regiones & quod prius eſt regna celeſtia perdiderunt, atque proprijs hereditatibus caruerunt & baſtennis carent. Verba Carol. mag. in Capitul. Carol. l. 7. c. 104.*

[b] *Tyrne tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum Intactis Pallanta & cum ſpolia ista diem oderit. Virgil. Aen. lib. 10.*

[b] *ὁ γὰρ πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἱκανὴν ζημίαν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἐπιφέρει. Demoſt. Panamin dico legum, quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident. Cic. Offic. lib. 3. Impunita tu credis eſſe quæ iniuſta ſunt? aut vllum ſupplicium grauius exiſtimas publico odio? Senec. de benef. l. 3. c. 37.*

his chaunge, the Prouerbe is now *A Church bargaine*. And for feare leſt couetouſneſſe alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not to be able to make hauocke of the houſe of God with that expedition which the mortall enemie thereof did vehemently wiſh, hee hath by certaine ſtrong inchauntmentes ſo deepely bewicht religion it ſelfe as to make it in the end an earneſt ſollicitor, and an eloquent perſwader of ſacriledge, vrging confidently, that the verie beſt ſeruice which men of power can doe to Chriſt, is without any more ceremonie, to ſweepe all, and to leaue the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt borne, that fulneſſe of bread hauing made the children of the houſhoulde wanton, it is without any ſcruple to be taken away from them, and throwne to dogges, that they which laide the prices of their landes as offeringes at the Apoſtles feete, did but ſowe the ſeedes of ſuperſtition; that they which endowed Churches with landes, poyſoned Religion, that Tithes and oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed blood of Goates, that if we giue him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe, that *Irenæus Polycarps* Diſciple ſhould not haue ſayd, *We offer vnto God our goods as tokens of thankefulneſſe for that wee receiue*, neither Origen, *Hee which worſhippeth God muſt by gifts and oblations acknowledge him the Lorde of all*; in a worde, that to giue vnto God is error, reformation of error, to take from the Church, that which the blindnes of former ages did vnwiſely giue. By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions receyued with all ioy, and with like ſedulitie practiſed in certaine partes of the Chriſtian worlde they haue brought to paſſe, that as Dauid doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazard to bee verified concerning the whole religion and ſeruice of God. *The time thereof may peraduenture fall out to bee threeſcore and tenne yeares, or if ſtrength doe ſerue vnto foureſcore, what followeth, is likely to be ſwell dry for them whatſoeuer they be that beholde it.* Thus haue the beſt thinges beene ouerthrowne, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of aduerſaries, as through defect of counſell, in them that ſhould haue vpholde and defended the lame.

Irene. lib. 4. 34. Orig. in 18. Num. hom. 11.

Pſal. 90. 10.

Of ordinations lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their quality is, that enter into holy orders.

80 There are in a miniſter of God theſe foure thinges to bee conſidered, his ordination which giueth him power to meddle with thinges ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted vnto him for exerciſe of his office, the performance of his dutie, according to the exigence of his charge, and laſtly the maintenance which in that reſpect hee receiueth. All eccleſiaſticall lawes and Canons which either concerne the beſtowing or the vſing of the power of miniſteriall order, haue relation to theſe foure. Of the firſt wee haue ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more conuenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſticall duties, as the bodie of the people muſt needes bee ſeuered by diuers precincts, ſo the Clergie likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth country people, came to bee vſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and vnbeleeuers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch cities had their Eccleſiaſticall Colledges conſiſting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their delegates the Euangeliſtes did both ordaine and gouerne. Such were the Colledges of Ieruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, and the reſt where

the Apostles are knowne to haue planted the faith and religion. Now because religion and the cure of soules was their generall charge in common ouer all that were euery where, neither had any one Presbyter his seuerall cure apart, till *Euaristus* Bishop in the Sea of Rome about the yeare 112. began to assigne precincts vnto euery Church or title which the Christians helde, and to appoint vnto each Presbyter a certaine compasse whereof himselfe shoulde take charge alone, the commodiousnesse of this deuision caused all parts of Christendome to follow it, and at the length amongst the rest our owne Churches, about the yeare 636. became diuided in like manner. But other distinction of Churches, there doth not appeare any in the Apostles writinges saue onely, according to those [a] Cities wherein they planted the Gospell of Christ, and erected ecclesiasticall Colledges. Wherefore to ordaine [b] *vbique*, throughout euerie Citie and [c] *per omnia*, throughout euery Church, doe in them signifie the same thing. Churches then neither were, nor couldebee in so conuenient sorte limited as now they are, first by the bounds of each state, and then within each state by more particular precincts, till at the length we discend vnto seuerall congregations termed *Parishes* with farre narrower restraint, then this name at the first was vsed. And from hence hath growne their errour, who as oft as they reade of the dutie which Ecclesiasticall persons are now to performe towardes the Church, their manner is alwayes to vnderstand by that Church, some particular congregation, or parish Church. They suppose that there shoulde now be no man of ecclesiasticall order which is not tyed to some certaine parish. Because the names of all Church officers are wordes of relation, because a shepheard must haue his flocke, a teacher his schollers, a minister his companie which hee ministreth vnto, therefore it seemeth a thing in their eyes absurd and vnreasonable, that any man shoulde bee ordained a minister, otherwise then onely for some particular congregation. Perceiue they not how by this meane they make it vnlawfull for the Church to imploy men at all, in conuerting nations? For if so be the Church may not lawfully admit to an ecclesiasticall function, vnlesse it tie the partie admitted vnto some particular parish, then surely a thankelesse labour it is, whereby men seeke the conuersion of infidels, which know not Christ, and therefore cannot be as yet diuided into their speciall congregations and flockes. But to the ende it may appeare howe much this one thing amongst many more hath beene mistaken, there is first no precept requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in such sort, and not otherwise. Albeit therefore the Apostles did make them in that order, yet is not their example such a law as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Againe, if we will consider that which the Apostles themselues did, surely no man can iustly say that herein wee practise any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordayned onely in each Christian City, a colledge of Presbyters and Deacons to administer holy things. *Euaristus* did a hundred yeares after the birth of our Sauiour Christ, begin the distinction of the Church into parishes. Presbyters and Deacons hauing beene ordayned before to exercise ecclesiasticall functions, in the Church of Rome promiscuously, hee was the first that tyed them each one to his owne station. So that

a *Act.*15.36. *Apoc.*1.20.
b *Tit.*1.6.
c *Act.*14.23.

of the two indefinite ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, doth come more neere the Apoſtles example, and the tying of them to bee made onely for particular congregations may ſtabler grounde it ſelfe vpon the example of Eutaxius then of any Apoſtle of Chriſt. Inbath beene the opinion of wiſe men and good men heeretofore, that nothing was euer deuiſed more ſingularlie beneficiall vnto Gods Church then this which our honorable predeceſſors haue to their endleſſe prayſe founde out by erecting ſuch houſes of ſtudie, as thoſe two moſt famous Vniuerſities doe containe, and by prouiding that choyce wittes after reaſonable time ſpent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy vocation for which they haue beene ſo long nouriſhed and brought vp, or elſe giue place and ſuffer others to ſucceed in their roomes, that ſo the Church may bee alwayes furniſhed with a number of men, whoſe habilitie being firſt knowne by publique triall in Church-labours there where men can beſt iudge of them, their calling afterwardes vnto particular charge abroade may bee according. All this is fruſtrate, thoſe worthy foundations wee muſt diſſolue, their whole deuiſe and religious purpoſe which did erect them is made voyde, their orders and ſtatutes are to bee cancelled and diſanulled, in caſe the Church be forbidden to graunt any power of order, vnleſſe it bee with reſtraint to the party ordained vnto ſome particular Pariſh or congregation. Nay might we not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their ordination is vnto neceſſarie locall reſtraint a thing oppoſite and repugnant? The Emperour Iuſtinian doth ſay of Tutors *Iuſt. lib. 1. tit. 14. §4.* *Certe rei vel cauſæ tutor dari non poteſt quia perſonæ non cauſa vel rei tutor datur.* How that ſhould graunt a tutorſhip reſtrayning his grant to ſome one certaine thing or cauſe ſhoulde doe but idly, becauſe tutours are giuen for perſonall defence generally, and not for meneging of a few particular thinges or cauſes. So he that ordaining a Presbyter or a Deacon ſhould in the forme of ordination reſtraine the one or the other to a certaine place, might with much more reaſon bee thought to vſe a vaine and a friuoulous addition then they reaſonable to require ſuch locall reſtraint as a thing which muſt of neceſſitie concurre euermore with all lawfull ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by ordination conſecrated vnto places, but vnto functions. In which reſpect and in no other it is, that ſith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed vnto God, ſeuered and ſanctified to bee imployed in his ſeruice, which is the higheſt aduancement that mortall creatures on earth can bee rayſed vnto the Church of Chriſt hath not beene acquainted in former ages with any ſuch prophane and vnnaturall cuſtome as doth hallow men with Eccleſiaſticall functions of order onely for a time and then diſmiſſe them againe to the common affaires of the worlde. Whereas contrariwiſe from the place or charge where that power hath beene exerciſed, we may bee by ſundrie good and lawfull occaſions tranſlated, retaining neuertheleſſe the ſelfe ſame power which was firſt giuen. It is ſome griefe to ſpende thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath ſo little grounde to vphold it, eſpecially ſith they themſelues that teach it doe not ſeeme to giue thereonto any great credite, if wee may iudge their minds by their actions. There are amongſt them that haue done the worke of eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſometime in the families of noble

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men, ſometime in much more publique and frequent congregations, there are that haue ſucceſſiuely gone thorowe, perhaps ſeuen or eight particular Churches after this ſort, yea ſome that at one and the ſame time haue beene, ſome which at this preſent houre, are in reall obligation of eccleſiaſticall dutie and poſſeſſion of commoditie thereto belonging, euen in ſundrie particular Churches within the land, ſome there are amongſt them which will not ſo much abridge their libertie, as to bee faſtned or tyed vnto any place, ſome which haue bound themſelues to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, haue afterwards voluntarily giuen other places, the like experience and triall of them. All this I preſume they would not doe if their perſwaſion were as ſtrict as their words pretend. But for the auoyding of theſe and ſuch other the like confuſions as are incident into the cauſe and queſtion whereof we preſently treate, there is not any thing more materiall, then firſt to ſeparate exactly the nature of the miniſterie, from the vſe and exerciſe thereof; Secondly to knowe that the onely true and proper acte of ordination is to inueſt men with that power which doeth make them miniſters by conſecrating their perſons to God, and his ſeruice in holy thinges during terme of life, whether they exerciſe that power or no, thirdly that to giue them a title or charge where to vſe their miniſterie, concerneth not the making but the placing of Gods miniſters, and therefore the lawes which concerne onely their election or admiſſion vnto place of charge, are not applyable to infringe any way their ordination, fourthly that as oft as any auncient conſtitution, lawe or Canon is alleadged, concerning either ordinations, or elections, wee forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe bee the ſame which the auncient was, or elſe doe containe ſome iuſt reaſon for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame rules which former affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the queſtion of making miniſters without *a title*, which to doe they ſay is a thing vnlawfull, they ſhould at the very firſt haue conſidered what the name of *title* doth imploie, and what affinitie or coherence ordinations haue with titles, which thing obſerued woulde plainely haue ſhewed them their owne errour. They are not ignorant that when they ſpeake of a title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of charge wherein a miniſter doth execute his office, requireth ſome houſe of God for the people to reſorte vnto, ſome definite number of ſoules vnto whome hee there adminiſtreth holy thinges, and ſome certaine allowance whereby to ſuſtaine life; that the fathers at the firſt named *Oratories*, and houſes of prayer, titles, thereby ſignifying howe God was intereſſed in them and helde them as his owne poſſeſſions. But becauſe they knowe that the Church had miniſters before Chriſtian temples and oratories were, therefore ſome of them vnderſtand by a title, a *definite congregation* of people onely, and ſo deeme that any ordination is lawfull which maketh miniſters that haue no certayne flocke to attende, forgetting how the ſeuentie whome Chriſt himſelfe did ordayne miniſters had their calling in that maner, whereas yet no certayne charge coulde bee giuen them. Others referring the name of a title, eſpecially to the *maintenance* of the miniſter infringe all ordinations made, except they which receiue orders bee firſt inſteled

a Vnlawful to ordaine a Miniſter without a title Abſtrac. p. 243. & p. 246. The law requireth that euery one admitted vnto orders hauing for his preſent reliefe ſome Eccleſiaſticall benefice ſhold alſo haue ſome other title vnto ſome annuall rent or penſion whereby he might bereliued in caſe he were not able through infirmity ſickneſs or other lawfull impediment to execute his Eccleſiaſticall office and function.

teled to a competent Ecclesiasticall benefice and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present title to some such benefice they haue likewise some other title of annuall rent or pension whereby they may bee relieued in case through infirmitie sickenesse or other lawfull impediment they growe vnable to execute their Ecclesiasticall function. So that euery man lawfully ordained must bring a bow which hath two strings, a title of present right and another to prouide for future possibilitie or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide by misconceiuing the true purpose of certaine Canons, which indeede haue forbidden to ordaine a Minister without a title, not that simplie it is vnlawfull so to ordaine, but because it might growe to an inconuenience, if the Church did not somewhat restraine that libertie. For seeing they which haue once receiued ordination, cannot againe returne into the worlde, it behoueth them which ordaine, to foresee how such shall bee afterwarder able to liue, least their pouerty and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredite of their calling. Which euill preuented, those very lawes which in that respect forbid, doe expresly admit ordinations to bee made at large, and without title, namely, if the partie so ordained haue of his owne for the sustenance of this life, or if the Bishop which giueth him orders will find him competent allowance till some place of ministration, from whence his maintenance may arise, bee prouided for him, or if any other sure and sufficient meanes bee had against the daunger before mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any auncient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to bee with vs in force doth make ordinations at large vnlawfull, and as the state of the Church doth stand, they are most necessarie. If there be any confidence in men touching that which they write or speake, let them consider as well what the present condition of all thinges doth now suffer, as what the ordinances of former ages did appoint, as well the waight of those causes, for which our affaires haue altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our Fathers and predecessors did sometime strictly and seuerely keepe that which for vs to obserue now is neither meete nor alwayes possible. In this our present cause and controuersie, whether any not hauing title of right to a benefice may bee lawfully ordained a Minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a benefice doth signifie some standing Ecclesiasticall reuennue taken out of the treasure of God, and allotted to a spirituall person, to the ende hee may vse the same and inioy it as his owne for terme of life, vnlesse his default cause depriuation, the Clergie for many yeares after Christ had no other benefices, but onely their Canonicall portions or monethly diuidendes allowed them according to their seuerall degrees and qualities out of the common stocke of such gifts oblations and tithes as the fervour of Christian pietie did then yeelde? Yea that euen when Ministers had their Churches and flockes assigned vnto them in seuerall, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till such time as Bishops and Churches Cathedrall being sufficiently endowed with landes, other Presbyters enioyed in steade of their first benefices the tithes and profits of their own congregations whole to themselues? Is it not manifest that in this Realme, and so in other the like Dominions, where

where the tenure of landes is altogether grounded on militarie lawes, and holde as of see vnder Princes which are not made heades of the people by force of voluntarie election, but borne the soueraigne Lordes of those whole and intire territories, which territories their famous progenitors obtayning by way of conquest retayned what they would in their owne handes, and diuided the rest to others with reseruation of soueraignty and capitall interest, the building of Churches and consequently the assigning of either parishes or benefices, was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principall owners of lande, in which consideration for their more encouragement heeretvnto they which did so farre benefite the Church had by common consent graunted, (as great equitie and reason was) a right for them and their heires till the worldes ende to nominate in those benefices men whose qualitie the Bishoppe allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest that from hence ineuitable such inequalitie of Parishes hath growne as causeth some through the multitude of people which haue resort vnto one Church to bee more then any one man can wielde, and some to bee of that nature by reason of Chappels annext, that they which are incumbents should wrong the Church, if so bee they had not certaine stipendaries vnder them, because where the corps of the profit or benefice is but one, the title can bee but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reason whereby it may clearely appeare how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit ordinations without title, this little may suffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations against it are out of ancient Canons, how vnlike their confident affeuerations that onely through negligence of Popish Prelates the custome of making such kinde of Ministers hath preuailed in the Church of Rome against their Canons, and that with vs it is expressly against the lawes of our owne gouernment, when a Minister doth serue as a stipendarie Curate, which kind of seruice neuertheless the greatest Rabbins of that part doe altogether follow. For howsoeuer they are loth peraduenture to bee named Curates, stipendaries they are, and the labour they bestow, is in other mens Cures, a thing not vnlawfull for them to doe, yet vnseemly for them to condemne which practise it. I might here discouer the like ouersight throughout all their discourses made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishoppe may lawfully ordaine. But because we haue otherwhere at large disputed of popular elections, and of the right of Patronage wherein is drowned whatsoeuer the people vnder any pretence or colour may seeme to challenge about admission and choice of the Pastors that shall feede their soules, I cannot see what one dutie there is which alwayes ought to go before ordination, but only care of the parties worthinesse as well for integritie and vertue, as knowledge, yea for vertue more in as much as defect of knowledge may sundrie wayes bee supplied, but the scandall of vitious and wicked life is a deadly euill.

81 The truth is that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefolde blot or blemish of norable ignorance, vnconscionable absence from the cures whereof men haue charge, and vnfainable hunting after

ſpirituall preferments without eyther care or conſcience of the publique good. Whereof to the end that wee may conſider as in Gods owne light and preſence with all vprightnes, ſincerities and truth, let vs particularly waigh and examine in euery of them, firſt how far forth they are reprouceable by reaſons and maximes of common right; ſecondly whether that which our lawes doe permit, bee repugnant to thoſe maximes, and with what equitie we ought to iudge of things practiſed in this caſe, neyther on the one hand defending that which muſt bee acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whome wee liſt for whatſoeuer wee diſallow. Touching argumentes therefore taken from the principles of common right to proue that miniſters ſhoulde bee [a] learned, that they ought to bee [b] reſident vpon their liuinges, and that [c] more then one onely benefice or ſpirituall liuing may not bee graunted vnto one man, the firſt becauſe Saint Paule requireth in a miniſter habilitie to teach, to conuince, to diſtribute the worde rightly, becauſe alſo the Lorde himſelfe hath proteſted they ſhall bee no Prieſtes to him which haue reiected knowledge, and becauſe if the blinde leade the blinde, they muſt both needes fall into the pitte; the ſeconde becauſe teachers are ſhepheardes whoſe flockes can bee at no time ſecure from daunger, they are watchmen whome the enemie doth alwayes beſiege, their labours in the worde and Sacramentes admit no intermiſſion, their dutie requireth inſtruction and conference with men in priuate, they are the liuing oracles of God, to whome the people muſt reſort for counſell, they are commaunded to bee paternes of holineſſe, leaders, feeders, ſuperuiſors amongſt their owne, it ſhould bee their griefe, as it was the Apoſtles to bee abſent though neceſſarily from them ouer whome they haue taken charge; finally the laſt, becauſe plura linie and reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one clarke in two Churches is a point of marchandiſe and filthie gaine, becauſe no man can ſerue two maiſters, becauſe euery one ſhould remaine in that vocation whereto hee is called, what conclude they of all this? Againſt ignorance, againſt non-reſidence, and againſt pluralitie of liuinges, is there any man ſo raw and dull, but that the volumes which haue beene written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentifull a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is *generally* iuſt and requiſite, wee meaſure what knowledge there ſhoulde bee in a miniſter of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the argumentes which light of nature offereth, the lawes and ſtatutes which ſcripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synodes, the decrees and conſtitutions of ſincereſt times, the ſentences of antiquities, and in a worde euen euery mans full conſent and conſcience is againſt ignorance in them that haue charge and cure of ſoules. Agayne what anayleth it if wee bee learned and not faithfull? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there bee in vs ſufficiencie without endeuour or care to doe that good which our place exacteth? Touching the paynes and induſtrie therefore wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attende the worke of their heauenly calling, euen as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeuour, without eyther fraud, ſophiſtication or guyle, I ſee not what more effectuall obligation or bonde of dutie there ſhoulde bee vrged, then their owne onely vowe ad promiſe made vnto God himſelfe, at the time of their ordinati-

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a *T.C.1.Ip.70.*
b *66.*
c *69.*
1.Tim.3.2.
Tit.1.9.
2.Tim.2.15.
Hoſ.4.6.
Mat.15.14.
Luc.2.8.
Act.20.2.
1.Sam.1.19.
1.Tim.4.12.
Job.10.4.
1.Pet.5.2.
Act.20.28.
1.Theſſ.2.17.
Concill.Nicæ c.
15.
Mat.6.24.
1.Cor.7.24.

on. The work which they haue vndertaken requireth both care and feare. Their sloth that negligently performe it maketh them subiect to malediction. Besides wee also know, that the fruite of our paynes in this function is life both to our selues and others. And doe wee yet needs inducementes to labour? Shall we stoppe our eares both against those coniuring exhortations which Apostles, and against the fearefull comminations which Prophetes haue vttered out of the mouth of God, the one for preuention, the other for reformation of our sluggishnesse in this behalfe? Saint Paul, *attend to your selues, and to all the flocke, wherevnto the holy ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feede the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne blood. I charge thee before God and the Lorde Iesus Christ, which shall iudge the quicke and the dead at his comming, preach the worde, be instant. Ieremie, Woe vnto the Pastors that destroy and scatter the sheepe of my Pasture, I will visite vpon you the wickednesse of your workes, saith the Lorde, the remnante of my sheepe, I will gather together out of all Countryes, and will bring them againe to their folde, they shall growe and increase, and I will set vp shepheardes ouer them, which shall feede them. Ezechiel, Should not the shepheardes, should they not feede the flockes? Yee eate the fat, and yee clothe your selues with the wooll, but the weake yee haue not strengthened, the sicke yee haue not cured, neyther haue yee bounde vp the broken, nor brought home againe that which was driuen away, yee haue not inquired after that which was lost, but with crueltie and rigor yee haue ruled. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, I will require my sheepe at their hands, nor shall the shepheardes feede themselues any more, for I will deliuer my sheepe from their mouthes, they shall no more deuoure them.* Now let vs thinke to excuse our selues, if happely wee labour, though it bee at randome, and sit not altogether idle abroade. For we are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Christ, whereof the holy Ghost hath made vs ouerseers. The residence of ministers vpon their owne peculiar charge, is by so much the rather necessarie, for that absenting themselues from the place where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their handes, nor reape the comfort which sweeteneth life to them that spend it in these trauayles vpon their owne. For it is in this as in all things else, which are through priuate interest dearer, then what concerneth either others wholly, or vs but in parte, and according to the rate of a generall regarde. As for pluralitie, it hath not onely the same inconueniences which are obserued to grow by absence, but ouer and besides at the least in common construction, a shew of that worldly humour which men doe thinke should not raigne so high. Now from hence their collections are as followeth, first a repugnancie or contradiction betweene the principles of common right, and that which our lawes in speciall considerations haue allowed, secondly a nullitie or frustration of all such acts, as are by them supposed opposite to those principles, an invaliditie in all ordinations of men vnable to preach, and in all dispensations which mitigate the law of common right for the other two. And why so? Forsooth, because whatsoeuer wee doe in these three cases, and not by vertue of common right, we must yeelde it of necessitie done by warrant of peculiar right or priuiledge. Now a priuiledge is saide to be that, that for fauour of certaine persons commeth forth *against* common right; things *prohibited* are dispensed with because thinges

Iam. 1

Act. 10 29.

Ier. 23. 2.

Ezech. 34. 2.

Abstract. p. 117.

permit-

permitted are dispatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require dispensations. By which descriptions of a priuiledge and dispensation it is (they say) apparent, that a priuiledge must licence and authorise the same which the law against ignorance, non-residence and pluralitie doth infringe, and so bee a law contrariant or repugnant to the law of nature, and the law of God, because all the reasons whereunto the positiue law of man against these three was first established are taken and drawne from the law of nature and the law of God. For answere whereupon wee will but lead them to answere themselues. First therefore if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the selfe same subiect to bee meant on both partes where opposition is pretended it will follow, that either the maximes of common right do inforce *the very same things* not to be good which we say are good grounding of our selues on the reasons, by vertue whereof our priuiledges are established, or if the one doe not reach vnto that *particular subiect* for which the other haue prouided, then is there no contradiction betweene them. In all contradictions, if the one parte be true, the other eternally must bee false. And therefore if the principles of common right, doe at any time truely inforce *that particular*, not to be good, which priuiledges make good, it argueth inuincible, that such priuiledges haue beene grounded vpon some error. But to say that euery priuiledge is opposite vnto the principles of common right, because it dispenseth with that which common right doth prohibite) hath grosse absurditie. For the voyce of equitie and iustice is that a generall lawe doth neuer derogate from a speciall priuiledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall law being in force should alwayes dissolue a priuiledge. The reason why many are deceiued by imagining that so it should doe, and why men of better insight conclude directly it shoulde not, doth rest in the *subiect or matter* it selfe, which matter *indefinitely* considered in lawes of common right is in priuiledges considered *as beset and limited with speciall circumstances*, by meanes whereof to them which respect it, but by way of generalitie it seemeth one and the same in both, although it bee not the same, if once wee discend to particular consideration thereof. Preceptes doe alwayes propose perfection, not such as none can attaine vnto, for then in vaine should wee aske or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must ayme at, to the ende that as largely as humaine prouidence, and care can extende it, it may take place. Morall lawes are the rules of politique, those politique, which are made to order the whole Church of God, rules vnto all particular Churches, and the lawes of euerie particular Church, rules vnto euery particular man, within the body of the same Church. Now because the higher we ascend in these rules, the further still wee remoue from those specialities, which being proper to the subiect, whereupon our actions must worke are therefore chiefly considered by vs, by them least thought vpon that wade altogether in the two first kindes of generall directions, their iudgement cannot be exact and sounde, concerning eyther lawes of Churches or actions of men in particular, because they determine of effectes by a parte of the causes onely out of which they grow, they iudge conclusions by dimipremises and halfe principles, they lay them in the balance stript from those necessarie ma-

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teriall circumstances, which should giue them weight, and by shew of falling vneuen with the scale of most vniuersall and abstracted rules they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why men altogether conuersant in studie, doe knowe how to teach but not how to gouerne; men experienced contrariwise gouerne well, yet know not which way to set downe orderly the precepts and reasons of that they doe. Hee that will therefore iudge tightly of things done, must ioyne with his formes and conceipts of generall speculation the matter wherein our actions are conuersant. For by this shall appeare what equitie there is in those priuiledges and peculiar grants or fauours, which otherwise will seeme repugnant to iustice, and because in themselues considered they haue a shew of repugnancy, this deceiueth those great Clearkes, which hearing a priuiledge defined to be an especiall right brought to the hurt and preiudice of some publique benefit against the generall course of iustice, are not able to comprehend howe the words *against* doth import *exception* without any *opposition* at all. For in as much as the hand of Iustice must distribute to euery particular what is due, and iudge what is due with respect had to leese of particular circumstances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all causes with one measure, the wils, counsels, qualities and states of men being diuers. For example, the law of common right bindeth all men to keepe their promises, performe their compactes, and answere the faith they haue giuen either for themselues, or others. Notwithstanding he which bargaineth with one vnder yeares can haue no benefit by this allegation, because he by age is against a person, which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certaine men from the law of common right is against God, against nature, against whatsoeuer may ariue to strengthen and ratifie this law before alleaged, or else acknowledge (as the truth is) that speciall causes are to be ordered by speciall rules, that if men growe once into yeares, disaduantage themselues by bargaining, yet what they hastily doe, is strong, and in force against them, because they are able to dispose and manage their owne affaires, whereas youth for lacke of experience and iudgement being easily subiect to circumuention is therefore fully exempted from the law of common right, whereunto the rest are fully subiect. This plaine inequalitie betweene men of yeares, and vnder yeares is a cause why equitie and iustice cannot apply equally the same generall rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and graunteth to the other a speciall priuiledge. Priuiledges are either transitory or permanent. *Transitory such as respect only some one man, or at the most extend no further then to this or that man with the end of whose naturall life they expire. Perpetuall such as the vse thereof doth continue still, for that they belong vnto certaine kinds of men and bodies which neuer die. Of this nature are all immunities and prerogatiues which for iust considerations one sort of men enioyeth aboue an other both in the Church and common wealth, no man inspecting them of contrariety to any branch of those lawes or reasons, whereupon the generall right is grounded. Now these being generall lawes and rules whereby it cannot be denied but the Church of God standeth bound to prouide that the Ministry may be learned, that they which haue charge may reside

a Ius singulare est, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam vtilitatem authoritate constituentium introductum est. Paulus. ff. de legib.

* Priuilegium personale cum persona extinguitur, & priuilegium datum alicui transit cum effluxu. Op. de regalia. par. 1. 227.

vpon

vpon it, and that it may not be free from them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſticall liuings, it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the lawes of the Church of England doe admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alleaged, and in what ſpeciall conſideration they ſeeme to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of cure in this Realme, it is not an armie of twelue thouſand learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Vniuerſities that can alwayes furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the liuings with cure, that when they fall are able to yeelde ſufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plaine that vnleſſe the greateſt part of the people ſhould bee left vtterly without the publike vſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedie but to take into the Eccleſiaſticall order, a number of men meanely qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoeuer we may imagine in our priuate cloſets, or talke for communication ſake at our boords, yea or write in our books through a notionall conceipt of things needfull, for perfourmance of each mans dutie, if once we come from the theorie of learning, to take out ſo many learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whome the choyce ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skil we muſt either admit, or elſe leaue numbers, vtterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with ſence of common equitie, will ſoone diſcerne, that beſides eminent and competent knowledge, wee are to diſcend to a lower ſtep receiuing knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When wee commend any man for learning, our ſpeach importeth him to bee more then meanely qualified that way, but when lawes doe require learning as a qualitie, which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to iudge a learned man by, muſt bee ſome certaine degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if euerie man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelfe, how ſhall wee euer knowe when lawes are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may thinke a lower degree ſufficient, another may iudge them vnſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſitie either we muſt haue ſome iudge in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to bee ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the law it ſelfe is to ſet downe the very loweſt degree of fitneſſe that ſhall bee allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint Paul requireth learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound, and to diſproue them that gainſay it. What meaſure of habilitie in ſuch things ſhall ſerue to make men capable of that kind of office, he doth not himſelfe preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience of Titus, and others which had to deale in ordaining Presbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſitie make this demaund, whether the Church lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would haue choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſſe, them that may ſerue to performe the ſeruice of publique prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments vnto the people, to ſolemnize marriage, to viſit the ſicke, and burie the dead, to inſtruct by reading although by preaching, they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feede Chriſts flocke. We conſtantly hold that in this caſe the Apoſtles law is not broken. He requireth more in

Tit. 1. 9.

Presbyters

Presbyters then there is found in many whome the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tyed vnto impoſſibilities, to doe that wee cannot we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore and a very indirect practiſe, when they publiſh large declamations to proone that learning is required in the miniſterie, and to make the ſillie people believe that the contrarie is maintained by the Biſhops, and vpheld by the lawes of the land, whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning bee required, but whether a Church wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of learned men to furniſh all congregations ſhoulde doe better to let thouſands of ſoules grow ſauage, to let them liue without any publique ſeruice of God, to let their children die vnbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing as much as read vnto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this neceſſitie to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo farre foorth ſufficient although they want that habilitie of preaching which ſome others haue. In this point therefore wee obey neceſſitie, and of two euils wee take the leſſe; in the reſt a publique vtilitie is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certaine inconueniences tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The lawe giueth libertie of non Reſidence for a time to ſuch as will liue in Vniuerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the peoples ſaluation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of law beſtowed to the Churches great aduauntage and benefit, thoſe neceſſarie helpes are procured by it, which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, then if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the law doth hereby prouide in ſome part to remedie and helpe that euill, which the former neceſſitie hath impoſed vpon the Church. For compare two men of equall meanneſſe in the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the law permitteth. Allot vnto both ſome nine yeares continuance with cure of ſoules. And muſt not three yeares abſence in all probabilitie and likelihood, make the one more profitable then the other vnto Gods Church by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three yeares may adde vnto ſixe yeares trauaile following? For the greater habilitie there is added to the inſtrument wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſaue ſoules, the more facilitie and expedition it hath to worke that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may bee ſaid touching abſence graunted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops, which Schooles of grauitie, diſcretion and wiſedome, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are in my poore opinion euen the fitteſt places that any ingenuous minde can wiſh to enter into betweene departure, from priuate ſtudie and acceſſe to a more publique charge of ſoules, yea no leſſe expedient, for men of the beſt ſufficiencie and moſt maturitie in knowledge, then the verie Vniuerſities themſelues are for the ripening of ſuch as bee raw. Imployment in the families of Noble men, or in Princes Courts hath an other end for which the ſelfe ſame leaue is giuen not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly

redly whosoeuer doth well obserue how much all inferiour things depend vpon the orderly courses and motions of those greater Orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good that the Angels assisting them should bee driuen to betake themselues vnto other stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge also elsewhere, as long as their absence from beneath might but tolerably bee supplyed, and by discending their roomes aboue should become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this case of any platforme, which bringeth equally high and low vnto parish Churches, nor of any constraint to maintaine at their owne charge men sufficient for that purpose; the one so repugnant to the maiestie and greatnesse of English nobilitie, the other so improbable and vnlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both seeme not indeede to haue conceiued what either is. But the eye of lawe is the eye of God, it looketh into the harts and secret dispositions of men, it beholdeth how farre one star differeth from an other in glorie, and as mens seuerall degrees require, accordingly it guideth them, graunting vnto principall personages, priuiledges correspondent to their high estates, and that not onely in ciuill but euen in spirituall affaires, to the end they may loue that Religion the more, which no way seeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminisheth their dignitie and greatnesse, but to doe them good, doth them honour also and by such extraordinarie fauours teacheth them to bee in the Church of God, the same which the Church of God esteemeth them, more worth then thousands. It appeareth therefore in what respect the lawes of this realme, haue giuen libertie of non Residence to some that their knowledge may bee increased, and their labours by that meanes bee made afterwards the more profitable to others, least the houses of great men should want that dayly exercise of Religion wherein their example auaileth as much, yea many times peraduenture more then the lawes themselues, with the common sort. A third thing respected both in permitting absence, and also in graunting to some that libertie of addition or pluralitie, which necessarily inforceth their absence, is a meere both iust and conscionable regard, that as men are in qualitie, and as their seruices are in waight for the publike good, so likewise their rewardes and incouragements by speciall priuiledge of lawe might somewhat declare how the state it selfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their beastiall and sauage rudenesse, which thinke that Oxen should onely labour and Asses feede. Thus to Readers in Vniuersities, whose very paper and booke-expenses their ancient allowances and stipends at this day doe either not or hardly sustaine; to gouernours of Colledges, least the great ouerplus of charges necessarily inforced vppon them, by reason of their place and very slenderly supplied, by meanes of that change in the present condition of things which their founders coulde not foresee; to men cald away from their cures, and imployed in waightier businesse, either of the Church or common-wealth, because to impose vpon them a burthen which requireth their absence, and not to release them from the dutie of Residence, were a kinde of cruell and barbarous iniustice; to Residents in Cathedrall Churches or vpon dignities Ecclesiasticall, for as much as these being roomes of greater hospitality, places of more respect and consequence then the rest, they

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are the rather to bee furniſhed with men of beſt qualitie, and the men for their qualities ſake to bee fauoured aboue others, I ſay vnto all theſe in regarde of their worth and merite, the law hath therefore giuen leaue while themſelues beare waightier burthens to ſupply inferiour by deputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning, nobilitie and authoritie, permitteth, that men which haue taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganeſſe of Biſhoppes, the houſholde Chapplens of men of honour, or in great offices, the brethren and ſonnes of Lords temporall, or of Knights, if God ſhall mooue the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy orders, may obtaine to themſelues a facultie or licence to holde two Eccleſiaſticall liuings though hauing cure, any ſpirituall perſon of the Queenes Councell three ſuch liuings, her Chaplens, what number of promotions her ſelfe in her owne princely wiſedome thinketh good to beſtow vppon them. But, as it faſteth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for iuſt conſiderations wee open vnto ſome, lesteth in others thorough corrupt practiſes, to whome ſuch fauours were neither meant, nor ſhould be communicated. The greatnes of the haruеſt and the ſcarcitie of able workemen hath made it neceſſarie, that lawe ſhould yeelde to admit numbers of men, but ſclenderly and meanely qualified. Hereupon becauſe whome all other worldly hopes haue forſaken, they commonly reſeaue miniſteriall vocation, as their laſt and ſureſt refuge euer open to ſotherne men, the Church that ſhoulde nouriſh them, whoſe ſeruice thee needeth, hath obtruded vpon her their ſeruices but know not otherwiſe how to liue and ſuſtaine themſelues. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie then meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other, which hath authoritie, and nothing more vſuall then too much facilitie in condiſcending vnto ſuch requeſts are often receiued into that vocation, whereunto their vnworthineſſe is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggranate the crime of Ieroboams prophane Apoſtaſie, then that he choſe to haue his Clergie the ſcumme and refuſe of his whole land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towardes God, that burthen wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarmes of vnworthy creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the miniſtery, that which Saint Chryſoſtome doth of the higheſt, *Hee that will vndertake ſo waighty a charge had needs to be a man of great vnderſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with diuine grace, for integritie of manners, puritie of life, and for all other vertues, to haue in him more then a man*; but ſurely this I will ſay with Chryſoſtome, *We needs not doubt whether God be highly diſpleaſed with vs, or what the cauſe of his anger is, if things of ſo great feare and holineſſe as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſeruice, be throwne wilfully on them whoſe not onely one, but bad and ſcandalous qualitie doth deſile what ſeruice they handle.* Theſe cyſores and blemiſhes, in continuall attendants about the ſeruice of Gods Sanctuarie, doe make them euery day fewer, that willingly reſort vnto it, till at length all affection and deſire towards God bee extinct in them thorough a wearyſome contempt of their perſons, which for a time onely liue by Religion, and are for recompence in fine the death of the nurce that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the liberties, which law is enforced to graunt, and not onely this but the like abuſe of that fauour, alſo which law in other conſidera-

Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 15.

tions already mentioned affordeth touching residence and pluralitie of spirituall livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church against the purpose of those very lawes, which notwithstanding are pretended in defence and iustification thereof, wee must needes acknowledge no lesse repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right then the fraudulent proceedings of tyrants to the principles of iust soueraignetie. Howbeit not so those speciall priuiledges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serue malice. There is in the Patriarke of heathen Philosophers this precept; a *Let no husbandman, nor no handier of siluer lye a Bright*: The reason whereupon he groundeth, is a maxime in the law of nature. It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God be reuerenced*, with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publikely imployed in his seruice, should liue of base and mannarie trades. Now compare here with the Apostles words b *Yee know that these hands haue ministred to my necessities & them that are with me.* What thinke we? Did the Apostle any thing opposite herein or repugnant to the rules and maximes of the laive of nature? The selfe same reasons that accord his actions with the law of nature shall declare, our priuiledges and his lawes no lesse consonant. Thus therefore we see that although they vrge verie colourably the Apostles owne sentence, requiring that a Minister shoulde bee able to deuide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charge, shoulde attend vnto it themselues, which in absence they cannot doe; and that they which haue diuers cures, must of necessitie be absent from some, whereby the lawe Apostolique seemeth apparently broken, which lawe requiring attendance, cannot otherwise bee vnderstood, then so as to charge them with perpetuall residence; against though in euerie of these causes, they infinitely heape vp the sentences of Fathers, the decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of imperiall authoritie, our owne nationall lawes and ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding euermore their prohibitions partly on the lawes of God, and partly on reasons deriued from the light of nature, yea hereby to gather and inferre contradiction betweene those lawes which forbid indefinitly, and ours which in certaine cases haue allowed the ordaining of sundrie Ministers, whose sufficiencie for learning is such, as neare agains the licensing of some to bee absent from their flockes, and of others to holde more then one onely liuing which hath cure of soules, I say to conclude repugnancie betweene these especiall permissions, and the former generall prohibitions, which set not downe their owne limits is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in differences of speech which both sortes of lawe concerne. If then the considerations bee reasonable iust and good whereupon wee ground whatsoeuer our lawes haue by speciall right permitted, if onely the effects of abused priuiledges bee repugnant to the maximes of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancie being broken whatsoeuer they haue built thereupon, falleth necessarily to ground. Whereas therefore vpon surmise or vaine supposall of opposition betweene our speciall and the principles of common right, they gather that such as are with vs ordained Ministers, before they can preach bee neither lawfull, because the lawes already mentioned forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeede Ministers, although woe commonly

a Ἀνὴρ γεωργὸν μὴτε Σίδηρον ἰσχέτω κατακτῶν γὰρ τοῦτον πρὸς τιμᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς. *Arist. Po. 7. c. 9.*

b *Act. 20. 34. 1. Cor. 4. 12. 1. Thes. 2. 9. 2. Thes. 3. 8.*

monly ſo name them, but whatſoeuer they execute by vertue of ſuch, their pretended vocation is voide; that all our graunts and tolerations, as well of this as the reſt are fruſtrate and of no effect, the perſons that enioy them poſſeſſe them wrongfully, and are depriuable at all howers; finally that other iuſt and ſufficient remedie of euils there can bee none beſides the vtter abrogation of theſe our mitigations, and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former ordinances to bee abſolutely executed whatſoeuer follow, albeit the anſwere already made in diſcouerie of the weake and vnſound foundation whereupon they haue built theſe erronious collections may bee thought ſufficient, yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie if it bee poſſible, then to ſhake them off; wee are with very good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely, then the equitie of our owne defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men, at this day a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceipt that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcouerie of other mens faultes, and in witte to diſcourſe of our owne profeſſion. When the world moſt abounded with iuſt, righteous and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudie was the exercife of pietie, wherein for their ſafeſt direction, they reuerently harkened to the readinges of the lawe of God, they kept in minde the oracles and aphoriſmes of wiſedome, which tended vnto vertuous life, if any ſcruple of conſcience did trouble them for matter of actions which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counſell and aduiſe were had for feare leaſt raſhly they might offende. Wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge and iudgement is riper, but becauſe our deſires are an other way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeuour was reformation of life, [a] our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the practiſe of their religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we eſpecially our eares & tongues. We are growne as in many things elſe, ſo in this to a kind of intemperancie which (onely ſermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of religion out of taſt. At the leaſt they are not in that accompt and reputation which they ſhoulde bee. Now becauſe men bring all religion in a manner to the only office of hearing ſermons, if it chaunce that they who are thus conceipted doe imbrace any ſpeciall opinion different from other men, the ſermons that reliſh not that opinion, can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach vnto them, but hit not the ſtring they looke for, are receiued as vnprofitable, the reſt as vnlawfull, and indeede no miniſters, if the faultie of ſermons want. For why? A miniſter of the worde ſhould, they ſay, bee able rightly to *diuide* the worde, Which Apoſtolique Canon, many thinke they doe well obſerue, when in opening the ſentences of holy ſcripture they draw all thinges fauourable ſpoken vnto one ſide, but whatſoeuer is reprehenſiue ſeuere and ſharpe, they haue others on the contrarie part whome that muſt alwayes concerne, by which their ouer partiall and vnindifferent proceeding while they thus labour amongſt the people to diuide the worde, they make the worde a meane to diuide and diſtract the people.

[a] Ἀλλ' ἴσως λεγόντων τούτων μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ πολὺ ἐστὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον κατεπιλογοῦντες ἕλκουσι φιλοσοφίαν, ἣ ἔνιοις ἐστὶν ὠφελεῖν· ἡμεῖς τι τοῖς μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἐν τῷ ἰατρῷ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι μὲν ἐπιμελές· τοιοῦτοι δ' ἐσμὲν τῶν σπουδαίων ἕστιν ἃ ὠφελεῖ τὸ σῶμα αὐτὸ θεραπεύσαντες, ἐνίοις δ' ἴσως τῷ ψυχῇ οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦσιν. *Ariſt. Eth. l. 2. c. 5.*

Orthotomein to diuide aright doth not in the Apoſtles writinges, ſoundnes of doctrine onely, and in meaning ſtandeth oppoſite to καινοτομία the broaching of new opinions againſt that which is receyued. For queſtionleſſe the firſt thinges deliuered to the Church of Chriſt, were pure and ſincere truth. Which whoſoeuer did afterwards oppugne could not chooſe but diuide the Church into two mouldes, in which diuiſion, ſuch as taught what was firſt beleeued helde the truer parte, the contrarie ſide in that they were teachers of nouelry erred. For preuention of which euill there are in this Church many ſingular and well deuiſed remedies, as namely the vſe of ſubſcribing to the articles of religion before admiſſion to degrees of learning, or to any Eccleſiaſticall liuing, the cuſtome of reading the ſame articles and of approuing them in publique aſſemblies whereſoeuer men haue benefices with cure of ſoules, the order of teſtifying vnder their handes allowance of the booke of common prayer, and the booke of ordayning miniſters, finally the diſcipline and moderate ſeueritie which is vſed eyther in otherwiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturbe the Church with doctrines which tend vnto innouation, it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefite of ſuch mens labors, then indure the miſchiefe of their inconformitie to good lawes; in which caſe if any repine at the courſe and proceedinges of iuſtice, they muſt learne to content themſelues with the anſwere of *M. Curius*, which had ſometime occaſion to cut off one from the body of the common wealth, in whoſe behalfe becauſe it might haue beene pleaded that the partie was a man ſeruiceable, hee therefore began his iudiciall ſentence with this preamble *non eſſe opus reip. eo ciue qui parere neſciret*, *The common wealth needeth men of qualitie, yet neuer thoſe men which haue not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of England hath taken to prouide that they who are teachers of others may doe it ſoundly, that the puritie and vnitie as well of auncient diſcipline as doctrine may be vpheld, that auoyding ſingularities, we may all glorifie God with one hart, and one tongue, they of all men do leaſt approue, that moſt vrge the Apoſtles rule and Canon. For which cauſe they alleage it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to proue that vnpreaching miniſters (for ſo they terme them) can haue no true, nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint Auguſtine hath ſaid of the will of man that *ſimplie to will proceedeth from nature, but our welwilling is from grace.* VVe ſay as much of the miniſter of God, *publikely to teach and inſtruct the Church, is neceſſarie in euery eccleſiaſticall miniſter, but abilitie to teach by ſermons is a grace which God doth beſtow on them whome hee maketh ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their dutie.* That therefore wherein a miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian men is not as ſome haue childiſhly imagined the *ſound preaching of the worde of God*, but as they are lawfully and truely gouernors to whome authority of regiment is giuen in the common wealth, according to the order which politie hath ſet, ſo canonicall ordination in the Church of Chriſt is that which maketh a lawfull miniſter, *as touching the validitie of any acte which appertayneth to that vocation.* The cauſe why Saint Paule willed Timothie not to bee ouer haſtie in ordayning miniſters, was (as wee very well may coniecture) becauſe impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them miniſters, whether they haue

Valer.l.6.c.3.

Ox.mas.p.21.

haue gifts and qualities fitte for the laudable discharge of their duties or no. If want of learning and skill to preach did frustrate their vocation, ministers ordayned before they be growne vnto that maturitie should receiue new ordination, whensoeuer it chanceth that studie and industrie doth make them afterwards more able to performe the office, then which what conceipt can bee more absurde? Was not Saint Augustine himselfe contented to admit an assistant in his owne Church, a man of small erudition, considering that what hee wanted in knowledge, was supplied by those vertues which made his life a better oratour, then more learning coulde make others whose conuersation was lesse holy? Were the priestes, sithence Moyses all able and sufficient men learnedly to interprete the lawe of God? or was it euer imagined, that this defect shoulde frustrate what they executed, and depriue them of right vnto any thing, they claymed by vertue of their priesthood? Surely as in magistrates, the want of those gifts which their office needeth is cause of iust imputation of blame in them that wittingly choose vnsufficient and vnfitte men when they might doe otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choyse voyde, nor euery action of magistracie frustrate in that respect. So whether it were of necessitie or euen of very carelesnesse that men vnable to preach should bee taken in Pastors roomes, neuertheles, it seemeth to bee an errour in them which thinke that the lacke of any such perfection defeateth vtterly their calling. To wish that all men were so qualified as their places and dignities require, to hate all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let, to couet speedy redresse of those subuersions wherefoeuer whereby the Church sustayned detriment, these good and vertuous desires cannot offend any but vngodly mindes. Notwithstanding some in the true vehemencie, and others vnder the faire pretence of these desires haue adnentured that which is strange, that which is violent and vnlaw. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge, the residence and the single liuinges of ministers presume not onely so annihilate the solemne ordinations of such as the Church must of force admit, but also to vrge a kinde of vniuersall proscription against them, to set downe articles to draw commissions, and almost to name themselues of the *Quorum* for inquirie into mens estates and dealings, whom their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselues list, and that not for any violation of lawes, either spirituall or ciuill, but because men haue trusted the lawes too farre, because they haue beleeued and inioyed the liberty which lawe graunteth, because they had not the wittes to conceiue as these men do, that lawes were made to take simple, by preuenting those things in shewe and appearance, which indeede (should men so vnderstand) in effect, for as much as they were but granted with a secret condition of vse or exception in practise *of them, should be vnprofitable and agreeable with the minde of God*, which condition lay hidde in all ministers that cannot preach, shall themselues absent from their liuinges, and in all that haue diuers liuinges (for so it must bee presumed they are neuer so populous) therefore as often as they looke in the lawes of God and nature, they are deprineable at all times. Is this the fashion of that discipline whereunto all Christian Churches should frame and submit themselues?

The author of the Abstract.

is this the equitie where with they labour to reforme the world? I will no way diminish the force of those arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in an other glasse, there are ciuill as well as Ecclesiasticall valuficiencies non residencies and pluralities, yea the reasons which light of nature hath ministred against both are of such affinitie, that much lesse they cannot inforce in the one then in the other. When they that beare great offices, be persons of meane worth, the contempt wherinto their authority groweth [b] weakneth the sinew of the whole state. Notwithstanding where many gouernours are needfull, and they not many, whom their qualitie can commend, [b] the penury of worthier must needes make the meaner sort of men capable, Cities in the absence of their gouernours are as ships wanting Pilots at sea. But were it therefore [c] iustice to punish whome superiour authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to bee imployed elsewhere? In committing [d] many offices to one man there are apparantly these inconueniences, the common wealth doth loose the benefit of seruiceable men which might be trained vp in those roomes; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well; in seruice of warfare and nauigation were it not the ouerthrow of whatsoeuer is vndertaken, if one or two shold ingrosse such offices as being now diuided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Neuertheless be it farre from the mind of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations princes either ought of dutie to reuoke all such kind of grants though made with very speciall respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their offices with speech to this or the like effect, *Por as much as you N. B. by the space of many yeares haue done vs that faithfull seruice in most important affaires, for which we alwayes iudging you worthy of much honour haue therefore committed vnto you from time to time very great and weighty offices which office hitherto you quietly inioy, we are now giuen to vnderstand, that certaine graue and learned men haue found in the bookes of ancient Philosophers diuers arguments drawen from the common light of nature and declaring the wonderfull discommodities which ensue vpon dignities thus heaped together in one, For which cause of this present mooued by conscience and tender care for the publique good haue summoned you hither to dispossesse you of those places, and to depose you from those roomes, wherein indeed by vertue of our former grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you greatly to think it vs rash light or vncertaine in so doing. For well you know that herein we will looke to and doe that thing which the Noble and wise Emperour sometimes both said and did in a matter of farre lesse weight then this, Good reason mooued, vnlesse it be manifest that which we vnduefully haue done, we easily will reuoke and amend.* Howbeit mine owne part the greatest harme I would wish them who thinke that this were consonant with equitie and right, is that they might but liue where all things are with such kind of iudgement ordered, till experience haue taught them to see their error. As for the last thing which is incident into the course whereof wee speake, namely what course were the best and safest diuised by couenaunt such as the Church of God may sustaine where the profession and vse of law is turned to great abuse, some light wee may receiue from abroad not vnprofitable for direction with

a Μεγάλοις γὰρ ἄρχουσι καθεστῶτες ἀνωτελεῖς ὧσι μεγάλα κλάσματα ἔνεστι. Arist. b Necessario maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria melioribus solere deferri. Mamertin. paneg. ad Julian. c Neq; enim æquum visum est absentem reipub. causa inter reos referri dum reipub. operatur. Vlpian. l. 15. ff. ma. rit. ut. ad legem Iulian. de adulter. d Arist. polit. lib. 2. cap. 11. See the like preamble framed by the author of the Abstract, where he phansieth a Bishop deposing one vnapt to preach whom himselfe had before ordained.

Gods owne sacred house and family. The Romanes being a people full of generositie, and by nature courteous, did no way more shew their gentle disposition then by easie condiscending to set their bondmen at libertie. Which benefite in the happier and better times of the common wealth was bestowed for the most parte as an ordinary reward of vertue, some few now and then also purchasing freedome with that which their iust labours could gaine, & their honest frugalitie saue. But as the Empire daily grew vp, so the manners and conditions of men decaied, wealth was honoured, and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing seeme opprobrious out of which there might arise commoditie and profit, so that it could be no marueil in a state thus farre degenerated, if when the more ingenious sort were become base, the baser laying aside all shame and face of honesty did some by robberies, burglaries, and prostitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeeme liberty; others obtaine the same at the hands of their Lords by serving them as vile instruments in those attempts which had beene worthy to be reuenged with ten thousand deathes. A learned iudicious and polite historian hauing mentioned so foule disorders, giueth his iudgement and censure of them in this sort, *Such eye sores in the common wealth haue occasioned many vertuous minds to condemne altogether the custome of granting libertie to any bondslaue, for as much as it seemed a thing absurde, that a people which commanded all the world should consist of so vile refuse. But neither is this the only custome wherein the profitable inuentions of former ages are depraued by latter ages, and for my selfe I cannot of their opinion that wish the abrogation of so grossely vsed customes, which abrogation might peraduenture bee cause of greater inconueniences ensuing, but as much as may be I would rather aduise that redresse were sought through the care of all prouidence of chiefe rulers and ouerseers of the Commonwealth, by whom a yearely surueigh being made of all that are enfranchised, they which seeme worthy might bee taken and diuided into tribes with other citizens, the rest dispersed into colonies abroad, or otherwise disposed of, that the common wealth might sustaine neither harme nor disgrace by them.* The wayes to meete with disorders growing by abuse of lawes are not so intricate and secret especially in our case, that men should neede either much aduertisement or long time for the search thereof. And if counsell to that purpose may seeme needfull, this Church (God be thanked) is not destitute of men indued with ripe iudgement, whensoeuer any such thing shall be thought necessary. For which cause at this present to propose any speciall inuentions of mine owne might argue in a man of my place & calling more presumption perhaps then wit. I will therefore leaue it intire vnto grauer consideration, ending now with requestfully and most earnest sute, first that they which giue ordination, would, as they tender the very honour of Iesus Christ, the safety of men, and the endlesse good of their owne soules, take heed least vnnecessarily and through their default the Church be found worse, or lesse furnished then it might bee. Secondly, that they which by right of patronage haue power to present vnto spirituall liuings and may in that respect much damnifie the Church of God, would for the ease of their owne accompt in that dreadful day soe shew but consider what it is to betray for gaine the soules which Christ hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the sacred bond of fidelity and solemne promise giuen at the first to God and his Church by them

Dionys. Halicar. Rom. antiq. lib. 4.

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from whose originall interest together with the selfe same title of right the same obligation of duty likewise is descended; Thirdly that they vnto whome the granting of dispensations is committed; or which otherwise haue any stroke in the disposition of such preferments as appertraine vnto learned men, would bethinke themselues what it is to respect any thing either aboue or besides merit, cõsidering how hardly the world taketh it when to men of commendable note and qualitie there is so little respect had, or so great vnto them whose deserts are very meane that nothing doth seeme more strange then the one sort, because they are not accompted of, and the other because they are, it being euery mans hope and expectation in the Church of God especially that the onely purchase of greater rewardes should be alwayes greater deserues, and that nothing should euer bee able to plant a throne where a vine ought to grow; Fourthly, that honourable personages, and they, who by vertue of any principall office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certaine number, and make them capable of fauour or faculties aboue others, suffer not their names to be abused contrary to the true intent and meaning of holesome lawes by men in whom there is nothing notable besides couetousnesse and ambition; Fiftly that the graue and wiser sort in both Vniuersities, or whosoeuer they be with whome approbation the markes and recognisances of all learning are bestowed, would thinke the apostles caution against vnaduised ordinations not impertinent or vnnecessarily to be borne in minde euen when they grant those degrees of schooles, which degrees are not *gratia gratis data*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanitie, but they are *gratia gratum facientes*, fauours which alwayes imply a testimony giuen to the Church and common-wealth concerning mens sufficiency for manners and knowledge, a testimony vpon the credit whereof sundry statutes of the Realme are built, a testimonie so farre auailable, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of diuers mens habilities to serue in the affaires of the Realme, a testimony wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to bee alwayes giuen, and doe thereby induce into errour such as deeme it a thing vnciuill to call the credite thereof in question, let them looke that God shall returne backe vpon their heades, and cause them in the state of their owne corporations to feele either one way or other the punishment of those harmes which the Church through their negligence doth sustaine in that behalfe; Finally, and to conclude, that they who inioy the benefit of any speciall indulgence or fauour which the lawes permit would as well remember what in duty towards the Church and in conscience towards God they ought to doe, as what they may doe by vsing to their owne aduantage whatsoeuer they see tolerated, no man being ignorant, that the cause why absence in some cases hath beene yeelded vnto and in equitie though sufferable is the hope of greater fruite through industrie elsewhere, the reason likewise wherefore pluralities are allowed vnto men of note & worthy soueraigne and speciall vse that as fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of priorite in birth by dubling the worldly portions of their first bogne for the Church by a course not vnlike in assigning mens rewardes might testifie an estimation had proportionable of their vertues, according to the auncient rule Apostolique; *They which excell in labour ought to*

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excell in labour ought to excell in honour, and therefore vnleſſe they anſwer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, vnleſſe ſincerely they bende their wits day and night, both to ſowe becauſe they reap, and to ſow as much more aboundantly, as they reap more aboundantly then other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities, they formally binde themſelues, let them be well aſſured that the honie which they eate with fraude, ſhall turne in the end into true gall, for as much as lawes are the ſacred image of his wiſdome who moſt ſeuerely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſuttle crimes that ſeldome are taken within the walke of humaine iuſtice. I therefore conclude that the groundes and maximes of common right wherevppon ordinations of Miniſters vnable to preach, tolerations of abſence from their cures, and the multiplications of their ſpirituall liuings are diſproued, doe but indefinitly enforce them vnlawfull, not vnlawfull vniuerſally and without exception; that the lawes which indefinitely are againſt all theſe thinges, and the priuiledges which make for them in certaine caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Lawes of God and nature are violated through the effects of abuſed priuiledges; that neither our ordinations of men vnable to make ſermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt can bee iuſtly proued fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition betweene the ſpeciall lawes of this Church which haue permitted, and thoſe generall which are alledged to diſproue the ſame; that when priuiledges by abuſe are growne incommodious, there muſt be redreſſe; that for remedie of ſuch euils, there is no neceſſitie, the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part, the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntarie reformation thereof on all hands which may giue paſſage vnto any abuſe.

For the maine hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions let that before ſet downe in the 9. be red together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

FINIS.